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Dedicated to my son Gabriel Rogers-Mullen.

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Abstract

Challenging perceptions: community music
practice with children with behavioural challenges

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Over the past decade, and particularly since the publication of The National Plan for Music Education (DfE, 2011), there has been increasing opportunity for community musicians in England to work with young people with challenging behaviour in Pupil Referral Units (PRUs) and in Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties (EBD) Units.

This study identifies and discusses six key elements that influence community music delivery in these settings. These elements are: what the children bring, organizing structures, ideas and materials, focus and energy, reflection and reflexivity and the intentions of the leader. These elements emerged from the data collected through the study.

This study combined action research and grounded theory. It employed a number of data collection methods, including participant observation, semi-structured interviews, focus group work and a literature review.

The environment of PRUs and EBD Units are based on formal schooling but are both volatile and academically ineffective (Taylor, 2012). Community musicians, who frequently work outside the curriculum, need insights and understandings beyond traditional educational practice if they are to be successful in engaging children in these environments.

Community music practice addresses not only musical but also personal and social development. This, and the nature of PRUs, and of the children within them, makes the work complex. Through understanding the role all six elements can play in shaping the child's experience, the community musician can use this knowledge to develop programmes that address these children's complex needs, allow them to place themselves at the centre of their own learning and encourage their ownership of their own creative expression. This can give them a sense of meaning for their own often troubled histories and may offer them a pathway to

reconstructing their own self concept away from conferred negative identities as excluded children towards seeing themselves as learners and musicians.

Keywords: Community music, challenging behaviour, pedagogy, inclusion

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Chapter one - Introduction

1. What this study contains

This is a research study into music work with children and young people excluded from mainstream school, primarily for reasons of their own behaviour, and placed in alternative provision. The purpose of the study is to identify key factors that influence community music delivery in statutory alternative education provision for children with behavioural challenges. To sum this up in terms of the research question: what are the key factors that influence community music delivery in statutory alternative education provision in England, for children with behavioural challenges? In addition, what are the implications of these factors for developing good community music practice in Pupil Referral Units?

The alternative provision consists of both Pupil Referral Units (PRUs), sometimes called short stay schools, which are essentially schools for young people taken out of school, most of whom in theory may return to mainstream school at some time in the future, and also Emotional and Behavioural Difficulty (EBD) units, which again in theory, are for children with more severe and long-term problems. In practice, depending on where in the country the unit is located, the terms may at times be seen as interchangeable, at least in so far as to whom the provision is for and what kind of provision is on offer. In this study, I¹ will, when talking about the work generally, use the term PRU and I will use the term EBD unit when talking about work in specific establishments that carry that title:

Defining this group is not easy; difficulties are compounded by the fact that different agencies often use different terminology. (Ofsted, 1999: 78)

There are approximately 14,000 pupils in both full and part time placements in PRUs with another 23,000 in EBD Units and other alternative provision. Most but not all exhibit challenging behaviour (Taylor, 2012).

Since the advent of the *National Plan for Music Education* in 2011 (DfE, 2011), there has been increasing interest in England from community music organizations in working in these settings. It has been the researcher's experience that there are limited opportunities for musicians to train and develop expertise to work with music with children with challenging behaviour and there have been few publications or training resources relating specifically to this work.

Publications relating to this area of music work (e.g. Burnard et al, 2008) have

¹ Throughout this study the writer will be referred to as the researcher except in this opening and in a section on the researcher's suitability to undertake this research.

often tended to deal with children at risk of exclusion rather than those already excluded. This contrasts with an increase in publications, materials and training opportunities for community music as a whole over the last decade e.g. the regular publication of the International Journal of Community Music (IJCM).

At the time of writing this is one of the first comprehensive studies to look at community music practice with these young people. This means that this study is a timely contribution to what has been a neglected part of the field of community music and the broader field of music education. It can highlight areas for development in training and open the door for further research with this group of young people. It can open up discussion within community music about the issues uncovered. In addition it has already placed the researcher in the position of being one of the few people to have both practical experience and research knowledge in what may be the first wave of trainers within this sub-field. Since starting the research the researcher has been asked to share initial inquiries and findings with colleagues across England, in Germany, Canada, the USA and Brazil, thus showing that there is developing national and international interest in this area of work.

The document takes as its starting point the researcher's own work within these alternative provision units from 2011 to 2014. As the researcher is a community musician rather than a qualified classroom music teacher, the research focuses on community music approaches to children with behavioural, emotional and social difficulties (BESD) in statutory provision. The researcher's own work is augmented by findings from interviews and focus groups, both with other community musicians working in these contexts and also with various members of PRU and EBD staff including senior teaching staff and music specialists.

Throughout the document the term community music is synonymous with non-formal approaches to music education as distinguished from formal or curriculum led approaches. At the time of writing, anecdotal evidence suggests that non-formal or community music providers deliver a large proportion of music work in PRUs and EBD units. There is however no national data collated on this at this time.

The researcher appreciated from the start that the work would be challenging and complex. The type of generic approaches to community music theory and practice (Moser and MacKay, 2005; Higgins, 2012) that had been published in the

previous decade, would not be sufficient to deal with the intricacies of context brought up by dealing with children with challenging behaviour. A more detailed approach situated within the specific practice of PRUs would highlight where community music practice would need to adapt to context. This was particularly so because PRU based work is placed within, albeit on the edge of, the statutory sector, rather than in the voluntary contexts, such as youth clubs, that have been the traditional domain of the community musician. One of the particular challenges to community musicians in this regard is the extent to which their philosophies and working methods are congruent with, or in conflict with, other workers in the sector, such as teachers and TAs (Teaching Assistants). This becomes highlighted in the chapters “What the children bring” and “Organising structures” and “Intent”.

In summary, this is a research study into factors influencing community music practice with children excluded from mainstream school. The study embraces the complex and multi-faceted nature of the work.

2. The process of research

While there will be a detailed look at the methods and processes used in the research in the methodology chapter, it may be useful to give a brief outline at this stage.

The researcher combined action research and grounded theory, beginning with participant observation in a number of PRU and EBD units across the country. This observation focused primarily on the self-observation of the researcher’s work as a music leader in PRUs, while taking into account both the feedback from staff during debriefing sessions and also the engagement and responses of the children themselves.

The researcher kept a journal of what occurred in each session, which reflected on the thinking behind the practice, and the researcher’s reactions and responses to the young people and the environment. In the early stages of the work the journal merely stated what had happened and added a simple statement around the researcher’s feelings during and after the session. This was because the researcher was working in a number of different PRUs and EBD units and wanted to use the early part of the study to acclimatize to these often challenging environments and also to register what was going on both in terms of actual events and how they affected the researcher, without rushing to making judgements about the nature or meaning of the work. As the work progressed, a

second stage was reached where the educational interventions and the reasons behind them were categorized in detail. Over time this gave way to a third stage of reflection in which six constant factors emerged that were clear influences on the work. In this study they are referred to as six elements (outlined below). The participant observation was complemented by interviews and focus groups with other community music practitioners and PRU/EBD staff members. This added weight to the idea of six interdependent elements as outlined below.

In addition to the participant observations and interviews, the researcher conducted a literature review (or rather a series of literature reviews, one for each chapter). Reflecting the complexity of the topic area, the literature review covered a range of areas, from a comprehensive look into the history and nature of community music, through to a review of policy and education approaches with this group of young people. The literature review findings are woven through the various topic areas in this study. In this study the data from different methods of collection has been analysed and 'folded' into the six elements and the researcher has developed further understandings of each of the elements and how they affect workshop practice.

This study, following this introduction, contains a chapter on the methodology used. It also contains a chapter on historical and contemporary understandings of community music practice, with an emphasis on the work of some of the people who have had a significant influence on the field. This is because the study was designed to investigate community music practice in PRUs rather than more formal approaches to music learning. Community music practice is increasingly being employed in many PRUs and EBD units. Both the researcher and all the musicians interviewed in focus groups for this study are community musicians, and looking at the history and practices of community music in England can provide a background from which to understand the nature of their practice. There is a commitment in community music practice to working with the whole person, for music to simultaneously address musical, personal and social development within the children participating (Lonie, 2013: 4). This multi-faceted approach is at the centre of this study. The study then goes on to look at the six key factors that influence community music practice in PRUs (see below). The main study ends with a concluding chapter which looks at what has been revealed by the study, what are the implications of this for the field and what areas of future research are brought into relief by the study.

3. The Key Findings - Six elements

As the research developed and the researcher was able to stand back and analyse the data, it gradually emerged from this work that a number of elements were in dynamic interaction with each other and that each needed to be understood and optimised to achieve a successful music programme.

These elements (outlined in Figure 1 below) were continually shifting in a non-hierarchical relationship with each other, feeding off each other to the good or ill of the session. On any given day, one element might be more important than the others in helping the session succeed or fail. For example, if “what the children brought” was a restlessness or distress, this could dictate the nature of the session including what would be useful “ideas and material” for that day, how to work with the “focus and energy” of the group and what kind of “organizing structures” to use for the session. Conversely, if they brought a relaxed openness this would dictate a different shape to the session and positively affect all the other elements in turn.

The elements identified were as follows:

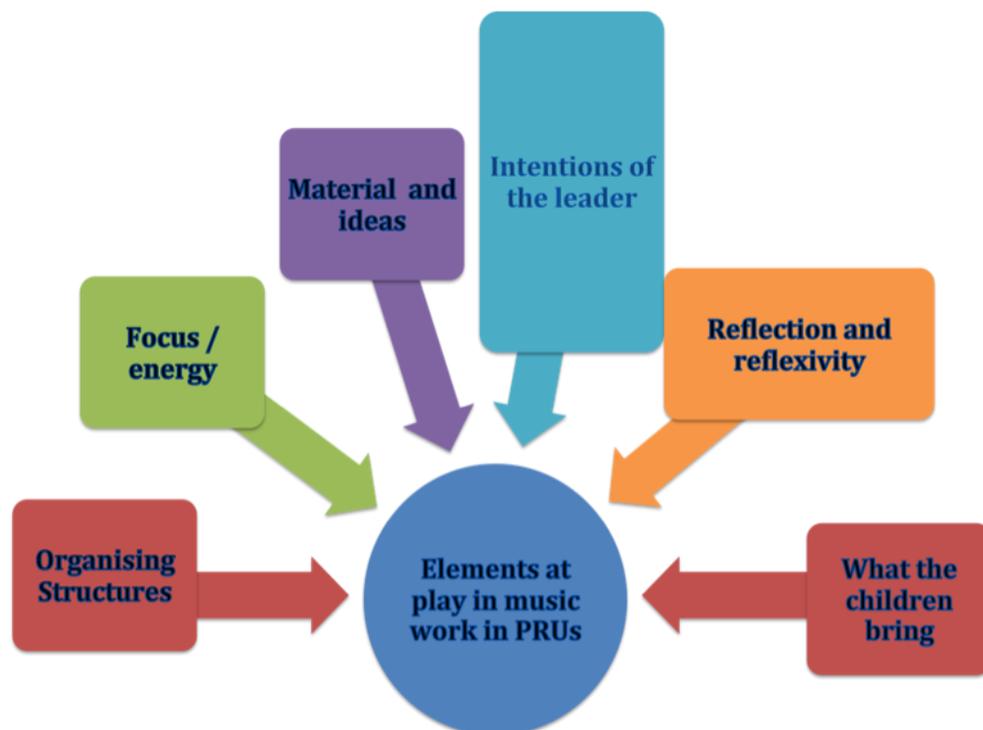


Figure 1 - Elements at play in music work in PRUs

As noted in figure 1 above the elements were identified as follows:

3.1 What the children bring

This is about:

- any special educational needs of members of the group
- status and power within the group
- what triggers a member of the group to 'kick off'
- how they feel about the adults in the room and what that brings up for them from their own experiences
- their likes and interests
- any special talents they may have
- their capacity to bring humour to the group
- their ability to surprise themselves and the team.

In addition it is about how the children are viewed and responded to by the staff team – what the staff bring to their understandings of childhood and what their views are of what the relationships should be between themselves and the children.

3.2 Organising structures

This refers to things outside the music interaction itself that can influence the collective psychology and behaviour of the group. These include:

- public policy and the attitude of government towards children with BESD
- how that policy has played out historically, and what it means for these children today, in terms of resource provision and hopes for attainment
- school culture, environment and rules, seating arrangements, interventions of other teaching staff, length and number of sessions, timing of sessions (start or end of day, just after break etc)
- planning decisions made by the music leader around how the work is structured e.g. big group, pairs, small self-directing groups, use of the space, location of instruments and resources within the space.

3.3 Ideas and materials

These are the musical material and pedagogical approaches used in the PRUs, which include:

- Working inclusively
- Using music from a range of genres
- Developing a safe environment in which to be musically creative
- Working on student engagement

- Sharing ownership of the session and the pieces as they are constructed
- Working holistically i.e. working towards musical, personal and social outcomes at the same time.

3.4 Focus and energy

This refers to the relationship between energy and focus in the group and how this can affect musical performance and group behaviour. This was a volatile element of the work in PRUs / EBD units, with the potential for excitement to spill over very quickly into destructive behaviour.

3.5 Reflection and reflexivity

This is the ability of the leader (and also at times the group and individuals within the group) to reflect on what occurs in the work and the implications of the work. This can be done in three time frames: before the work has happened, during the work itself and also after the work is over. It also includes the ability to change one's way of working due to learnings from reflective practice.

3.6 Intentions of the leader (Intent)

In community music practice the leader may have a range of intentions for any one session / group / individual. These can vary depending on whether the leader is pursuing musical-artistic, personal and/ or social-cultural outcomes (Lonie, 2013: 4). They can also have a range of long-term intentions based also on these broad areas of musical / social / personal. Intentions for the children from non-musical specialists (PRU staff) may well be different than those of community musicians. Examples of different intentions outlined by senior PRU staff during the study include:

- getting these young people to return successfully to a mainstream school by enabling them to control their behaviour
- helping the young people gain an understanding of the nuances of social behaviour so they succeed in society in the long term
- supporting them to succeed academically.

4. Theoretical Underpinnings

This research study is informed throughout by perspectives from theories of social justice, social inclusion and the role of power in society. In particular the ideas of Antonio Gramsci, Clarissa Hayward, Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault have been important in giving focus to the research. These four theorists reveal

the effects on social identity and a sense of self of a very powerful dominant culture. Their ideas are the underlying theoretical principles which have enabled the researcher to understand the relationship between PRUs and this powerful dominant culture.

The Italian Communist Antonio Gramsci developed the concepts of hegemony and manufacturing consent (Gramsci, 1971). The notion of hegemony relates to the domination in society of a particular set of values and ideas (specifically bourgeois) which are reproduced in cultural life through the media, schools and universities and religious institutions to 'manufacture consent' and legitimacy (Heywood, 1994: 100-101). Gramsci's ideas have influenced both community music programmes and the underlying reasoning behind the practice:

In practical terms, Gramsci's insights about how power is constituted in the realm of ideas and knowledge – expressed through consent rather than force – have inspired the use of explicit strategies to contest hegemonic norms of legitimacy. Gramsci's ideas have influenced popular education practices, including the adult literacy and consciousness-raising methods of Paulo Freire in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970).²

Clarissa Hayward focuses her concerns on the ways power can create social boundaries that both contribute to the creation of action and to the delimiting of action:

Power defines fields of possibility. It facilitates and constrains social action. Its mechanisms consist in laws, rules, norms, customs, social identities, and standards that constrain and enable inter- and intra-subjective action... Freedom enables actors to participate effectively in shaping the boundaries that define for them the field of what is possible. (Hayward, 1998: 12)

Hayward argues that we are all socially conditioned, both those who are perceived as powerless and those thought of as powerful.

Hayward's ideas about our collective social conditioning are well expressed in Pierre Bourdieu's concept of Habitus. Habitus is:

the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways, which then guide them. (Wacquant, 2005: 316, cited in Navarro, 2006: 16)

The social norms created within us come from a social process of which we are unaware 'without any deliberate pursuit of coherence... without any conscious concentration' (Navarro, 2006: 170). Habitus is formed in childhood and has durability through life. It:

embodies a set of active social processes that anchor taken-for-granted assumptions into the realm of social life and, crucially, they are born in the midst of culture. All forms of power require legitimacy and culture is the battleground where this conformity is disputed

² <https://www.powercube.net/other-forms-of-power/gramsci-and-hegemony/>

Accessed 12/12/2016

and eventually materialises amongst agents, thus creating social differences and unequal structures (Navarro, 2006: 19).

Bourdieu recognised the importance of tastes in music for internalising class difference. He said there was no more 'classificatory' practice than concert-going, or playing a 'noble' instrument " (Bourdieu, 1979: 18).

Michel Foucault contends that 'power is everywhere'. It pervades society and is a constant state of change and evolution (Foucault, 1998: 63). For Foucault:

Power is diffuse rather than concentrated, embodied and enacted rather than possessed, discursive rather than purely coercive, and constitutes agents rather than being deployed by them' (Gaventa, 2003: 1)

Foucault relates power to ideas of discipline, conformity and compliance. He researched the disciplinary power in institutions such as prisons, schools and mental hospitals in France in the Eighteenth Century. In these systems force was not required to maintain power, as people learned what was expected and behaved as the institution demanded by developing an internal system of policing. They learned how to discipline themselves:

He has been hugely influential in pointing to the ways that norms can be so embedded as to be beyond our perception – causing us to discipline ourselves without any willful coercion from others.³

This study is essentially around what the dominant culture should and does do with people (children) who do not fit with the norms of how that culture is constructed, particularly norms of behaviour. The researcher's observations in the PRUs that were visited indicated that education in those contexts was designed to make these young people conform, that the variety of their own ways of knowing were rarely valued. Foucault wrote that subjugated knowledge comprised of:

systems of knowledges that have been disqualified as non-conceptual knowledges, as insufficiently elaborated knowledges: naïve knowledges, hierarchically inferior knowledges, knowledges that are below the required level of erudition or scientificity. (Foucault, 1980: 82)

The researcher asserts that community music can be a force that validates the young people's subjugated knowledge and allows them to recognize the power of their own creative voice.

One of the main questions arising from these theorists is: what do you do with people who do not fit easily within the dominant culture? Do you force their conformity or do you find ways to validate their subjugated ways of knowing?

As we saw from the four main theorists, the theoretical approaches referred to focus on how divisions and stratifications exist and are created in society and the

³ <https://www.powercube.net/other-forms-of-power/foucault-power-is-everywhere/> Accessed 12/12/2016

ways people are inculcated into and accept their position in relation to the status quo, how they may unknowingly collude into reinforcing societal divisions and how they are often unaware of ways to change their position and future pathways. This invisible power, the acceptance of the status quo as being normal, could cause children in PRUs to, having being excluded from school as not fit to be included, continue to see themselves as unfit for inclusion and thereby end up leading lives on the margins of society.

5. The researcher's positionality

This section will focus on the key principles that the researcher holds as regards to this work and the researcher's 'positionality' within the study. These positions have developed over more than thirty years working as a community music worker, trainer and evaluator. The researcher acknowledges the potential bias stemming from these positions and has tried to take this into account throughout the study.

The researcher fully acknowledges his own bias in this area as someone seeking to promote a socially just form of music delivery and education and as someone concerned with promoting change in all the aspects of an educational situation, if that change can lead towards more equality of educational opportunity for the participants. This seems particularly apt with children with challenging behaviour in PRUs as their low academic achievements and poor life outcomes (Taylor, 2012) seem to indicate that they are not achieving what they could in life, or indeed what they might with hindsight feel they should have achieved. The researcher believes this indicates the need for more critical reflection on both the contexts and the methods of PRU based education.

At the centre of the researcher's positionality is the recognition that among the strategic goals of community music work there is a commitment to tackle disadvantage, to honour participants' voice and, where appropriate, to promote change within the participants, whether this be musical, personal or social (Mullen and Deane, 2018: forthcoming). Central to the researcher's positionality is the notion that music can affect change in the individual, including children with challenging behaviour. It can motivate them to develop deep engagement and within that engagement they can find their individual creative voice. The affirmation of this voice by the community musician can have a significant effect on the young person's relationship with their own creativity, their future musical development, and their construction of a new and more positive sense of identity.

The researcher recognizes the significant challenges facing PRU staff when working with young people with challenging behaviour and is not dismissive of their work in helping with these children's education. However he understands that the methods and the intentions of community music differ from those of schooling and believes there is a place within children's development for them to create their own music in the way that they want. He sees his role as a worker as supporting that creative journey. Throughout this study and the rest of his work the researcher stands firmly on the side of the marginalized and dispossessed.

6. The researcher's suitability to undertake this research.

As the researcher and community musician at the centre of the research it has been an important part of the journey to understand what has led me towards this kind of work, what are the values I have developed and how have I developed them, what is the worldview I bring to the work and the research, and what is it about my self and my journey that makes me a suitable person to undertake this research and to try and influence music provision with children with challenging behaviour. The next section looks in brief at some of the things that influenced my journey in community music and also some of the positions and values I uphold within the work.

My early years, growing up with an Irish father and English mother on the Irish border during a time of conflict, were marked by strong clashes between notions of anti-imperialism, nationalism, patriarchy and love of family. I found myself at odds with those around me in terms of beliefs and values. Music offered me a place of rescue, a place where I could find ideas that connected with my own 'difference'.

I experienced a crisis in learning between music education at school, from which I was singled out and excluded, and my own learning journey outside school, learning both independently and through working in creative rock groups. My response to this has influenced how, in my adult life, I have worked on affirming people's enthusiasms and supporting them at finding what they are good at themselves rather than working to standards imposed from outside.

Throughout my thirty-two year career as a community musician I have tried to be an empathic mentor, open to the life challenges my students may be going through and I have tried to be unafraid in articulating my feelings of support for them and their situation. This has been a large thread in the work, particularly given the vulnerable individuals I have chosen to work with. As a music mentor, I

regularly find myself 'boundary walking' and taking a chance on saying how I think the situation might feel for a student and how I understand and value the positives in what they bring to a situation, things which they may not see themselves.

In my work I have been drawn to dysfunctional groups containing people who have difficulty fitting in with others, people who have no confidence in themselves, people who could be bullies or bullied. With these people I have tried to create well functioning groups with real opportunities to come forward and be accepted within the group, to feel safe to be, and to find, themselves.

Quite a large part of my work has been internationalizing the field of community music. I have worked in or presented on my work in twenty-five countries and have developed the first MA in community music outside the UK. This has required me to broaden my own understandings of the work.

My reflections on my personal journey lead me to believe that I have experienced and understand social exclusion and the loss of self-esteem that can go with that. I also understand what it is to re-forge your own identity and make a positive contribution to society when your self-confidence is low. Through over thirty years of professional work and over a decade of study, I have come to understand the political, personal and musical issues within community music and have gained experience at all levels of the field. For these reasons I believe I am well placed to undertake this study and to analyse ways forward for the work with children with challenging behaviour.

7. Interdisciplinary knowledge

This study is focused on circumstances that can facilitate the creation of opportunities for change within the child, whether these changes are musical personal or social. Therefore it is logical that the research is interdisciplinary in nature to allow focus on all those aspects of a child's development. It draws on and combines ideas from the emerging field of community music as well as music education, education, sociology and social psychology. This multi-angled approach is appropriate for the complexity of the subject and allows the researcher to look at issues from a variety of points of view. However care needs to be taken, not least in the area of definitions and understandings of terms. Words and concepts may mean very different things across the disciplines and the researcher, coming from a music practice background, may seem naïve in their understandings of and approaches to a range of concepts, for example reflective practice.

The complexity of the society that produces PRUs and the complexity of the life journeys that the young people have would point to a need for a multi-disciplinary approach to unpick the issues and to find solutions to enabling the young people to create a way to achieve on their own terms.

There is an emerging methodology called crystallization (Ellingson, 2009), which sees truth as a crystal which needs a variety of disciplines to access it:

Crystallization combines multiple forms of analysis and multiple genres of representation into a coherent text or series of related texts, building a rich and openly partial account of a phenomenon that problematizes its own construction, highlights researchers' vulnerabilities and positionality, makes claims about socially constructed meanings, and reveals the indeterminacy of knowledge claims even as it makes them. (Ellingson, 2009: 4)

As a community musician working in PRUs the researcher recognizes the vulnerable place they are in, where their own values and positionality, based as they are on the holistic development of the child, can often seem in conflict with the central values and driving forces in PRUs, which frequently value compliance and the adherence to pre-determined structures as the most important aspect of the child's development.

8. Summary

In summary, this introduction has outlined the purpose and rationale behind the research, a summary of the main methods used and an overview of the findings with brief explanations of the six elements. It has also looked at the theories underpinning the research, the researcher's journey and his principles and positionality in starting this research.

The next chapter will go on to look in detail at the research methodology.

Chapter two - Methodology

1. Introduction

In conducting this research it was vital, as a community musician and activist, to get as true a picture as possible of what music sessions in PRUs and EBD units would be like. This meant that first hand participant observation, with children in the classroom, was at least as important to the researcher's understanding of the culture and structure of PRUs as desk based research or other methods.

In addition the observations should, as far as reasonably possible, not be directed towards any prevailing theories of the work but be based on fresh encounters from which hopefully theory would begin to emerge. As stated previously, there has been little documentation of community music approaches in PRUs and the challenges for community music workers working in this area of statutory provision were likely to be substantially different to community music practice in voluntary settings such as youth and community centres.

If the study was to get to grips with real practice issues and be useful to others in the community music field, it was important that, at least in the early stages, the ideas would not be gleaned second hand from others' writings, especially those who might approach it from a researcher's viewpoint, but would be based on events which occurred in the classroom, as experienced and understood by practitioners, events that caused an emotional resonance or raised reflective questions. Much of this document springs from those events and observations.

Current practice experience indicates that the advent of the *National Plan for Music Education (NAPME)*(DfE, 2011) has created a burgeoning interest in music work in PRUs and with children with BESD (behavioural, emotional and social difficulties). To enable the study to be as thorough and comprehensive as possible the researcher:

- Led and/or observed fifty-nine music sessions with children in PRUs and EBD units across England to get a very broad range of experiences and contexts
- Spread these out over a long period (two years) to allow for reflection and change over that time
- Triangulated the findings with semi-structured interviews and focus groups with experienced professionals – those who would have practice knowledge at an advanced level. These interviews were with people with

different roles and at different levels, such as head of school, senior teacher, community musician, music teacher, teaching assistant, to get as wide a picture of PRU life as possible

- In addition, did a comprehensive literature review, dividing this into sub-topics such as community music, structure, childhood studies etc., in order to, again, see the subject of music work with children in PRUs from as many angles as possible.

1.1 Overview of approach and method

The methodology uses a combination of action research and grounded theory. Action research is very appropriate for a practicing community musician as it shows how practice evolves from experience and reflection. Combining this with grounded theory allows the researcher to extract information from the research that can be used to inform and train other community musicians.

2. Action Research

2.1 What is action research?

The term action research was coined by Kurt Lewin (Lewin, 1946) to describe work that did not separate the investigation from the action needed to solve the problem (McFarland & Stansell, 1993: 14), so the research is rooted within the context of the issues it investigates. Lewin used a cyclical approach involving a 'non-linear pattern of planning, acting, observing, and reflecting on the changes in social situations' (Noffke & Stevenson, 1995: 2).

2.2 Why is it appropriate to this research?

Action research is important to this piece of work for the following reasons:

- The research is based around educational / arts delivery and action research is often designed to help improve this (Kemmis & McTaggart, 1988).
- The work is related to the theory and practice of community music. It is a characteristic of community music to date that theory derives directly from practice.
- Johnson (1995) highlights personal and professional growth as a core reason for using action research. The researcher's own professional growth was at the centre of his initial reasons for undertaking the research.

3. Grounded Theory

3.1 What is grounded theory?

Grounded theory is a methodology originally developed by two sociologists, Barney Glasser and Anselm Strauss. It involves 'theory derived from data, systematically gathered and analyzed through the research process' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 12). In this methodology the researcher 'begins with an area of study and allows the theory to emerge from the data' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 12) as opposed to starting with an initial theory in mind.

3.2 Why is it appropriate to this research?

Using a grounded theory methodology forced the researcher to freshly approach group learning contexts and to put away ideas around community music practice constructed over a lifetime in the field. This was particularly relevant to this area of inquiry as the work sits between the formal and non-formal spheres of education and is somewhat uneasy with both. The community music field has been examining its relationship with the formal sector over the past few years and these enquiries are best served by open-minded approaches that allow for new possibilities. A grounded theory approach also helps address what could be a potential weakness within the action research, the likelihood of it being confined to a specific context, by developing a theory that may be used across a range of contexts.

4. Data gathering tools

The researcher employed an action research approach, observing and critically reflecting on fifty-nine music sessions, which they either ran, or in the case of six sessions, observed other community musicians running, over a two-year period in sixteen Pupil Referral (PRU) and Emotional and Behavioral Difficulty (EBD) units.

A list of the type of institutions, the number of visits, the year groups, pupil numbers and gender is presented in the table below:

Table 1 - PRUs / EBD Units visited during research

Type of institution	Number of visits	Year group or Key Stage	Pupil numbers	Gender
City based PRU in North East England	1	Yr 5	9	8 boys 1 girl
London based EBD unit	3 observations	KS2	10	All boys
London based primary PRU	3 observations	KS2	5	All boys
PRU in S.E. England	3	KS2	6	All boys
Rural PRU in N.E England	1	Yr 5	10	All boys
Rural PRU in East Anglia	1	Yrs 4/5/6/	8 (all year groups in one group)	All boys
Rural PRU in East Anglia	1	Staff only	0	Girls
City based PRU in N.E. England	1	KS2	6 (3x2)	5 boys 1 girl
Urban PRU in N.E. England	1	KS2	6	All boys
Urban PRU north of London	5 total	KS2	7 (session 1)	All boys
Urban PRU north of London	5 total	KS1	7 (sessions 2/3/4/5)	6 boys 1 girl
Urban PRU north of London	5 total	Yrs 3 and 4	9	7 boys 2 girls
Village PRU east of London	1	Yr 6	1	Boy
Rural PRU in East Anglia	1	KS2	4 children: 8 to 10 years	3 boys, 1 girl
Special school (EBD) in town north of London	8 (different classes each time)	KS1+KS2	6 class groups with 8 to 11 in each class	Mixed gender
Secondary EBD Unit London	8	Yr 8	8 boys	All boys
Secondary PRU London	11 sessions total – 6 x group sessions +5 half days of 1 to 1 music mentoring	Yr 7 / 8 / 9	9 boys total – average 8 boys each session	All boys
Total - 16 PRUs/EBD units	59 sessions		155 children	

4.1 Variety and breadth

As can be seen from the table the researcher ran sessions and observed sessions in a wide variety of different settings. This varied from small prefab buildings with no library or play resources, both in cities and country towns, through to large well-resourced facilities in both rural areas and large towns. (E.g. Oxford).

The researcher encountered a range of different staff approaches, from a number of very tightly controlled disciplinarian settings through more relaxed,

approaches, to some schools that were in chaos when visited. In classes some staff, indeed most, were highly supportive, while some were clearly concerned about the potential for chaos that music making and especially creative music making brought with it.

Much of the action research (session delivery and observation) was facilitated by the researcher's role as an ambassador for Sing Up, the national primary age singing programme. This meant that a lot of the early work was with primary age children. This was somewhat balanced out later with two residencies, one for one term in a secondary PRU and one over two terms in a secondary EBD unit. Both residencies involved working with Key Stage Three children.

Twenty- six sessions out of the fifty - nine were with Key Stage Two students only, nineteen sessions were with Key Stage Three students, five sessions were with Key Stage One students only (there are significantly less students from this age range who have been excluded from school and placed in PRUs) and eight were with groups from both Key Stage One and Key Stage Two. In addition, on one visit the researcher saw no children at all. It was not possible to find groups of children to work with through music at Key Stage Four who were excluded from mainstream school for behaviour reasons.

4.2 Strengths and Limitations

From a methodological point of view, working in and observing children in so many different settings, both urban and rural, and at different ages, meant the researcher got a varied sense of what was happening across a range of PRUs. In one sense it was a limitation that the research was so widely spread. The researcher got a broad overview of what was happening but only had the opportunity in a few PRUs to forge deeper relationships with the children and institution. While many current community music projects in PRUs are limited to one or two terms, some of the participant observations in this study ranged from just one to four sessions of contact time. To counterbalance this, the researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with staff that had been in situ with the same institution for years at a time. In addition, two of the three focus groups were with musicians who had spent years working in a range of PRUs and their responses helped to clarify which observations were more of a one off nature and which were part of repeating patterns, whether this be with students, staff or institutional structure. The research was also across a wide range of institutions, sixteen in all, but also had the depth of consulting with staff with years of

experience within one location. The most significant learning in this regard for this research is the very big difference between children at Key Stage Two and Key Stage Three in terms of their needs for autonomy in the music sessions.

The researcher recorded what happened in a reflective journal, which had several forms. To an extent this was the heart of the research, presenting a range of similar client groups and issues in constantly changing and challenging situations. Initially the researcher merely recorded what had happened and their response to what had happened. As he became more comfortable with the groups and the situations, he found his practice changing, and started to record the particular educational strategies employed, and the reasoning behind them. The third version of the reflective journal began at roughly the same time as the first interviews (see below), when it gradually became clear that a number of elements were clearly decisive in the success or failure of a session and that these elements were the same for each session although any one might be more important on any particular day.

The reflective journal had strengths in that it captured, close to the events recorded, a range of feelings that were authentic and uncensored. It was easy to return to it and see the development of ideas over time and, as a document with no purpose outside the research, it was not written to impress external readers such as managers or funders, and so it gave a truer account of feelings, events, pedagogic approaches and challenges than a more formal document such as a report. The researcher's thirty years experience within the field of community music was an advantage in terms of the understanding of context, intent, and methods that he brought to the subject area.

Only six of the fifty-nine sessions were run by leaders other than the researcher and this could be seen as a limitation. To counterbalance this and get a sense of overall practice in this sub-field, the researcher ran three focus groups with experienced community music practitioners. These focus groups went into detail on both practice specifics and the reasons behind each practitioner's approach and choices.

The musicians interviewed had not spoken with anyone in a group before about their experiences in PRUs. The focus groups made for dynamic interchange, sparking inspiration and the building on of other's ideas. They were formed of groups who came from a similar set of starting values and beliefs about music in PRUs. They were all freelance professional community musicians and their views,

while similar to each other, were different to the range of thought expressed in the one-to-one interviews, which included non- music specialists.

Two of the focus groups were conducted soon after the researcher had finished the action research part of the work, while a third occurred early in 2015, well over a year after that phase had completed. This final group came at a time when much of the research had been analysed and written up and was very valuable in acting as affirmation for the previous findings. This was particularly true of the findings on organizing structures and in particular around the differences in intention and approach between community musicians and many PRU staff around behaviour management.

The researcher conducted a number of semi-structured interviews with people working in these settings, senior staff, teachers, music specialist teachers and community musicians. The researcher had a choice between structured, unstructured and semi-structured interviews (Gubrium and Holstein, 2001), and chose semi-structured because it was important to allow professionals to speak freely about their experiences and to allow data to emerge naturally without being forced. Having back-up questions covered eventualities such as interviewees'/ interviewer's nerves, neither of which ever actually occurred. These interviews collected data from people across a range of perspectives and with different agendas, from professional community musicians, who were proselytizers for the power of music to promote personal change, to PRU teaching staff, who were at times skeptical of the role of outside artists working within their schools.

After most of the work on the ground was complete and sufficient data had been collected for a grounded theory approach, the researcher started a literature review focusing initially on community music and then broadening to look at each of the six elements in turn. This study has broadened the researcher's base of knowledge, although at time of writing there is quite little written about children with behavioural difficulties and music. There is quite a bit around the broader category of music work with children in challenging circumstances and this has been included as relevant to the research. The literature review has highlighted a number of issues including issues around what are our intentions, as concerned professionals, when working with vulnerable, often traumatised children.

5. Ethical considerations

Two areas of the work were prominent in terms of ethical considerations. Firstly, issues of child protection during the participant observations, in particular when the researcher was also acting as a music leader in PRUs and EBD units. Secondly the need for anonymity for both interviewees and also the young people observed in PRU and EBD settings.

In terms of child protection, the researcher had, at the time of the participant observations, an up to date Criminal Records Bureau check. He also followed the procedure regarding child safeguarding as laid down in each PRU or EBD unit. In one PRU the researcher did one to one work with students on computer. Before doing this he informed staff members that he was doing this work and left the door open so that they could have a clear line of view. This was in line with procedures established in the school. In all other situations the researcher was alongside a member of the school staff.

As regards anonymity, all PRU and EBD venues were anonymised, with only London being identified as a specific location for a PRU. In addition all names were anonymised, with people identified either by job title (PRU teacher, community musician etc.) or by a single or sometimes two letters. All interviewees gave written consent for quotations to be used in this study.

An issue in terms of ethics that required much consideration was how to proceed during the participant observations, especially in relation to the young person's consent. All the adults involved gave written consent and allowed for themselves to be quoted if anonymised. However on speaking with the group of schools it was clear that to obtain written consent from parents and carers of individual children would not be feasible. The researcher thought about this and weighed carefully the pros and cons of going forward. The researcher operated on the basis of first do no harm and went forward while taking on two strategies 1) exercising great care in anonymisation so that children were not exposed or vulnerable after the event 2) normalizing the participant observations so that they were always identical in experience to what would happen with the children if there was no research study. This meant they were not vulnerable during the event.

Working closely with contacts in the schools the researcher found the following ways forward:

- Not only would all students be fully anonymised but the schools would be anonymised also, with towns outside London being called ‘a town in the North East’ etc. This meant that it would be impossible to identify any of the children with the activities described in the research.
- While what the students did as musical contributions would be reported, no speech or interviews with the students would be reported.⁴
- Descriptions of individual children were avoided throughout.

In addition the researcher decided that no participant observation sessions would be set up only for the purposes of the research. All sessions were work that was set up independently of the study (mostly by Sing Up) and run as a normal community music session. The researcher’s notes were all taken afterwards as part of a reflective practice journal, as would be done for any professional community music project in PRUs.

6. Phases of the reflection spiral

Essentially, the action research has taken the researcher through three iterations. The first was as a community musician and trainer. This is a field that is concerned with change and transformation. Increasingly it uses reflective practice as part of its core operating system. As part of the researcher’s ongoing professional progress he became interested in how research could build a case for change, and how music could be a strategic intervention to transform both individuals and groups.

The second phase of the spiral was doing the work in PRUs and collecting all the data. This was very much about acclimatizing to the particular (and individually different) context of PRUs and working through trial and error and then trial and success. Within this phase some important concerns were:

- How do you approach leadership with young people who have had a poor relationship with adults as leaders?
- What do you allow in terms of young people’s creative expression, tempered with the need for continuity and order?
- What structures do you create to enable improvement?

The third phase of the spiral was where the researcher began to get some distance from the practice. He was able to refine his practice through working with the journal, the feedback sessions with staff and the input from the

⁴ The exception to this was one secondary PRU in London where the head of school was able to arrange consents for the researcher to interview the children.

interviews and focus groups, which were a feature of this stage. In addition, the researcher conducted a literature review, which broadened the researcher's understanding of both the field of community music and also the specifics of education of children with challenging behaviour. This stage of the spiral allowed for reflection, analysis and incorporating changes to practice. The thesis is a reflection on this refined practice.

In summary, this study combined action research with grounded theory. It involved a variety of different data collection methods. The study was broad ranging, building out from participant observation to literature review. The next chapter is a detailed look at community music, in both theory and practice and, in particular, how it has evolved as a practice in England.

Chapter Three – Community music

1. Introduction

This chapter will be a comprehensive look at understandings of community music, factors and individuals affecting its development, and what it is evolving into in twenty first century UK based practice. As the study is about research into community music practice in PRUs, and, as shall be seen, as community music is a complex and somewhat contested concept, this chapter goes in depth into what community music is, what binds it together, the ideas and practices of some of the people who influenced the field and also contemporary ideas on the theory of community music. The researcher took this level of depth as appropriate, not least because community music is a non-formal community based practice that, in PRUs, is working within, and adapting to, the parameters and constraints, of formal and statutory provision. It is useful to know what the practice is and why it can be effective in the context of PRUs.

2. Understandings of community music

2.1 What is understood by the term ‘community music’?

Anyone wishing to understand community music, its history and influence, is immediately faced with two difficulties – lack of agreed definition and differing regional understandings of the term community music.

2.2 Lack of definition

Firstly there is the lack of a single, coherent, universally agreed definition of community music (Veblen, 2010a: 51). Indeed a number of leaders in the field have made efforts and exhortations to avoid definition altogether. Elliott and Veblen note the complex nature of community music and are scathing of ‘easy’ definitions when they write ‘Requests to reduce complex phenomena like community music to simple descriptions are as absurd as they are common’ (Veblen and Elliott, 2000). Elliott, Higgins & Veblen (2008: 3) suggest ‘community music is a complex, multidimensional, and continuously evolving human endeavour’ which supports the idea that a single definition might be problematic.

Without such a definition, however, it is difficult to be clear what community music is and, consequently, it is possible to impose understandings on community music that may not align with accepted practice. The second 2014 edition of Sounding Board, the community music magazine, led its front page with the

headline 'Community music: Incoherent, ill defined' (Sound Sense, 2014). Ben Higham's article inside stated that:

Longstanding resistance to definition and articulation appeared to play into the current lack of understanding – from both within community music practice and without – of the processes and mechanisms underpinning much community music activity. (Higham, 2014: 11)

The lack of an agreed definition, while perhaps understandable in the light of an evolving practice, not only makes it difficult to identify the field but also to understand its boundaries, the points where it crosses over into something else such as music therapy or music education. Veblen acknowledges that music work is changing and that community music, as a fluid, open and evolving concept, may contribute to an even greater blurring of boundaries within music workers' roles:

Furthermore, in the century to come, it may well be that the roles of CM worker, music educator, and music therapist will begin to merge in significant ways. (Veblen, 2010b: 101)

This visioning of a more integrated and fluid role for music workers may appeal to community music workers who operate 'between the cracks' and who find themselves in situations that call for both pedagogic and therapeutic skills. However, as the roles Veblen refers to have not yet merged, there is a danger that community music may in fact disappear between the cracks it currently operates in. The advent of more creative and inclusive approaches in music education e.g. *The National Plan for Music Education* (DfE, 2011), and the development of community music therapy as a sub-field of music therapy (Ansdell, 2002), may leave community music as only one of a number of fields employing those attributes which have till now made it distinctive.

Silverman notes both the difficulties in understandings and also the weight that the links with music education carry among many in the community music field. She also recognizes the fine line between an approximation of what community music entails and what it is in practice (note my italics):

While there is no nationally or globally agreed upon definition, many writers conceptualize community music as any type of 'informal' music teaching and learning that takes place outside the walls of public schools, conservatories and universities, and/or partnerships between formal institutions and music programs offered in community settings. *While somewhat accurate, many community music scholars and practitioners find these notions inadequate.* (Silverman, 2009: 182)

The researcher understands the arguments that have taken place within the community music field about the need for definition and how the inability for community music to have as yet one universal definition is problematic for the field and symptomatic of problems within the field (Kertz-Welzel, 2016). He also understands the reasons why others (Elliot et al, 2008) have argued against such a

definition. The field is evolving quite rapidly in a number of different countries and current definitions could soon be outdated. In addition, understandings of the term differ from country to country thus ensuring that any one definition is likely to be contested.

Attending a conference in Tokyo, the researcher was impressed by how Huib Schippers conceptualised community music in terms of organic practices, interventionist practices and institutionalised practices (Schippers, 2015). The researcher, while acknowledging that the editors of the forthcoming Oxford Handbook of Community Music:

have decided to leave the definitional discussion open, and not to trap the field down in constructs and words that become fixed and uncritically used and simplified over time' (Bartleet and Higgins, 2018: forthcoming)

offers the following very tentative definition of the field:

Community music is a way of making music that can be seen as having two independent but at times over-lapping sub-branches, organic community music and interventionist community music.

Organic community music is the music made by people in communities to form, sustain and develop their community, their sense of community and/or their music making within that community.

Interventionist community music occurs when an individual community musician or an organization work with a community or group of communities or forms a community to work with them in order to help the individuals and the group develop musically and/or socially and/or personally. Here the leader will strive to work inclusively with the whole group and holistically with the individuals in the group. In addition the mechanisms by which the group is selected for the work or by which people can access the group are based on a broad sense of social justice.

An alternative definition that looks only at what has formerly been called the interventionist model, i.e. community music as it is practiced and understood in the UK, could be:

Community music work is a relational encounter through music that prioritises creative exploration and shared ownership.

In summary, at time of writing community music has no internationally agreed definition. While this keeps the concept fluid, it causes problems of understanding both within and beyond the field.

2.3 Geographical understandings of community music

The second difficulty facing anyone trying to understand community music, is that there are very different understandings of what community music is and does depending on which part of the world one is in (Elliott, Higgins and Veblen, 2008). Veblen (2002) compares community music in 5 different countries, Ireland, UK, Philippines, Australia and the UK and finds different understandings in each. Bartleet and Schippers identify nine domains of community music as they pertain to Australia, but do they apply in other countries? While domain terms such as 'relationship to place' may well be universal in terms of community music worldwide, other domains that they identify such as 'visibility/pr (public relations)' or 'links to school' seem less likely to be universal applications (Bartleet and Schippers, 2013: 460).

Tiernan emphasizes that while values may be held in common in different countries, the difference in how community music has developed and its relation to local contexts has led to different outcomes:

Community music in the Republic of Ireland, although it shares the sentiments of community music as suggested by Sound Sense, has a different history to that of the UK. Rather than community musicians taking "their music-making outside formal institutes", as Lee Higgins has described, in Ireland it could be said that community music is linked to community education. (Tiernan, 2009: 10)

In summary, community music means different things in different regions of the world and this makes it difficult to find global consensus about issues within the field.

3. Community music in UK practice

3.1 Community music as an intervention

The model of community music that has developed in the UK has had a significant impact on conceptualizations of global community music over the last thirty years. Higham and Mackay state that, 'The UK has been a pivotal national player within the development of community music practice' (Higham and Mackay, 2011: 2). While one could quibble about the phrasing, it cannot be denied that the practices that have become commonplace within the UK have influenced the debate around community music globally, and, the trace of their values and philosophy is found in position statements on community music from international scholars and practitioners. The essence of the UK derived model is captured through Lee Higgins' statement:

As a practice, community music should be understood as a group of practitioners actively

committed to encouraging people's music making and doing. From my perspective, community music is a strategic intervention. (Higgins, 2007: 77)

Veblen goes on to write:

CM (community music) efforts in the UK emphasize social intervention, open access, and individual needs, among other goals. (Veblen, 2010a: 55)

This notion (if not the actual phrase) of community music as an 'intervention' is accepted throughout the UK, and has, in some senses, dominated international debate on this emerging field. This model, which shares the values of the community arts movement of the sixties and seventies, has, in the UK, been tied to a growth in funding, programmes, and support structures.

In the next section we will look at some of the statements, mostly from scholars and researchers, who have tried to identify the attributes of community music. I will argue that a number of these are filtered through the UK derived 'interventionist' understanding.

In summary, community music in the UK can be called an 'interventionist model' and has goals that emphasize social intervention.

4. Attitudes and principles of community music

While an internationally agreed definition of community music has remained elusive, what has developed, over the last three decades, are published statements of attributes and principles. While these have originated both in the UK and internationally, many seem to be filtered through the values of the interventionist approach, i.e. implicit within them is the notion of community musicians actively encouraging people's music making and doing. In practice this means that a UK derived notion of community music is to some extent dominating the scholarship.

Veblen acknowledges that 'Community music is always shaped and defined by particular social settings' (Veblen, 2010a: 52). She recognizes the plurality of community music practice and its different functions in different contexts worldwide:

All genres and diversities of music may be involved and they may be part of cultural and arts events, linked with celebrations, ceremonies, rituals, play, education, social uplift, or life passages. (Veblen, 2010a: 52)

She then says:

CM (community music) programmes characteristically emphasize lifelong learning and access for all. There is a strong understanding in many programmes that the social and personal well being of all participants is as important as their musical learning (if not more important). CM leaders frequently emphasize the power of music to bring people together, and to nurture both individual and collective identity. (Veblen, 2010a: 52)

These attributes are true of programmes influenced by the UK interventionist model. However, by using the example of the International Society for Music Education's Commission for Community Music Activity's (ISME CMA)⁵ seminar proceedings of 2010, it is easy to pick a range of papers that do not fit at all into this conceptualization of community music. Instead, there are articles on wind bandleaders in Brazil, Capoeira in Angola and Japanese traditional music in schools, all relevant to a broader understanding of community musics but all lacking the core characteristics that Veblen mentions (Coffman (ed.), 2010).

Koopman states that 'three central characteristics can be identified: collaborative music making, community development and personal growth' (Koopman, 2007: 153). Again, while the first of these may be a universal, community development and personal growth as intended outcomes through music, (if that is what Koopman meant), have grown through the interventionist model and are hard to apply as worldwide universals.

Another document that attempts to codify community music, the ISME CMA vision statement, again echoes the concept of community music as an intervention:

We believe that everyone has the right and ability to make, create, and enjoy their own music. We believe that active music making should be encouraged and supported at all ages and at all levels of society. (ISME CMA, 2006)

This vision statement suggests that 'active music making should be encouraged and supported etc'. Implicit within this is the idea that someone or some organization or institution must take it upon themselves to do this encouraging or supporting. In other words some form of intervention is required in order for music to be fully accessible as an activity for all.

Olseng (1990: 57) states that:

Community music is characterized by the following principles: decentralisation, accessibility, equal opportunity, and active participation in music making. These principles are social and political ones, and there can be no doubt that community music activity is more than a purely musical one.

Yet again the resonance here is with the interventionist model. In particular, the principle of equality of opportunity implies a way of making music that is consciously constructed and has not evolved organically from within communities.

⁵ The International Society for Music Education's Commission on Community Music Activity – a global group that meets every two years.

The researcher's own understanding, informed by practice wisdom, is that community music in the UK is a form of active music making, led by musicians committed to widening access, wary of notions of musical superiority and talent, interested in redressing certain societal imbalances and interested in the voice of the collective and of the individual within that collective.

In summary, community music has no globally agreed definition but instead a number of statements of characteristics. Many of these are debated within the field and some of the characteristics that are highlighted in research may be, at best, only 'somewhat accurate'. In the next section I shall look at how community music was initially a practice in opposition to the politics of the time.

4.1 A movement in opposition

The UK based 'interventionist' (Higgins, 2012) form of community music, with allegiances to the new left, roots in the radical community arts movement of the 1960's and 1970's, and an affinity with the punk rock movement (Higgins, 2012), was initially both a political movement and a movement defined by its opposition to the status quo:

As a form of activism located within the politics of socialism, community music initially resisted formalized music education and can be seen as a protest against the dominant culture's articulation of music's nature and purpose. (Higgins, 2012: 86)

Many of England's first community musicians came through the punk rock movement and had already an oppositional attitude to the dominating culture and politics of the day:

Punk rock's attitude overtly gave community musicians the oppositional stance rooted within its ideological beginnings and provided the political imperative that might have been lost through the association with music education generally. As one of the chief instigators in the creation of the music cooperative, punk and community music were brought together in a short-lived ideological alliance. (Higgins, 2012: 88)

Community music activists in the UK were clear they were not working to support the aims of mainstream music education. However as Dave Price outlines below, this oppositional stance has faded over the years:

In 1989, community music often defined itself in oppositional terms. We didn't quite know what we were, but we were sure that we were not formalized education, nor were we anything to do with the dominant ideology. Indeed some of us (somewhat grandiosely, it must be admitted) saw ourselves as acting in open defiance of the Thatcher administration.... How things have changed.... It is a remarkable transformation, which has come about for a number of reasons, but perhaps the most significant being the willingness of the 1997-elected Labour Government to establish a dialogue with artists, educators and social scientists in addressing ... 'social exclusion'. (Price, 2002 in Moser and MacKay, 2005: 67)

Perhaps another reason why community music made, over time, an accommodation with mainstream music education, was the ISME CMA and its

place as a commission situated within the larger field of music education. This mixing of education academics, researchers and community musicians tended to focus on similarities between the two fields or what community music practices could add to formal education⁶.

The early oppositional stance contributed to a sense of suspicion between the two fields of community music and formal music education. Practice wisdom suggests that a number of threads from the early years, such as suspicion of qualifications and regulation, and an aversion to theory, as just two examples, still retain footholds within UK community music to this day.

Higham notes that there have been changes over time within the field, in a sense a deradicalising of the intent:

Early community music identity in the United Kingdom at least often positioned itself outside mainstream music education – this was part of its radical agenda. As Christopher Small articulated it in 1977, ‘the purpose is to replace the education system with an educational community’ ([1977] 1996: 221). There has been some research about its negotiated shift in identity (Small [1977] 1996; Mullen 2002; McKay 2005b; Elliott 2007; Higgins 2012), as well as about its pedagogic practices in the context of ‘non-formal’ and ‘informal’ education and music-making (Rogers 2005; Kors et al. 2007; Renshaw 2005; Bartleet et al. 2008; Elliott 2009). Its position within the system of music education now seems more secure and less critical. (Higham and MacKay, 2011: 8)

As community music practice in England becomes increasingly harder to disentangle from mainstream music education, challenges remain as to which aspects of its radical agenda can (or should) still survive, as the musicians embrace both the classroom and the partnership working associated with the newly formed music hubs. Perhaps one of the battlegrounds is the area of power within the music workshop and what it is used for:

Many punk and community musicians understood that music was inscribed within the panoply of power; its primary function was not to be sought in aesthetics, but in the effectiveness of social participation. (Higgins, 2012: 50)

Today community music organisations increasingly find themselves in partnership with more formal music education organisations working towards the government policy vision of a high quality music education for all children (DfE, 2011). This places these community music organizations in a position of having to justify their own values and ideologies and indeed of trying to influence the values, ideologies and practices of other music education organizations towards implementing a government policy that, in its commitment to inclusivity at least, is now a fit with community music practice:

⁶ The ISME CMA seminars in 1996, 2002 and 2006 all featured discussions on the relationship between community music and formal music education. The researcher was an active participant in all those (unrecorded) discussions.

Community music exerts a political force in the following two ways: (1) on a micro level, the relational action between individuals (music facilitator and participants) within the workshop environment, and (2) on a macro level, music organizations and institutions that engage people in music making, teaching, and learning. (Higgins, 2012: 167)

One element, that runs as a strand through community music history, which seems to be ratified by today's government policy is the idea that everyone has the right to a good music education and that it is no longer merely for the talented few (DfE, 2011).

Like those working in community arts and community cultural development, community musicians are radically opposed to the notion that some humans are born musically talented, and are therefore entitled to be nurtured toward a life in music, and some humans are not, consigned to a life of musical consumerism and tokenistic parts in the school choir, orchestra or band. Believing instead in coauthorship, collaborative problem solving, and in the creative potential of all sections of the community, those who work in, and advocate for, community music attempt to transform attitudes, behaviours and values toward music making through their practice. (Higgins, 2012: 168)

For contemporary community musicians working in PRUs, one challenge is that of understanding to what extent their aims and intentions are congruent with those of the PRU or to what extent they find themselves in opposition. This challenge is made more complex by both the 'definitional uncertainty' of community music, the vagueness of its characteristics and the shift of the 'movement', over time, from being an oppositional movement to one that is nurtured by, and makes accommodation with, government policy and funding. In addition, the ineffectiveness of the PRUs themselves in achieving positive outcomes for young people (Taylor, 2012) adds weight to the question of whether community musicians should support or subvert the intentions and approaches currently utilized within PRUs.

In summary, over time community music has moved from being very much a movement in opposition to now being an accepted part of the music education sector in its broadest sense. This change in values may have contributed to a lack of clarity around what community music actually is and the principles contained within it.

5. Key figures in community music practice

Important to the development of current community music practice was the work, in the nineteen sixties and seventies, of a group of radical music educators including Murray Schafer, June Boyce Tillman, George Odam and John Paynter who, in different ways, attacked the narrative thread of what had been music education in schools for most of the twentieth century. Advocating workshop based approaches and the composition of new material by children working

collectively in classrooms, this group put markers down not only for a range of specific musical practices in community music but also for a pedagogy that would be reflective, based on raising the participants capacity for developing their own musical judgment.

The composer and educator Cornelius Cardew was another groundbreaking figure in the sixties and seventies. His work with the Scratch Orchestra helped blur the line between so-called musicians and non-musicians and initiated ideas around musical democracy that are commonplace in today's community music practice.

In addition, avant-garde jazz musician John Stevens was inspired by free jazz thinking to reevaluate and reconceptualize his relationship both with the audience and with broader understandings of music education. In the following sections I will look at the influence of Schafer, Cardew and Stevens on what became community music practice.

5.1 Murray Schafer

Among Canadian avant-garde composer and music educator Murray Schafer's 'Maxims for educators' were the following:

In education, failures are more important than successes. There is nothing so dismal as a success story.
There are no more teachers. There is just a community of learners.
Do not design a philosophy of education for others. Design one for yourself. A few others may wish to share it with you.
On the contrary a class should be an hour of a thousand discoveries. For this to happen, the teacher and the student should first discover one another. (Schafer, 1975: 2)

These points have now become givens in UK based community music work, whether the practitioners know of Schafer or not.

Schafer's experiments on collective composing with school students led him to evolve a new way of thinking about the roles and the interactions of teacher and student. These changes were dictated by the act of making music together, allowing everybody creative freedom. In the next passage we can see how Schafer clearly understood how the role adopted by the teacher is completely contingent on the degree to which the participants take creative ownership. Interaction between teacher and student can no longer be a fixed relationship, with the teacher always omniscient and dominant, but is about the student's journey into an unknown future:

Education could become news and prophecy; it need not be limited to lighting up the tribal history. I do not mean that we should merely shovel music by contemporary masters into the classroom. Rather, I am concerned that young people should make their own music, following whatever inclinations seem to them right. For this to happen the teacher has to be

very circumspect about when and how he interferes. The hardest thing the teacher may have to learn is to keep quiet and let the class struggle - especially when he thinks he knows the right answer. (Schafer, 1975: 21)

The next passage illustrates more deeply Schafer's understanding of the need in a creative society for the teacher's role to change. It provides a sketch towards the community music facilitator. Schafer goes on to list examples of creative repertoire that demand and justify this fundamental change in leadership role. Finally in the last two sentences he lays the groundwork for the ISME CMA statement 'we believe everyone has the right and ability to make and create their own musics' (ISME, 2006). By making new music, which is accessible in concept and execution to anyone with 'normal' cognitive functioning, Schafer set the scene for countless improvisations and experiments by learners with limited resources and limited technical capabilities. In other words by breaking down the conventions of musical language and looking to an unknown future language built by the participants themselves, Schafer demolished traditional concepts of what is seen as aesthetically superior and what music is of high quality:

It is my very strong feeling that in the future we might expect to experience a withering of the teacher's role as an authority-figure and focal point in the class. In truly creative work of any kind there are no known answers and there is no examinable information as such. After providing some initial questions (not answers), the teacher places himself in the hands of the class and together they work through problems.

I have given explicit accounts elsewhere of my own experiments along these lines. It is enough to mention here that by making 'music' with sheets of paper, by inventing our own private onomatopoeic language, by collecting sounds at home and in the streets, by improvising in small groups, and by doing all the other things we did, we did nothing that anyone couldn't do once ears had been opened. This was the exclusive skills demanded. (Schafer, 1975: 25-26).

Another contribution by Schafer to the future development of community music was his recognition that music education could benefit greatly from learnings from other disciplines. This next passage highlights the changes knowledge of creative groupwork can make to a session. This has become a strong part of community music practice and these dynamic interactions (to be outlined in the future chapter on reflection and reflexivity) are essential to any community music session.

Sometimes techniques from other disciplines can be usefully employed in music education. From social psychology we can learn a good deal about group dynamics. The problem here is to measure the assignment given with the appropriate number of people likely to realize its completion. I have discovered that for the kinds of heuristic problems I like to set, groups of seven to nine persons are optimum. This allows for free discussion, and it also permits a leader or conductor to cue and co-ordinate the entire group in an improvisation or exercise. I never appoint leaders but let them arise naturally from the ranks. The trick is to devise varying assignments for the groups, so that at one time or another each member will discover naturally that he or she possesses the requisite skill to lead the group. (Schafer, 1975: 26)

Schafer was also practically influential in community music through his development in the 1960s of the idea of Soundscapes, which are now a commonly used tool for community musicians.

In summary, Murray Schafer laid the groundwork for many of the fundamental practices of contemporary community music. Among these were the change in the teacher's role towards a more facilitatory presence and also the importance of the study of group dynamics for community musicians.

5.2 Cornelius Cardew

As community music is a plural practice, it is unsurprising that its influencing voices come from and find inspiration in, different musical genres. One of the early community music pioneers, Cornelius Cardew, found conceptual freedom and a real challenge to the notion of the musician and audience being separate in the works of twentieth century contemporary classical composer John Cage:

Most important was the social implication of Cage's work — the idea that we are all musical, that 'anybody can play it'. All this, at least, in theory. (Eley , 1974: 10)

A key and somewhat iconoclastic figure within the UK avant-garde and a forerunner in many ways of aspects of community music practice, Cardew was one of the classical elite, with direct links to both Stockhausen and Cage.

In my early career as a bourgeois composer I had been part of the 'school of Stockhausen' from about 1956-60, working as Stockhausen's assistant and collaborating with him on a giant choral and orchestral work. From 1958-68 I was also part of the 'school of Cage' and throughout the sixties I had energetically propagated, through broadcasts, concerts and articles in the press, the work of both composers. (Cardew, 1974: 33)

Cardew was a highly politicised composer who believed that not only the sound of the compositions should be political but also the nature of the ensembles that played them and the processes they developed. This led him towards what must be called a real democratisation of process, embodied within the ensemble he formed, the Scratch Orchestra. This democratisation of process, and the inevitable changes in leadership that led from this, have strong resonances with how community music practices have developed over the years.

Cardew's Scratch Orchestra began through the Experimental Music Class at Morley College run by Cornelius Cardew and attended by a number of young composers. This orchestra, operating in the late 1960's, consisted of both musicians and so-called non- musicians, all of whom had an equal say in what the orchestra did. This paved the way for both the participant ownership of contemporary community music, and also for its emphasis on complete accessibility – everyone having the right to make and create music.

The nucleus of Morley College composers were dissatisfied with 'established, serious music'; in other words, they were dissatisfied with the elitism of 'serious' music and its strong class image and with the repression of working musicians into the role of slavish hacks churning out the stock repertoire of concert hall and opera house. (Eley, 1974: 10)

From the start the Scratch Orchestra was an ensemble of intent, much more concerned with the why and the how of the music (both inextricably linked in this case), than with the what (the sound) of the music. Cardew's understanding of both the composer and the orchestra in terms of function directly challenged the historical models he had been inculcated into:

The end product of an artist's work, the 'useful commodity' in the production of which he plays a role, is ideological influence. He is as incapable of producing this on his own as a blacksmith is of producing Concorde. (Cardew, 1974: 5)

The 'intent' of the Scratch Orchestra as an oppositional force to the elitism of the classical avant-garde would result in a set of principles and practices, which have now become standard community music practice.

We wanted to break the monopoly of a highly trained elite over the avant-garde, so we made a music in which 'anyone' could participate regardless of their musical education. We wanted to abolish the useless intellectual complexity of the earlier avant-garde, and make music which was quite concretely 'simple' in its assault on the senses. We wanted to devise a kind of music that would release the initiative of the participants. (Cardew, 1974: 102)

The orchestra had members who were trained musicians and also members who definitely saw themselves as non-musicians and had limited or even no musical experience. These two groups contributed in different ways to the development of the work over time.

The attraction of a number of non-reading musicians and actual non-musicians into the Orchestra through seeing the Draft Constitution was therefore welcomed. Here was a source of ideas and spontaneity less hampered by academic training and inhibitions. (Eley, 1974: 10)

The so-called non-musicians made contributions as to where the orchestra played and what was the nature of their performances:

The second, and complementary feature of this reduction in 'musical' content was the rise of the 'non-musicians' to take the initiative largely vacated by the 'musicians'. The appearances of the Scratch Orchestra had always had the character of 'Happenings', but now this more provocative role (playing aboard trains in the Underground, etc.) became predominant; and it was accompanied by diminishing attendance by many orchestra members at public appearances, especially amongst the 'musicians'. (Eley, 1974: 22)

In summary, through the Scratch Orchestra, Cornelius Cardew helped to break down the barrier between musicians and those not identified as musicians. He attacked elitism in music and pioneered the democratic ensemble.

5.3 John Stevens

John Stevens was a pioneer musician all his life. He was one of the founders of the European Free Improvisation Movement and remains as one of the key figures in the history, philosophy and practice of community music in the UK.

Prominent in establishing wider participation through improvised music-making was John Stevens, a founder member of Community Music Ltd. Stevens' approach to improvised music-making is presented in *Search and Reflect* (1985) a music workshop handbook that had tremendous influence on music amateurs during the 1980s and early 1990s. (Higgins, 2012: 87)

Stevens experienced Ornette Coleman's Free Jazz album as a Damascene moment and developed the Spontaneous Music Ensemble as a way of allowing this unfettered musical interaction to blossom. As time went on and Stevens reflected on what he was trying to achieve, he began developing pieces that could bridge the gap he perceived between the band and the audience. He composed pieces that were based on a set of instructions, required no previous music making history or technique, were linked to the concepts of free group improvisation, and allowed everyone involved to make an equal contribution to the performed piece of music:

In England the first musician to run an improvising class was John Stevens. Stevens has always been a teacher. From the time in the middle 1960s when he emerged as the leading organiser of free music in London, having an idea, for Stevens, has been only a prelude to persuading his friends and colleagues to adapt it. (Bailey, 1993: 118)

Stevens' musical training had been both with the army and also as a bebop drummer on the London Jazz scene. Throughout his life he made a point of being open to a wide range of influences from across the globe, which excited him from both a sonic point of view and also from the underlying musical/artistic concepts from other cultures such as Japan, which could be reconceptualised into new pieces and processes.

Stevens ran workshops with various groups for almost two decades before they were codified by a group of his collaborating musicians into the *Search and Reflect* book. For students, such as this researcher, Stevens' *Search and Reflect* methodology, produced while he was at Community Music Ltd. in the 1980s, was a new and challenging approach to music. The pieces were simple to understand, based on very incremental instructions. Each step was technically achievable by anyone with or without a playing history. Yet the challenge in the overall piece was often actually impossible to achieve. This 'impossible future' within the pieces creates what might be called a utopian striving and predates the philosophical approaches of Lee Higgins (see below) by several decades.

One example is *Dot Piece*, where each participant listens for a clear silence and then fills that with their shortest note. The idea being that with all the players working at full capacity there would be no silence left, merely a river of sound. Of course it is impossible for a collective both to hear silences while collectively filling all the silences.

Another piece is *Ghost*, where each player follows the group leader (with leadership rotating as the piece goes on), and tries to exactly musically copy what they are doing *as they do it*, not echoing it afterwards. Again this is impossible as there must be some time lag between the note being played and the note being copied (or reflected).

A third piece *Search and Reflect*, which became the title for all the works together, requires players to send out a short motif or flurry for the rest of the group, while simultaneously copying all the flurries of the other members of the group.

While Stevens was well aware of the impossibility or utopian nature of the pieces, he was strict and rigorous in his approach, demanding greater and greater levels of focus and energy from his participants. As the writer of the pieces, he understood that he was creating something that no one could achieve but everyone could strive for. For John Stevens this 'failure' was in fact a positive element of the music and he felt it should be celebrated. This idea of celebrating failure became an important part of community music practice.

The elements of contemporary community music practice that can be found in John Stevens work and evidenced within the *Search and Reflect* manual, include the following:

- Unique contribution from each individual
- Each contribution is equally important
- Shared control of the starting and ending of pieces
- Positive approach to failure
- Making of music at least as important as the final piece produced
- Working completely in the moment
- A demand for focus and committed energy
- Accessible pieces i.e. easily understood and easy to try them, even if impossible to achieve the stated goal
- Instructions given in incremental steps
- In Stevens' own teaching of the pieces (not reflected in written versions), a

commitment to group feedback at various points in the process

- A move beyond the idea of one genre as superior to another. This last point is somewhat arguable as the genre was free group improvisation. However Stevens' intention, as stated to this researcher on several occasions, was to move to a point where people interacted musically without reference to genre
- An emphasis on musical interaction, people responding to other people in the space
- A focus on improvisation
- Openness to all players from whatever background. This is implied although not evidenced within the written material. It was evidenced within John Stevens' teaching and training practice.
- A commitment to exploring the positive tensions between the individual and the group

Stevens articulated all these principles through his own material. He was tied in to work only within his own approach and would rarely deviate from his core work. His students easily understood the principles, and they adapted them for other contexts, and other forms, including adapting them to music styles that had more familiarity to wider audiences.

Stevens' understanding was that the essence of music was the communication from the player to the listener, and that structures, while necessary, were in essence, secondary to the in the moment expression of the human self:

The thing that matters most, in group music, is the relationship between those taking part. The closer the relationship, the greater the spiritual warmth it generates. And if the musicians manage to give wholly to each other and to the situation they're in, then the sound of the music takes care of itself. Good and bad become simply a question of how much the musicians are giving. (Stevens quoted in Wickes, 1999: 57)

In summary, the work of John Stevens, in particular his open compositions, Search and Reflect, have been very influential in the development of community music practice. Stevens designed pieces that were accessible to musicians and non-musicians alike and that frequently contained an impossible challenge. These pieces in many ways espouse within their design the principles of contemporary community music.

6. Community music in the twenty first century

6.1 Lee Higgins' contribution

In the twenty first century the so-called interventionist model of community music came to be much better known and understood internationally. While this spread of awareness and understanding found its initial home in the ISME CMA (MacCarthy, 2007), the person who led both the broadening and deepening of this expansion was Lee Higgins.

Lee Higgins is a grassroots UK community musician, who for some years led the Peterborough Samba band and the community arts training programme at the Liverpool Institute of Performing Arts (LIPA). Through his involvement with the ISME CMA from 1998 onwards, in collaboration with this researcher, and also through his work as director of the MA in Community Music at Limerick University, Lee began to change his role within community music and consequently began to change international understandings of community music itself. This was by taking the ideas percolating through the CMA and other sources and forging them into an academic theory of community music, thus establishing community music as a field worthy of academic scrutiny in its own right.

Lee did this in four ways:

- International presentations at a range of music and music education conferences
- Training students outside the UK, first in Limerick and then later in Princeton and Boston Universities.
- Developing his own theories of community music practice, first through his PHD and then through various published articles and books, most notably *'Community music in theory and practice'* (2012)
- Perhaps most importantly, developing and sustaining the International Journal of Community Music, a peer reviewed scholarly publication that has put out articles from all over the world. By focusing on a range of areas in community music practice such as music in prisons, it has firmly established community music as an independent field with a body of scholarly research.

Lee's development of his own ideas has been rooted in his own practice and his knowledge of the practice of other UK based community musicians. He has analysed the principles underlying community music work as it is practiced, and explored the beliefs that bind the workers and the work together.

As a practice, community music is characterized less by its techniques than in its attitude towards the task at hand. Equality of opportunity, social justice, and diversity are paramount to the community musician's plight.

Community musicians strive for understanding among individuals with common (albeit diverse) goals despite cultural, class, gender, economic, and political differences. The work

of community musicians attempts to provoke discourse, stimulate active participation, and enable a sense of “voice”, both for individuals and those complicit groups or communities of which they are part. (Higgins, 2012: 136)

Within his exploration of the dualities exposed by the previously mentioned oppositional nature of community music, Higgins locates community music practice in the realm of post-modern understandings, as a drive towards forming community with unknown *others*, not bound by tribal allegiances or belief systems, but focusing on ideas of cultural democracy within musical play:

As a trace of community arts, community music followed ideological suit with the notion of redressing the balance between such things as musicians/non-musicians, product/process, individual/community, formal music education/informal music education and consumption/participation, and as such may be considered within the framework of post-modernism. (Higgins, 2012: 92)

In analysing community music practice, i.e. its delivery, as his core area of exploration, Higgins has focused on the workshop and also the contested notion of the leader as facilitator (Mullen: 2008) as key characteristics of the practice:

From the perspective of the community musician, facilitation is understood as a process that enables participants’ creative energy to flow, develop and grow through pathways specific to individuals and groups in which they are working. Facilitation does not mean that the community musician surrenders responsibility for music leadership, only that the control is relinquished. (Higgins, 2012: 148)

The above passage highlights an understanding of their role which practice wisdom suggests is common among workshop leaders, that of allowing the organic development of the work through adopting a role similar to that of a chair in a meeting. Higgins’ work does not, however, deal with the nuance required in dealing with the complexity of working with groups at different stages of personal and group development. These are the situations where the leader may need to adopt a number of roles at different times to help maintain the group’s development. These roles include teacher, coach, facilitator and process monitor (Mullen, 2008).

Higgins ascribes the music workshop with the transformational potential of an almost magical space; a piper’s doorway into a land unbound by tribal allegiances, inequalities and formerly perceived identities.

Through an openness and focus toward relationships, the workshop can become a touchstone through which diversity, freedom, and tolerance might flow. Consequently, pedagogical practices that work within workshop or laboratory structures are actively involved in the pursuit of equality and access beyond any preconceived limited horizons. (Higgins, 2012: 145)

While the workshop thus described may seem like a utopian, unrealizable ideal, this may be a strength rather than a weakness. The intent and the careful structuring of the environmental setting can create a potential space where everyone shares responsibility for optimising group engagement, similar in many

ways to John Stevens' creation of pieces which were simple to understand and attempt, yet impossible to perfect. In that impossibility lay the great communal striving and transformation, the shedding of the historical self in the group's seemingly total commitment to an unachievable outcome. Higgins names one of his articles 'The impossible future' and it can be argued that it is in the commitment to an unrealizable equality that community music's real power lies:

The workshop can mark the point where something happens, a potential location to shatter prior ways of making sense of the world. (Higgins, 2012: 146)

Higgins see the workshop space as one beyond tribalised boundaries:

The workshop space becomes a site for experimentation and exploration through a deterritorialised environment. Although the space is bounded, it is not a tightly controlled location that fixes parameters with rigidity and barriers. (Higgins, 2012: 146)

He recognizes the utopian nature of community music and sees it as an important part of community music's function:

Equality of musical opportunity is inscribed in a cultural democracy to come, a "dream" toward that which will never fully arrive. (Higgins, 2012: 169)

In looking at the historical development of community music, Higgins echoes Schafer in identifying that there is a necessity for the leader's role to change if the intention of creative interaction is to be fulfilled. Thus, in educational situations, democracy and equality become demands of the music being made rather than political diktats.

As a space for experimentation, the workshop provided an environment more conducive for young people to explore music and music making, investigating shifts that were significant through the use of creative group work. As approaches to music education began to emphasise creativity and self-expression, the teacher's role began to change from a possessor of predetermined knowledge to somebody who facilitated creative exploration. This radical approach to teaching placed emphasis on creativity, expression, spontaneity, and cooperation-attributes synonymous to what I think of as community music. (Higgins, 2012: 44)

He goes on to examine what this role change means for the new leader, the facilitator and how they can address the tensions and paradoxes inherent within their position.

As a music facilitator, one might aim for group togetherness, respectful collaboration, and open negotiation. (Higgins, 2012: 153)

Higgins' concept of the leader as facilitator echoes the ideas of Rogers (1969) in that the facilitator should be truly present without façade:

The facilitator enters the relationship without presenting a front or a façade and encourages the participant to do likewise. This opens the possibility for both to journey together, a chance to venture "safely" into the unknown." (Higgins, 2012: 161)

In outlining some of the characteristics of the facilitator, Higgins emphasizes judgement and flexibility and an intuitive grasp of the situation:

Facilitators are able to find a comfortable balance between (1) being prepared to lead and able to lead and (2) being prepared and able to hold back, thus enabling the group or individuals to discover the journey of musical invention for themselves. Facilitators are never static in one approach or another but move in and out of roles as the group dictates. Facilitation necessitates trust in the ability of others as well as submission to the inventiveness of others. (Higgins, 2012: 14)

Again Higgins presents a somewhat idealized version of community music, taking place in fresh 'deterritorialised' territory without being constrained by the environment and its accrued meanings or by the attitudes and biases of the leader and participants and the nature of the interactions between them. While it is to an extent removed from the real world of community music practice, where leaders are often working in environments that embody a different worldview (such as exclusion units, prisons etc), and where the group may bring behaviours and mindsets that present strong challenges to any form of collaborative working, it is useful to look at Higgins' writings as a series of pointers to unrealisable ideals, a set of 'impossible' targets to work towards.

What is also needed within community music theory is a more nuanced, flexible, series of understandings of the real world situations and dilemmas that the workshop leader may find themselves in and strategies to engage with those situations without compromising the ethical intent toward 'group togetherness, respectful collaboration, and open negotiation' that Higgins outlines.

Higgins goes on to talk about his concepts of structural elements in the community music workshop – one of which he calls 'safety without safety', an approach to giving the group freedom to take risks by first establishing a safer environment than the everyday world. Another key concept for Higgins is his idea of 'the welcome', an intentional attitude to meet the challenge of initial encounters with the 'Other':

Through the welcome, the facilitator can create a pathway toward a genuine invention, an authentic and meaningful adventure. As a strategy, facilitation is employed in order to evoke this imaginative and inventive atmosphere, encouraging and nurturing a rapport with fellow human beings. This action requires that the working space be a safe space, in which the music facilitator attempts to create an atmosphere that is mindful of the participants' range of abilities but challenging enough to stimulate all concerned. (Higgins, 2012: 150)

Higgins sees the workshop as a liberating space, where it is possible to be free from the weight of tradition:

Through open-ended musical structure and a promise toward the welcome, participants from a range of musical traditions are often able to liberate their playing from past parameters that have restricted this sense of free play. (Higgins, 2012: 151)

Higgins' concept of the welcome takes priority over the development of group norms and the freezing of groups into in-groups and out-groups, leaving

everything contingent and unsettled, with all possibilities for change and disruption ever present:

The promise of the welcome constantly puts the 'inside' in doubt.....
The outside or the excluded affects and determines the inside, or included. (Higgins, 2007: 83-84)

Although he does not go into much detail, Higgins does acknowledge the impossibility of the unconditional welcome and sees the need for some parameters and control of freedoms:

Welcomes are not unconditional. It is the restrictive parameters—one might say hostilities—inherent within the act of hosting that make your welcome possible.
(Higgins, 2007: 86)

He underpins the relational nature of the community music encounter:

Genuine creative music-making experiences are movements towards rapport with 'the Other', instances of encounters with the unexpected and the unpredictable. (Higgins, 2007: 86)

So we have seen in Higgins someone who is steeped in practice and who approaches research and inquiry with a real world knowledge, who has embraced postmodern understandings of the tensions in our encounters with the Other and has pointed towards an 'impossible future,' where we create spaces safe enough to communally expose ourselves to risk and where we extend a fragile yet sustained welcome to those we do not yet know.

In summary, Lee Higgins has been an important figure in the development of community music as a field and has contributed much to the evolving theory of that field. His primary concern has been community music as an encounter with the 'Other' and the conditions that make that encounter a liberating experience.

7. Aspects of delivery

The aspects of delivery in the next section – 'skeletal' structures and the role of the leader, are part of the differences between community music practice and formal music education. Both looking critically at the role of the leader and creating safe environments to develop creativity have been part of community music methodology since John Steven's contributions and are also to be found in Cardew and Schafer's work.

7.1 Skeletal structures

Community music work often has a focus on the individual making a unique sonic contribution to the group sound and that contribution being equally valued by all members of the group (Stevens, 1985). It is a heterogeneous rather than a homogenous way of working. This allows for the community musician to put in

place loose, what might be termed skeletal structures or frameworks that enable an atmosphere to develop wherein people can find their own place, not forced into conformity, and yet voluntarily bound to the others in the group:

Creative work needs an atmosphere conducive to participants lowering their customary defences and relaxing enough to take up their own autonomy and agency in the activity. (Pestano, 2013: 121)

Using skeletal structures in place of lesson plans seems to fit with the underlying aims and intentions of community music as a transformative model, an intervention moving towards something else but always open and flexible enough to change direction if other priorities arise. The skeletal structures are often only known to the community musicians themselves and are often understood intuitively rather than articulated. They tend to have a 'loose/tight' (Sagie, 1997) structure i.e. tight in areas like respect for self, others and instruments, to ensure that moods and activities are unlikely to overspill into destructive energy, while remaining loose enough to allow for experimentation, interaction and emotional expression:

In any music workshop activity there is a need to maintain a balance between order, enough for the session to function without descending into chaos, and freedom, which releases the powerful playful inner child and its accompanying energy. (Pestano, 2012: 122)

Working with children in PRUs, the community musician is trying to create an environment that is structured sufficiently differently to the norm so it can be seen as not everyday, but also secure enough that the children will not suffer psychic harm:

It's about creating an atmosphere and environment. Most of the time you're walking into a pre-existing environment. There's not a lot you can do about in some cases, but if you've talked about it before hand and say it is really nice if we can just move them away from the desks or put the desks in a slightly different shape, it sometimes works. It can work for teachers to do that or else they've got a little area where they go and do the reading time or their quiet time and they say oh yes, we can do that. It's great if you've got that kind of facility and everybody is up for helping and it makes all the difference in the world because it's also a physical preparation and change that is happening in their space. It's preparing them for this is what we do when the singing lady comes in. (Community musician in focus group, 2012)

A powerful structural tool to help create the level of safety needed to let go of one's concerns about safety is the setting of ground rules by the whole group on the first session. This session can give everyone some power over the emotional environment and can make explicit the concerns people might have about feeling exposed in creative situations:

With rules I need a couple of things in place, like respecting each other and the instruments, but otherwise it is totally what the kids decide. In the first session I will suggest we need some rules, turn it over to them and wait a while (that is very important). Then they always (so far) come out with some fairly sensible ideas. What is really important to me is that the

children understand that by doing certain things and stopping yourself from doing others, you can help make a group perform better.

Once the group makes their own rules, they don't really want to break them. They will, because they forget, and also because sometimes the rules they make are too tough for that group at that time, so you might need to modify them. But usually a group is much less likely to kick against a set of rules they have made themselves than a set of rules imposed on them by an outsider. (Mullen, 2013: 99-100)

By the leader asking the group to set the ground rules and by not setting them themselves, they are giving away some of the imagined power that comes with being a teacher/leader in a PRU (Mullen, 2008). This disarming act, while not being a full abdication of leadership by any means, does allow the children to recognize that something different is going on here, they are being included in decisions, they can shape this programme, at least in part:

Students who have been pushed around in various ways in their lives can be very sensitive to issues of power. It is not helpful if the only power left to a student is the power to misbehave or disengage. Giving them control of what kind of music is created, what sounds are used etc. can be central to engagement, motivation and success.

Giving choice needs to include the choice not to participate. This may be one of the few choices that some vulnerable young people have in their life. (Bick, 2013: 58)

Jess Abrams highlights, in the comments below, how the processes employed by the community musician are constantly being thought through (e.g. explaining her working methods so as not to appear or become manipulative):

I use a range of methods, particularly in terms of ensuring that the project and the music making process are unthreatening and accessible. Ironically, there is a lot of time in my workshops spent not making music at all, but building rapport. To build rapport, being genuine and transparent is essential. The young people I tend to work with have seen a lot, lived a lot, are often street smart and savvy and distrusting of adults – thinking we either have our own agenda or are not trustworthy. I often explain my way of working with them rather than go ahead with it in a way that may seem manipulative. (Abrams, 2013: 64)

Abrams is clear about who makes the decisions and why and how she offers options to the group:

Obviously, I'm hired to run a music-making project, but what we actually *do* musically will be up to the group. By offering a series of options such as composing, performing or recording, the participants have their own say very early on, fostering a sense of ownership. While I know that the participants and I will be music making, I don't know what the genre, form and output will be. (Abrams, 2013: 64)

Abrams highlights the underlying reasons why it is important that the young people, not her, have power to control the direction of the session:

While I utilise my musical ears and ability, I am not the one who is making the musical decisions; the group makes them. Working with socially driven outcomes raises three questions I always contend with in workshops: if the group is composing a song and making the lyric, chord and arrangement choices, how and when do I guide or intervene to ensure that the choices lend themselves to a quality musical outcome? A bigger question is: *should* I intervene at all? And the even *bigger* question: what constitutes a quality musical outcome? I try never to direct decision-making as, although it might be in the best interest of the song, I question if it's in the best interest of the participants. Being empowered to make their decisions, discuss, communicate, reason, debate and agree on choices is a key aspect of working with young people who may have had little opportunity to do this in their lives, especially in a creative setting. (Abrams, 2013: 62)

Bick empowers the young people to take control of their own learning and to teach the others:

One of the most empowering things we can do is teach children and young people to reflect for themselves on their music and to give feedback to their peers. At the right time, and with the right tools, leaving students to learn independently can be highly motivating, as is giving them the opportunity to teach others. Being a peer leader is highly empowering and a valuable progression route. Working with peer leaders often opens up learning in ways that older “professional” teachers cannot. (Bick, 2013: 58-59)

Key goals of the skeletal structure approach in community music are:

- Creating an immersive and safe creative environment
- Developing group democracy and respect
- Promoting individual engagement and feelings of being included
- Sharing ownership
- Positively reframing identity through celebrating achievement, and deepening reflection.
- Encouraging interactions at different levels to broaden the range of comfortable creative relationships and possibilities e.g. pairs - trios - two competing groups
- Deepening group focus and enabling a sense of flow
- Using reflection as a tool for musical improvement

All of the above goals were evidenced either through interviews and focus groups or through the participant observations.

In summary, skeletal goals, although not often articulated, are a key part of community music work, developing environments and building the community of practice. They are often about ways of giving more choice and power to the young people. In this way they form a significant difference between community music and more formal music education.

7.2 The role of the leader

Practice wisdom suggests that community music approaches often contrast with more formal music teaching in that they encourage more of playing with people than teaching to people. Some teaching is likely to go on but more important is the feeling and fact of creating together, listening to and responding to each other, exploring the possibilities of what can be made with sound.

Higgins (2012: 44) argues that the workshop leader has a different, more facilitative, role with the group than the more traditional teacher. This may be more pronounced with ‘hard to reach’ children in challenging circumstances:

'youth who find the work associated with school meaningless, alienating, or oppressive' (Allsup, 2013: 1).

Lonie echoes this move away from pure knowledge transmission when he looks at a less hierarchical relationship than in traditional teaching and learning:

Similarly, the relationships that are developed between music leaders and non-formal learners are reported as being based on the exchange of skills between musicians, rather than as a didactic model where one individual imparts knowledge and skills to the other. (Lonie, 2013: 4)

This is supported by Wilson, who recognizes that:

The removal of hierarchies, clear acceptance of a variety of musical identities and equal emphasis on creative, social and personal development are all crucial principles in non-formal music education pedagogy. (Youth Music, 2013: 73)

When working with children in challenging circumstances, there is a need for the leader to have a more reflective role, convening the group, clarifying, acting as a guardian of the process, not using their position to impose or just to teach but also to inquire, to echo and to affirm (Mullen, 2002). Over time, a facilitator might hand over power to the group (Mullen, 2008). For this Townsend (1999) and Donovan (2004) describe a seven-stage process, starting with demonstration, moving through teaching, coaching, facilitating, and then a gradual process of withdrawing your leadership. The final stage is "abdication".

Looking at the actual skills needed, rather than the roles leaders need to inhabit, a number of writers emphasise skills that could be associated with emotional intelligence (Goleman, 1998) - empathy, open-mindedness, and communication skills while you're actually in the room; planning and entrepreneurial before, project management during, and evaluative after (Cartwright, 2013: 2; Deane, Hunter, Mullen, 2011b: 84; Dowdall, 2012). Such a list may seem simple, but each point on it covers significant, essential, detail.

Deane et al, in evaluating Youth Music's music mentoring programme, a programme that frequently worked with young people similar to those mentioned in this study, found that there were many good reasons for community musicians to be familiar with and develop an emotionally intelligent approach:

The proponents of emotional intelligence and emotional literacy would suggest that its five elements (Goleman, 1998) shown below are central both to generic mentoring and to music mentoring. (Deane et al, 2011: 21):

Table 2 – Elements of Emotional Intelligence

Personal competencies	Self Awareness	Knowing one's internal states, preferences, resources and intuitions
	Self-regulation	Managing one's internal states, impulses and resources
	Motivation	Emotional tendencies that guide or facilitate reaching goals
Social competencies	Empathy	Awareness of others' feelings, needs and concerns
	Social Skills	Adeptness at inducing desirable responses in others

(From Working with Emotional Intelligence (Goleman, 1998: 26-27)

Being in a more sensitized mode allows music leaders to be aware of their own emotions and inner responses and to, where necessary, curb and regulate their impulses to take a more measured approach.

In summary, the role of the leader in community music is complex. It requires the ability to work in a number of different, nuanced, flexible ways. Emotional intelligence is an important part of the community musician's makeup.

8. Therapeutic working within community music pedagogy

Deane and Mullen (2018: forthcoming) assert that there should be four strategic goals for community musicians and organizations:

- 1) To increase access to music participation
- 2) To develop an inclusive approach to music making
- 3) To strengthen the community music sector
- 4) Where appropriate, to use the power of music to make change in participants.

While none of these strategies directly reference pedagogic or therapeutic approaches, it is implicit that making change will involve musical, personal and/or social development.

Hallam notes that music making activities can help young peoples' personal development (in areas such as resilience, self-confidence and sense of aspiration) and social behaviours (how they relate to others) (Hallam, 2010). These developments, while not music therapy, can be seen to have a positive effect on a person's well being and so could be called therapeutic in nature.

Youth Music's Exchanging Notes programme, which is delivered in part by community music organizations, is characterized by a teaching style that has at its heart an equal focus on personal and social outcomes as well as musical outcomes. Here pedagogy and therapeutic work are intertwined.

In a major report on a Youth Music Mentoring programme carried out mostly by community musicians, Deane et al stated that community music acted as a

'Therapeutic aid - music not as therapy, but as therapeutic' (Deane et al, 2011b: 12).

Because of the emphasis of their work being on musical, social and personal development all occurring at the same time, community musicians' work constantly touches on both the pedagogic and the therapeutic.

The theorists Edward Deci and Richard Ryan provide a useful link between the therapeutic possibilities within community music, identity development, and the power structures identified in chapter one. Their Self-determination Theory (Deci and Ryan: 1985) has been central to the researcher's work for over a decade and was important in informing the participant observation sessions. This theory distinguishes between intrinsic motivation, doing things because they are interesting to the doer in themselves and extrinsic motivation, where things are done for the purpose of achieving a pre-determined outcome. In a subset of theories Deci and Ryan

- identify factors which facilitate or hinder intrinsic motivation
- argue that psychological wellbeing is based on autonomy, competence and relatedness
- clarify the impact on wellness of either extrinsic or intrinsically motivated actions

They contend that intrinsic motivation is innate, pervasive and important. In addition intrinsically motivated activities provide satisfaction of innate psychological needs (Deci and Ryan: 2000). Deci and Ryan focus on the innate psychological needs of relatedness, competency and autonomy as key to intrinsic motivation and to individual wellbeing. The researcher fully acknowledges the influence Self Determination Theory has on his work and how he prepares community music sessions to achieve a balance of autonomy, competence and relatedness for the participants.

9. Community Music, identity, self-concept and the notion of becoming

The ideas of 'becoming', self-concept and conferred and constructed identities are central to the study. The researcher understands that these ideas are problematic:

The fundamental paradox of identity is inherent in the term itself. From the Latin root *idem*, meaning "the same," the term nevertheless implies both similarity and difference. On the one hand, identity is something unique to each of us that we assume is more or less consistent (and hence the same) over time.....Yet on the other hand, identity also implies a

relationship with a broader collective or social group of some kind. When we talk about national identity, cultural identity, or gender identity, for example, we imply that our identity is partly a matter of what we share with other people. Here, identity is about identification with others whom we assume are similar to us (if not exactly the same), at least in some significant ways. (Buckingham, 2008: 1)

Despite their problematic nature, the researcher feels these ideas around identity are of vital interest to community musicians working with children with challenging behaviour. As Holt states 'Identity matters to the way young people imagine themselves in education and into their futures' (Holt, 2008: 11). In talking about the journey in self-understanding of rural Australian girls who move away from home to go to University, Holt emphasizes:

For each participant, identity is a powerful, under-the-skin story through which she explains who she was and is, and why she came to university and is propelled by a deep sense of knowing—an outcome of years of emotional capital built up over time by others. (Holt, 2008: 11)

For young people in PRUs their own self-concept or sense of identity may well be the important under-the-skin story that determines their future outcomes and contributes in many cases to their poor life outcomes. The young girl of five in a PRU who said 'I am here because I am bad' (from interview with community musician, 2012) has taken on a conferred identity and turned it into a negative self-concept. This can be reinforced by:

teachers who assess students with grades, but also who claim naming rights, labelling students as 'bright' or 'not bright,' as 'good at school' or 'not good at school,' as 'headed for university' or 'staying at home'. (Holt, 2008: 3)

Then her chances of creating a future based on her own creative construction of her self may become limited. Skeggs recognises:

that for many identity is a position that is forced, that has to be occupied, for which there is no alternative and which is attributed with no value and hence cannot be mobilized as a resource for enhancing privilege, or a resource to the nation, to belonging (Skeggs, 2008: 26).

The researcher contends that creativity is in itself a process of becoming and the development of creativity within a person is intimately bound up with the process of becoming. Allowing students to explore, play with and learn to value the products of their imagination is a way to allow them to explore who they are, to become themselves in ways not constrained by an outside agent, proscribed set of behaviours, or curriculum, and over time to see themselves (i.e. to modify their self-concept or sense of identity) as someone worthwhile, a resource for others.

Wenger states:

Through imagination, we can locate ourselves in the world and in history, and include in our identities other meanings, other possibilities, other perspectives (Wenger, 1998: 178).

The researcher acknowledges his own bias in believing in the therapeutic benefit of creative music making as a conduit to new ways for the children to look at themselves, to find worth within their own self-concept. Processes of becoming should, in the researcher's thinking, start within the child themselves and not be governed by societal norms through an externally derived curriculum. Creativity and the creation of a positive sense of self should start from where the person is. The value of creativity and musical creativity as a process for developing wellbeing can be linked to a person's developing sense of themselves as a creator, a creative person. Creativity, in and of itself, is important because it can enable a person to positively define, and in the cases of those previously defined by their exclusion, redefine themselves.

9. Conclusion

This chapter has looked at understandings and 'attributes' of community music. There is clearly a tension between the desire to keep community music an open and evolving concept and the need to clarify it and pin it down for better understanding and the development of the field.

The researcher has argued that not all attributes as put forward by researchers and academics could be seen to be reliable within current practice, not least because of the growth and shifts within community music as a practice over the years. Community music is a fluid approach to making music that is bound to context and the particular needs of each group. It is in motion, dynamic and evolving and, while this is reflected in practitioners' frames of reference, many of the authors on community music are coming from a researcher's frame of reference and may find themselves challenged by the constantly changing and evolving nature of community music practice.

In addition, the chapter has looked at the work of three figures key to the development of early community music practice. Schafer's commitment to the idea of a musical community of learners, Cardew's development of the democratic ensemble and Stevens' concept of musical interaction in the here and now, have proved to be cornerstones of the work.

In this chapter there has also been a focus on community music in the 21st century and how the work of Lee Higgins has contributed to community music's development as a global field.

Furthermore the chapter has looked at therapeutic working within community music and musical creativity's role in enabling the growth of a positive self-concept.

From this chapter the researcher takes the need for community music delivery in PRUs to be:

- grounded in the needs of the context while cognizant of the idealistic intentions of community music
- present in the here and now and responsive to the situation
- welcoming to every young person's contribution as a declaration of their musical self at that point in time
- encouraging of interaction and the building of a group response
- developing a way of working together underscored by values around inclusion and equality
- aware of the role of the leader, not as omniscient but as holder of values, as someone concerned with optimizing the power of the group, its energy and its focus
- open to the transformative focus of the 'impossible' task
- concerned with the intentions of the work whether they are musical, personal or social or any combination of the above.

The next chapter focuses on different conceptions of childhood, what children bring to their musical encounters in PRUs and how to work with what the children bring.

Chapter four - What the children bring

1. Introduction

This chapter is divided into the following sections. Firstly there is a section on conceptualizing childhood. This contains an overview of theories of childhood and how these viewpoints can help us understand our own differing approaches to working with children. The next section is about the educationally excluded child. It draws heavily on the action research in PRUs and EBD units and looks at what children bring in two ways –

- 1) The things that currently set them apart from other children and also
- 2) What they bring that can enhance and develop the work.

The third section of this chapter is about working with what the children bring. This section is about foregrounding children's voice, meeting them on their own ground and valuing their identity and creativity.

2. Conceptualising childhood

2.1 Introduction to this section

This section of this chapter examines different understandings of childhood throughout history, particularly in Westernized countries. This is not looking at who children are or what they do but rather how they are perceived and regarded by adults. We shall see that notions of childhood are diverse, depending on when in history and where in the world we are looking. If we are to work with children and help them make, create and enjoy their own music, it is important that we understand our attitudes towards them as perhaps ultimate 'Other', creatures we have been but can never be:

Because each and every one of us has been a child, we all believe we know what childhood is - or was. Yet as adults, it is always something past and lost, invariably filtered through memory. Memories of our own childhoods inform our ideas about who we think we are, who we think we were, and what we believe childhood should be for others. (Gittins, 2009: 36)

Over centuries, different understandings of children and childhood have grown and influenced how we treat and respond to children, how we share their space, how we regard their minds and their actions. These understandings can act as a filter over our interactions and relations with them.

Those of us who work with children may have inherited different conceptualisations of children and childhood, which will bear a strong influence on the methodologies we use and for what purpose. These different

conceptualizations can be contained within one person, creating cognitive tensions around how to engage with, listen to and become part of a learning and creative partnership with children. While many people will have a single concept of what childhood is or should be, it is worth remembering that across times, places, class and gender, the experience of childhood has been and remains diverse (Kehily, 2009: 7):

The state of being a child is transitory and how long it lasts is culturally and historically variable; in Western countries a child may become economically active now at the age of 15 or 16, while in the past, and in some Third World countries still today children as young as 5 or 6 go out to work. In the UK a child may drink alcohol at home from the age of 5, but not in a public house until the age of 18. The age of criminal responsibility was 7 in the UK before 1933; now it stands as only 10, while in Spain it is 16. This means that in the UK a child of 10 can be treated as an adult in the legal system but it is still treated as a child in almost every other aspect of its life. (Gittins, 2009: 37)

Idealized visions of childhood as a time of play and learning are a Western construct, and many of the world's children have never known a life without work.

The other important issue to remember is that childhood as defined in terms of economic dependency on adults, access to schooling, and so on, is, in fact, still the norm for only a minority of the world's children. Children in many countries routinely work, and, as we know, multinationals like Nike are very dependent on inexpensive child labor. (Walkerdine, 2009: 117)

In summary, childhood is not a single thing but has differed across time and across the regions of the world. The idealized version of childhood as a time of play is a Western construct.

2.2 The invention of childhood

Childhood in the context of this chapter refers to a number of conceptualizations of what childhood can be and mean. Gittins states that these conceptualisations are the unavoidable result of every child's encounter with a socialized adult, who gives everything and everyone meaning according to how they were given and constructed meaning for themselves. In this way society reproduces itself and its ways, and anything that is seen as coming from the children has secondary value:

How can childhood be invented by adults? Surely, it is a fact that baby is a biological reality, an embodied being that is entirely physiological? Indeed, a baby *is* a material and biological reality. Yet the same time, every baby born is born into a social world, a linguistic world, a gendered world, an adult world full of discourse, with complex and contradictory meanings. The helpless and totally dependent human infant, without control or language, is giving meaning by adults from the first minute its parent(s) start to interact with it in the context of the wider culture. (Gittins, 2009: 36)

Gittins recognizes that there are two realities surrounding childhood, the reality of a child living as a child and the reality of adults imagining and

interpreting what childhood is and means through the filters of their own experience, their communal knowledge and their ideas about the nature of society and the social order. We will concern ourselves here with the second reality in the hope that by understanding and recognizing our biases we can approach our encounters with children from both a more informed and a more open minded point of view, that we can listen, engage and play without undue interpretation and forced control.

Furthermore, there are discourses within our culture that defined what childhood should be, and these may be as influential in forming our ideas of an image as our own memories. (Gittins, 2009: 36)

Walter asserts that adults have been powerful actors in the changing conceptualizations of childhood, often with ill effect on the children themselves:

Childhood, the invention of adults, reflects adult needs and adult fears quite as much as it signifies the absence of adulthood. In the course of history children have been glorified, patronized, ignored, or held in contempt, depending upon the cultural assumptions of adults. (Walther, 1979: 64)

As stated above, childhoods are diverse, and that diversity is frequently based on where one is born in the global hierarchy. Gittins points out that the construction of childhood historically was 'clearly articulated by gender and by class' (Gittins, 2009: 45). Gittins goes on to state that the institutions and legal frameworks surrounding childhood globally have emanated from this specific, constructed view of what (all) children should be and that the proscribed norms essentially constitute a hegemonic approach to the development of humanity, reproducing norms and expectations of values that originated in the Europe of Empire (Gittins, 2009: 45).

Jenks argues that children are, in a sense, an unknowable Other and that we, as a society, have created a need to make the child as ourselves, to deny and diminish their independent and untouchable nature by seeing them as a proto-adult, an unfinished piece of work:

The child is familiar to us and yet strange, he inhabits our world and yet seems to answer to another, he is essentially of ourselves and yet appears to display a different order of being: his serious purpose and our intention towards them are made to resolve that paradox by transforming him into an adult, like ourselves. (Jenks, 1982: 9)

Jenks goes on to argue that the construction of childhood has been done with the purpose of maintaining the adult world as it is, with its strict controls on behaviours and ways of thinking and communicating:

Childhood is to be understood as a social construct, it makes reference to a social status delineated by boundaries incorporated within the social structure and manifested through certain typical forms of conduct, all of which are essentially related to a particular cultural setting. (Jenks, 1982: 12)

He argues that the child needs to be seen as separate, independent in identity from adults and as complete human beings with different but equal rights, feelings, understandings (Jenks, 1982: 13-14).

In summary, adults have constructed a number of understandings of childhood, arguably as a way of maintaining the social order. Some researchers argue for a fresh view of childhood, not dominated by current political values.

2.3 Conceptions of childhood in Europe up to the early twentieth century

Philippe Aries, a social historian, first drew attention to the idea that childhood is socially and historically constructed, not biologically given or fundamentally natural. He argued that attitudes to children have changed over time and with these changing attitudes a new concept developed: childhood. (Gittins, 2009: 38)

Through his work on the role (or rather the absence) of children in medieval painting, Aries laid the groundwork for studies of whether children were represented, and what representations of children might mean:

The infant who was too fragile as yet to take part in the life of adults simply 'did not count'. (Aries, 1982: 36)

Aries traces the change, among the upper classes, in the 16th and 17th centuries in how children were represented, noting how children, at least as represented in art, now fulfilled a function or need for the adult:

A new concept of childhood had appeared, in which the child, on account of his sweetness, simplicity and drollery, became a source of amusement and relaxation for the adult. (Aries, 1982: 37)

Aries notes a later change:

In the moralists and pedagogues of the seventeenth century, we see that fondness for childhood and its special nature no longer found expression in amusement and 'coddling', but in psychological interest and in moral solicitude. The child was no longer regarded as amusing or agreeable. (Aries, 1982: 39)

Aries says that this change, which we might understand as a puritanical conception of the child as evil, had come from another source, from churchmen and gentlemen, with concerns around God, morality and discipline (Aries, 1982: 40).

Peter Coveney notes that these differing ways of looking at childhood and the child ran along together through the centuries and that the dual conceptions of child as idealized and as 'children of Satan' existed side-by side right through to the nineteenth century (Coveney, 1982: 47).

The 'coddling' image or idealized approach was given strength through the ideas of Rousseau, particularly in his book *Emile*:

Drawing upon the work of French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), the romantic discourse claimed that children embody a state of innocence, purity and natural goodness that is only contaminated on contact with the corrupt outside world. The romantic vision of the child ascribed children a spirituality that placed them close to God, nature and all things good. Children's purity should be respected and protected in order for them to express themselves freely and creatively. (Kehily, 2009: 5; Rousseau, 1762)

Another strand in adults' view of childhood was that of the blank slate or tabula rasa developed by the philosopher John Locke:

The tabula rasa discourse draws upon the philosophy of John Locke who developed the idea that children come into the world as blank slates who could, with guidance and training, develop into rational human beings. Within this discourse the child is always in the process of becoming an adult-in-the-making with specific educational needs that adults should take seriously. It is the responsibility of adults to provide the appropriate education and control to enable children to develop into mature and responsible citizens. (Kehily, 2009: 5; Locke, 1689)

Kehily and Hillman both note that all these discourses remain today as perhaps hidden strands of contemporary thought about childhood, education and public policy, with Hillman noting the prevalence of these concepts within education theory today (Kehily, 2009: 5; Hillman, 1982: 108). This is echoed and extended by James, Jenks and Prout:

The first pre-sociological discourse within which we can locate 'the child' finds echoes in contemporary criminology, public moralizing and current debates over pedagogic practice. It assumes that evil, corruption and baseness are primary elements in the constitution of 'the child'. More intrusively they are to be exorcised by programmes of discipline and punishment. (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998: 10)

In the nineteenth century the work of Charles Dickens and the research of Henry Mayhew brought to the attention of the Victorian middle-class the conditions of children from other classes. Speaking of the Victorian middle-class concept of childhood and the writings of Henry Mayhew, Kehily states that:

Mayhew views childhood as a period of life where play and carefree pleasure should be indulged, where the child is protected from the adult world of work and is cared for, kept warm and well fed. (Kehily, 2009: 3)

Walkerdine argues that the late Victorian introduction of compulsory schooling was an attempt to mould children towards a particular version of childhood, one that would be less disruptive and anarchic towards the state, and that would produce adults who could be more easily controlled:

It was this political threat that would be abated by teaching children correct moral values through the inculcation of good habits, rather than ending poverty. Crime and pauperism, in this analysis, are taken to be produced by certain qualities, habits, which could be changed. This idea of habits fits absolutely with what emerged within psychology as accounts of conditioning. (Walkerdine, 2009: 114)

In summary, in the West, over the last few hundred years children have been both idolized and demonized. They have also been regarded as blank slates, empty vessels. These conceptualizations have influenced and still influence schooling and educational practice.

2.4 Child development and the notion of becoming

The study of how children grow and whether they all grow in a uniform way physically, psychologically and emotionally has led some writers to view the concept of 'childhood' as that of "not yet adulthood":

'Child' therefore defines not just physiological immaturity but also connotes dependency, powerlessness and inferiority. (Gittins, 2009: 37)

The influential work in education of Jean Piaget and in sociology of Emile

Durkheim both lead towards this idea of the child as a proto-adult. Childhood is:

a period in which the individual in both the physical and the moral sense, does not yet exist, the period in which he is made, develops and is formed. (Durkheim, 1979: 150)

Kehily notes the importance in the twentieth century of developmental psychology in the study of children:

Developmental psychology documented the stages and transitions of Western childhood. Within this framework, childhood is seen as an apprenticeship for adulthood that can be charted through stages relating to age, physical development and cognitive ability. The progression from child to adult involves children in a developmental process wherein they embark upon a path to rational subjectivity. (Kehily, 2009: 8)

Jenks traces these ideas around growth as the dominant issue in childhood back to John Locke's concept of the tabula rasa. Jenks acknowledges the requirement from children within this understanding to 'put away childish things', to cast off that which makes them unique and other, and, over time, to lose their individual identities in an ocean of compliance:

From within a variety of disciplines, perspectives and sets of interests, childhood receives treatment as a stage, a structured becoming, never as a course of action nor a social practice. The kind of 'growth' metaphors that are used in discussion about children are all of the character of what is yet to be, yet which is also presupposed; thus childhood is spoken of as becoming, as a tabula rasa, as laying the foundations, taking on, growing up, preparation, inadequacy, inexperience, immaturity and so on. Such metaphors all seem to speak of her relation to an unexplicated but nevertheless firmly established, rational adult world. This world is not only assumed to be complete and static, but also desirable. It has a benevolent totality, which extends a welcome to the child, if you invite him to cast off the quality that ensures his difference and encourages his acquiescence to the preponderance of the induction procedures that will guarantee his corporate identity. (Jenks, 1982: 13)

Durkheim underscores the idea of a child being something less than, of waiting to become, in the following passages:

All the distinctive features of childhood, and in particular those to which education must take account of, derive from the definition of childhood itself. The essential function of this age, the role and purpose assigned to it by nature, may be summed up in a single word: it is the period of growth, that is to say, the period in which the individual, in both the physical and moral sense, does not yet exist, the period in which he is made, develops and is formed. (Durkheim: 1982: 146-7)

Here he stresses the child as unfinished:

In everything the child is characterized by the very instability of his nature, which is the law of growth. The educationalist is presented not with a person wholly formed - not a complete

world or a finished product - but with a *becoming*, an incipient being, a person in the process of formation. (Durkheim, 1982: 147)

Speaking of Piaget, Jenks asserts:

The child is once more abandoned in theory. Real historically located children are subjected to the violence of a contemporary mode of scientific rationality which reproduces itself at the expense of their difference, beyond the context of situated social life. The 'fact' of natural process overcomes the 'value' of real social worlds. (Jenks, 1982: 21)

In summary, many of the popular theories of child development, such as those of Piaget, emphasise the journey of the child towards becoming an adult, at the expense of celebrating the child as a child. Within these theories the child is always something less than, always something becoming.

2.5 The process of socialization

The sociological approach to childhood in the view of Richie and Kollar (1964) and Talcott Parsons (1982) is concerned with how the child grows into socialization, develops into becoming part of a group and learns how to be part of an increasingly grown up world. Parsons sees the process of socialization itself as central to the learning of stabilization patterns. The child is inculcated into the value systems of the prevailing order and society reproduces itself:

There is reason to believe that, among the learned elements of personality, in certain respects the stablest and most enduring are the major value-orientation patterns and there is much evidence that these are 'laid down' in childhood and are not on a large scale subject to drastic alteration during adult life. (Talcott Parsons, 1982: 139)

Durkheim goes beyond this to indicate that nature colludes in its own obliteration through the socialization process. Interestingly, aspects of the child's own nature are seen here as the enemy and the process of socialization is a collusion in the destruction of the child state itself, most notably in the triumph of order over extreme mobility. Children who are active, for no reason which is apparent to adults, are seen in a deficit way and it is intended that they will, over time, learn to change and adapt their nature to the norm:

Admittedly, this somewhat mechanical order does not in itself possess any great moral value, but it paves the way for a superior quality of order. The taste for regularity is not yet respect for rule and duty, but it is on the way to becoming so. And, moreover.... it is possible and relatively easy to impart to the child the sentiment of moral authority and discipline, which constitutes the second stage in the formation of character and will. So nature does in fact place in our hands that means necessary for transcending it. (Durkheim, 1982: 150)

It is worth noting that Durkheim highlights the need to transcend children's own nature on the road to adulthood, clearly, in his mind, a superior state.

By contrast, Barthes emphasizes and attacks the idea that the child is merely a witness to his own passive journey on the conveyor belt towards a culturally specific and uncontested model of adulthood, in this discussion on French toys:

The fact that French toys *literally* prefigure the world of adult functions obviously cannot but prepare the child to accept them all, by constituting for him, even before he can think about it, the alibi of a Nature which has at all times created soldiers, postmen and Vespas. Toys here reveal the list of all the things the adult does not find unusual: war, bureaucracy, ugliness, Martians, etc. It is not so much, in fact, the imitation which is a sign of an abdication, as its literalness: French toys are like a Jivaro head, in which one recognizes, shrunken to the size of an apple, the wrinkles and hair of an adult. (Barthes, 1982: 134)

Barthes goes on to emphasise the passive, non-creative nature of the child with their toys:

However, faced with this world of faithful and complicated objects, the child can only identify himself as owner, as user, never as creator; he does not invent the world, he uses it: there are, prepared for him, actions without adventure, without wonder, without joy. (Barthes, 1982: 134-5)

Jenks identifies the learning process (and by implication schooling) as the focal point for adults' views of children as creatures less than or at least less complete than themselves (Jenks, 1982: 19). In contrast to the arc of narratives about childhood that see them as passive, yet to be complete, adults, James, Jenks and Prout argue that we should meet them as an equal Other, that we should engage with what they bring as fully formed and significant:

The child is conceived of as a person, a status, a course of action, a set of needs, rights or differences – in sum as a social actor... The 'being' child can be understood in its own right. It does not have to be approached from an assumed shortfall of competence, reason or significance. (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998: 207)

In summary, some writers see the narratives around childhood as contributing to the child's eventual acceptance of pre-set adult values, a process of socialization that denies the child a voice or moral position.

2.6 Contemporary models of what childhood might be

Speaking from within the discipline of sociology, James, Jenks and Prout argue that childhoods are diverse across the world, and that there is no 'Universal' child (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998: 27). They identify four contemporary (post-transitional) models of how children and childhood can be seen, all of which acknowledge the child as neither proto-adult nor angel or devil but a person with rights and agency. They call these models the *socially constructed* child; the *tribal* child; the *minority group* child and the *social structural* child (Jenks, 2009: 105-111).

They say about their first model, the socially constructed child:

To describe childhood, or indeed any phenomenon, as socially constructed is to suspend a belief in or a willing reception of its taken-for-granted meanings. Thus, though quite obviously we all know what children are and what childhood is like, for social constructionists this is not a knowledge that can reliably be drawn on. (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998: 27)

Their second model – the tribal child requires:

a moral reappraisal of the stratification system and power relation that conventionally exist between adults and children. It sets out from a commitment to childhood's social worlds as real places and provinces of meaning in their own right and not as fantasies, games, poor imitations or inadequate precursors of the adult state of being. (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998: 28)

It could be argued that it is on this ground that we can develop relational music work with children that respects them as creators in their own right and allows us, by their agreement, to act as supporters of their sonic play on their own territory. They say of their third Model – the minority group child:

Through ascribing to children the status of a minority group this approach seeks, therefore, to challenge rather than confirm an existing set of power relations between adults and children. Indeed, the very title 'minority' is a moral rather than demographic classification that conveys notions of relative powerlessness or victimization. (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998: 30-1)

They see this as part of a political movement within society:

What has finally given rise to this view of the child is a systematic move to redemocratize modern society and to disassemble all remaining covert forms of stratification. (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998: 31)

While this model aligns with initiatives towards music and social justice (Silverman, 2009), a criticism may be the placing of the child in the role of victim that could be implied by this model.

The 4th model – the social structural child - begins from a recognition that children are a constant feature of all social worlds:

Children are not pathological or incomplete; they form a group, a body of social actors, and as citizens they have needs and rights. (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998: 32)

Part of those rights and a part that is particularly relevant for community music work is the right to be part of making the world around them. This can be through their creative interpretation of the world they see round them:

Children are and must be seen as active in the construction and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live. Children are not just passive subjects of social structures and processes. (James and Prout, 1990: 8-9)

In summary, the researchers James, Jenks and Prout have identified different ways of looking at childhood that give the child rights and acknowledge their place in the world as independent Others, who need to be part of life's creation.

2.7 Uniformity, control and the power agenda

Within those models of childhood that see childhood as merely a stage towards becoming an adult, children cannot be encouraged to be childish, as this state represents a deficiency, a lack of maturity, a threat to what everyone aspires to within the prevailing order:

The issue is rather to understand that childhood is always produced as an object in relation to power. Thus, there can be no timeless truth, sociological or psychological, about

childhood. There can rather be understandings of how childhood is produced at any one time and place and an imperative to understand what kinds of childhood we want to produce, if indeed we want childhood at all. For example, developmental psychology understands children's thinking as becoming more and more like that of adults. It figures therefore that children's thinking is assumed to be different from adult thinking and that this difference is understood as a deficiency, a natural deficiency that will be put right as the child grows up. (Walkerdine, 2009: 117)

The initiation, through the child's socialisation into a life of structure, rationality, uniformity, order and compliance, has benefits for the state in terms of obedience to authority and the development of self-regulating systems of control:

The child status has its boundaries maintained through the crystallization of conventions into institutional forms like families, nurseries, clinics and schools, all agencies specifically designed to process the status as a uniform entity. (Jenks, 1982: 11)

Everything that is childish and of the child is then stigmatized and used as a weapon against him/her:

Society becomes the monitor for all order and it further inculcates a set of rules of conduct which are enforced less by individual will and political sovereignty than by society's own pre-existence. (Jenks, 1982: 16)

This is the case in the institutions designed to develop the child away from their own ways of thinking and being into new ways of thinking and being i.e. schools. This is especially true of those children, like most of those in PRUs and EBD units who have not learned to regulate their expression, to put away childish behaviour, to behave like proto-adults:

The child, like the deviant, signifies difference; it is on the socialized state he threatens to bring down social worlds and that threat can only be mollified within theory by tracing the child's through his archetype as a proto-adult, a potential and ultimate supplicant at the altar of the corporate rationality implicit within the Social System. (Jenks, 1982: 19)

A child who retains their own self, their own way, who cannot behave as the others, threatens the purpose and the fabric of the system in which they find themselves and will find themselves as a minority, excluded from the mainstream, with life chances diminished:

The most persistent tension within any form of social organization is the pull between the interests of the individual and the interests of the collective. Whichever polarity gains the ascendance and becomes the sacred symbol for that community will inevitably place constraints upon the other. Theories that are dedicated to solidarity and integration necessarily impelled the child into that order, and social agencies that are committed to the purity of the norm will exercise control upon that which is viewed as differentiated and therefore pathological. (Jenks, 1982: 137)

Real attempts by adults to meet children where they are and with what they bring, and to value their own ways and culture as separate but important, have been the exception:

While children have been subjects of scientific inquiry for more than a century, research was largely shaped by adult agendas for children, and reflected dominant power relationships

between expert researchers and innocent, vulnerable, developing children. Exceptions included area studies of children's culture, within a folklore tradition, notably Opie and Opie (1959). (Woodhead, 2009: 23)

If children lose their ability to develop a musical language of their own, with meaning unique to them, not regulated by adults, this would be a significant loss both to human culture and to humanity's ability to be creative:

Essentially the social system is dependent upon capturing total personalities, thus leaving no space for divergence, dissolution or difference. The System machine is fed by its compliant member personalities and must, perform, consume children. (Jenks, 1982: 18)

In summary, children's individuality, indeed their very childishness, can pose a threat to the adult world and the social order. The creative anarchy their unconstrained existence implies is moulded into order and dissipated through institutions such as school and the family.

3. The educationally excluded child

3.1 Introduction

This section is about children in PRUs and EBD units, who have been excluded from mainstream education. The data has been recorded during the participant observations, the interviews and the focus groups. It is a work place based account of what the children bring to musical encounters in PRUs in terms of their unity as a group, their health, their physical and mental life conditions, as well as their cognitive makeup. It also looks at how they interact with people around them, including their peers, and their ability to work as a group. It has an additional focus on their interests, their capacity for creativity, their vulnerability and their behaviour.

This section draws from the researcher's own journal entries and from the one to one interviews and the focus groups that were part of the study and does not claim that all children in all PRUs share the same attributes, interests and ways of being. It also highlights some of the ways the musicians responded to the children and what they presented in the sessions.

The children in PRUs bring a range of experiences to the work, and a range of ways of expressing themselves emotionally. Some are outgoing and cheerful, some aggressive, some withdrawn. They also bring a diversity of capabilities. What they bring can be perceived in different ways, as essential to the work, as the clay from which to build the session or as something broken, which needs to be cured, suppressed or put away. What perhaps unites the children in PRUs and EBD units is that they bring themselves as children, with both the vulnerability

and the potential for openness that this entails. Often, however, this may be disguised under a veneer of bravado and challenging behaviour. Many of the children have limited experience of the perceived normalities of childhood, such as free play, joy, and also protection by their caregiver. For the music workers interviewed, this lack of 'normality' in the children's experience was a part of their dialogic encounter with the children. In interviews it was given as much and sometimes more emphasis as the music itself.

In summary, children in PRUs are endlessly diverse and should be valued as such. However, what binds them together, the fact that they cannot be in mainstream school, can act as a focal point, obscuring other parts of their identity.

3.2 The dangers of generalisation

All the children in PRUs share at least one thing in common - the fact that they cannot be in mainstream schools. It is easy to imagine many other things in common such as coming from dysfunctional families and difficult socio-economic backgrounds, having low intellectual knowledge and skills.

However, the children with challenging behaviour observed within PRUs and EBD units were, in fact, very diverse. Certainly many of the children shared the qualities and situations above, but the children were not all unified in either their family background or intellectual capability and children with behavioural issues were often in different places in terms of their coping strategies. In addition, but outside the scope of this study, many of the children in PRUs do not have challenging behaviour but are there for other reasons such as school phobia (Taylor, 2012).

A teacher makes the point of how easy it is, even for insiders, to generalise about the children and how misguided that can be:

It's really easy to be quite general about them. I'm just now considering the children I have in my class. I have two diagnosed autistic children who will wait for special school. One of them comes from highly educated parents, both with University backgrounds. His eldest sister is at University, that kind of middle-class, that kind of family from a tiny village school, that kind of a leafy Buckinghamshire. But I also have the daughter of a man who is in prison and the son of a man who died of a drugs related incident. It is a real mixed bag. (Senior teacher in PRU, 2012)

Another teacher raises some of the diverse factors that hinder the children being successful in mainstream but unify them in a difficulty to settle, to fit in, and to comply with expectations:

Basically the children we support, there are issues in mainstream. Some may have specific other additional needs, whether it's learning, ADHD, ASD, or whether it's an emotional issue: something in their background that would cause their behaviour to be challenging.

It varies as to how they are; it varies on their issues. They take a while to settle. They refuse to do what they are asked. They are resistant to joining in a group. (Senior teacher in PRU, 2012)

From this it is a relatively small to step to seeing how a shared identity could be constructed over time as challengers, disrupters, refuseniks. In fact, what has made them a group in the first place is their inability to conform to what is expected of them in the way that their more successful peers, i.e. mainstream classmates, can do.

The musicians interviewed noted that the diversity of backgrounds and the complexity of needs of the children put demands on the musicians in terms of producing 'results' for the school that were possibly not realistic within the given time frame:

It is quite interesting also when you go into certain units where they're following a curriculum and they ask you to deliver certain curriculum subjects to tie in with what they're doing and others where they want you to do more of the self-esteem stuff and there is such a variety for you to draw that out and how can you do that when people are on the autistic spectrum. It's just like massive. So now you have to help them find what is meaningful to them.

If you have that dialogue before and they've asked you to come in and work with children, one of whom might have Asperger's, elective mute or somebody else might just have very poor language skills but love music and another one just doesn't want to do any music but is very happy to pick up paper and crayons or pencils and is participating in that way, how do you encompass all of that and make a session out of it that is cohesive? Because very often what they're asking you to do is to bring in something else into the group that allows them to express themselves but still somehow maintains the integrity of them being a little community and a group. (Community Musician, 2012)

In summary, the diversity of the children in PRUs can stem from their backgrounds, medical conditions and a range of factors. This diversity can present challenges to the community musician in terms of developing cohesive sessions.

3.3 Health, wellbeing and the leader's response

Many of the children in PRUs and EBD units have specific health problems and/or life conditions (syndromes) that may have contributed to why they cannot be in mainstream school:

As set out in the DfE's Statistical First Release for children with special educational needs (SEN), in January 2011, 79 per cent of pupils in PRUs have SEN, and often the boundaries between AP and SEN provision are blurred. (Taylor, 2012: 5)

These conditions will almost certainly affect how the children present themselves and what happens in the PRU. In the PRUs visited, a number of children had ADD, ADHD, dyspraxia, and Asperger's syndrome or were on the autistic spectrum. There were also a number who had ODD (oppositional defiance disorder) and some also had pathological avoidance syndrome. This information was freely shared by staff as part of 'need to know' knowledge. Some children in the PRUs were very withdrawn, in some cases not speaking or giving eye contact to anyone

else in the room, and, in one PRU, one boy in particular stood out for the exceptional level of his obsession with violence, weapons and killing. Another condition mentioned in several pre and post class discussions was when one of the children had low muscle tone. This was often to do with the child's birth circumstance, whether they were premature or if they had oxygen starvation. Interviewees said these children would get physically tired, find it hard to concentrate and, in particular, slump across the desk, an act that could bring censure in some schools.

Many could not follow the subtleties of everyday communication, as seen from this journal extract:

In this PRU there were various levels of engagement – 3 out of 4 of the children were on the autistic spectrum, all high functioning. D said "I am just going to throw this idea at you". One ducked, having taken what she said literally. The group also had problems about wanting to be perfect and wouldn't join in unless they felt they could achieve the task perfectly. (Reflective journal, 2011)

The music leaders in this session, reflecting on the work, decided to regulate verbal communication, choosing words extra carefully to minimise unintended and over literal interpretations.

Another extract from the same session highlights how activities that would probably cause little or no stress in mainstream could not only cause high distress to PRU students, but that this could spread and 'corrupt' the others:

There was a pleasant group, good atmosphere. However, some going round games caused one child to put his hand over (covering) his head. Then another started to follow, excluding himself from the activity. The activity was dropped and both came back from their distress as the session went on. We got feedback from the teachers. The session had gone well. There was a big discussion with team after, which was very fruitful, talking of pathological task avoidance as an interesting syndrome. (Reflective journal, 2011)

This session illustrates the need, often in situations where children bring a form of cognitive diversity, for a type of inhibiting practice, where the leader stops themselves from saying things in the 'usual' way, and reflects on what words will best convey to these particular children what is needed. It is a form of heightened communication awareness, a need to connect clearly in the moment.

In some cases children react differently to sensory stimulus from children in mainstream. This can be common with children with dyspraxia or autism for example. They may feel physical contact as painful, experience sounds or bright light as distressing, and this may cause difficulty with things such as proximity (e.g. being close to their classmates while sitting on the carpet):

Some of them find the whole sensory thing very, very difficult. For example yesterday the drumming lady came in and I had a child sitting next to me not participating. We talked about it afterwards and he said 'when I touched the drum it makes my tummy feel funny'.

This child is autistic. He is quite openly telling me that he doesn't feel safe in that situation. So we have come to an agreement, he does the warm-up, the first five minutes and then he'll go and do some work. So he feels safe, I get what I want out of it, he has followed my instruction, he has participated in the bit that I want him to, but it's not a jolly. You don't get to choose to go get some colouring and play with the Lego. It's part of still following my direction. It's not opting out. (Senior teacher in PRU, 2012)

A community musician talked how this perceptual and cognitive complexity was part of what drew her to working in PRUs:

One of your problems is you may have a child who is on the autistic spectrum or who may have ADHD and is not being diagnosed and you might have one or two that have some real emotional problems and sometimes it's quite difficult to address these in the mainstream because you have so many children to think about, but because of my experience with working with a variety of children that were probably on the edge of exclusion, which I always found it quite challenging but also very rewarding, so for me, I wanted to find out more about what happens to those children when they had been moved out of mainstream and actually placed in the PRU and to find out what the difference was. (Community Musician, 2012)

In summary, very many of the children in PRUs have medical conditions, in particular some forms of cognitive diversity such as Asperger's Syndrome. This adds to the complexity of community music work.

3.4 What they bring in terms of social skills and experience

3.4.1 Interactions with peers

Quite often the children are more comfortable interacting with adults than their own peer group. They may be able to speak maturely with adults and form what appear to be warm friendships while not knowing at all how to navigate the world of children's play. The very diversity of the children may well be an inhibiting factor in social relationships:

I've got three children who perceive themselves as quite cool and quite streetwise and I have two diagnosed autistic children. That's quite a difficult combination for both sets of children. The cool kids find the autistic children and their traits quite difficult to cope with. The autistic children can't work out why the other children feel their behaviour is annoying or irritating. So it's about pairing them very carefully, giving them space to be away from each other but also work devising the curriculum in devising the activities. So they have to come into contact with each other because we have to teach them, they have to learn to get on with other people. So sometimes we put them in situations where we know it could be volatile but it's closely monitored, it's closely planned and reacted to. (Senior PRU teacher, 2012)

In the participant observation children sometimes reacted badly to each other, trading insults and aggressive language. One of the main issues as a leader can be how to create any sort of positive group functioning at all. This researcher found a successful approach was to work on very directed achievements long before thinking of approaching peer-to-peer work or self-directed work.

What was often difficult in a number of schools was getting the children to work together in small groups without sustained adult direction. They seemed to lack any ability to organise themselves as peer groups. Without an ability to work

well in peer groups, they are likely to 'kick off' and disrupt, so teachers can be nervous about allowing them to work in autonomous small groups with minimal supervision.

3.4.2 Inhabiting roles

In addition some of the children would take on and inhabit roles or act as if they were someone else. Sometimes this would be a recognised role such as class clown or challenger. At other times it might be only speaking through a funny voice for the whole of the session:

Lots of them feel that they can attract older children's attention and other children's praise by being the class clown or by being the naughty one. And that's how they get attention, because if other kids think they are funny, other children will join in or follow. So that's something that we need to break quite early on, because that's not acceptable. They need to get that same sense of worth and that sense of praise by behaving appropriately. (Senior PRU teacher, 2012)

It is interesting to note in the comment by the senior teacher that they felt it important to 'break' this aspect of the children's behaviour, where they were getting kudos from their peers and having fun. Clearly this behaviour was not valued by the school and is perhaps seen as a threat to order.

3.4.3. Emotional intelligence

In the observations the researcher noticed that many of the children in the PRUs did not have the ability to regulate their behavior and emotions, and they were unable to act in an emotionally intelligent way (Goleman, 2001). The frequency of disruptive and aggressive incidents slowed down the flow of the learning and, in addition, disruptions brought down sanctions on the individual children. Many would not see their behaviour and attitude as something to work on but instead would see themselves as in opposition to adult authority. They clearly have not got a language, verbal, artistic or other, through which they can express their feelings about their lives, what they have gone through, or are going through.

In a number of PRUs and EBD units visited there was significant work done by the staff to enable the young people to be able to understand what they are feeling in the moment, why they are feeling like that, how they have various pathways to action. These include controlling their feelings through breathing etc. The staff help the children understand what the consequences, both positive and negative, of their actions are likely to be. It is often a slow process, and sits alongside an orientation of rewards and sanctions, but it reflects an attitude of patience and care:

I think some of them realize why they are here. They're quite open to saying that school is difficult, they will say I find it difficult to be good, or it's too easy to be naughty. Other children have no idea why they are here. They don't see their behaviour as unacceptable. They don't see their behaviour as inappropriate. I find they are actually more difficult to work with because you don't have a common goal. With the children who realize that their behaviour is unacceptable, they want to get back into mainstream. They want to work here, and get back as soon as they can. For those kids who see no problem with the way they are behaving then that is very, very difficult. (Senior PRU teacher, 2012)

Community music work in PRUs uses an emotionally intelligent approach and the nature of musical groupwork enables children to work on how they respond to and interact with others.

3.4.4. Understanding social nuance

As well as having difficulties with their academic learning, many of the children observed had a very limited understanding of social nuance. According to teachers and the community musicians interviewed this inability to have successful 'normal' social interaction seems to be a core element in the children's life arc. In an interview with one PRU teacher, 'Ay' talked about how the children were locked into the rule/reward system and saw everything in black and white. It was his goal to teach them the subtle things of life. He believed many of their parents probably had the same fixed mindset, not able to see beyond rules. He said many of the children used to end up in the army or prison for this reason but that the army was tougher to get into now:

Most kids don't mind the punishment – they know where they are and that works for them. It's easy for them to understand. (Interview with PRU teacher, 2012)

He said he was trying to get banter and negotiation going, which, according to him, was not what trainee teachers who wish to work with children with special educational needs (SEN) are prepared for:

Kids find school difficult and boring and SEN training says the best way is to make it more difficult and boring, but you need to break the rules and structures sometimes, especially for those on the autistic spectrum, if they are to have any chance of outside functioning. In PRUs the momentum in small groups is not as good as in mainstream – that point where the energy takes over and you can just lie back and let it happen is rare. They run the school as a tight ship but it is not autocratic. If their (the children's) argument is not shouting in your face then you learn something more about them through negotiating even though the rules say you shouldn't. They can take well to pairs but they have real difficulties with the complexities of group dynamics such as groups of threes and fours. A lot of the signals and silent vocabulary that four year olds would already know is lost to them. (Interview with PRU teacher, 2012)

Some musicians picked up the theme of the lack of a social communication vocabulary both for children with health issues and for others:

It's a terrible struggle for some kids because they just don't understand the world; they don't have the capacity to remember the rules so that's an issue. Some kids can develop that, they will learn it but those social skills, those life skills are sometimes things they won't get on until they are well into their teens. This is to do with some kids who are in PRUs or EBDs. (Community musician, 2012)

Change, if it comes at all, can take a very long time:

In some settings and for some kids it takes a team of people all to be working in the same way and reinforcing those ideas every day until they have learnt, okay, what do you do when somebody smiles at you or says thank you, what is your response, and you might get a combination of Asperger's, some OCD, you know they've got some other emotional, some other behavioural issues going on, they can't stand germs, anything like that you know. (Community musician, 2012)

In summary, unsurprisingly, many of the children in PRUs have problems with their behaviour. This is most noticeable within their peer group. They have difficulty understanding social communication and few have developed any degree of emotional intelligence.

4. Working with what the children bring

4.1 Introduction

At the heart of this section is the idea of talking and playing with, not talking to, children, the importance of meeting children on their own ground, on their own terms and being invited to be part of their music making. The researcher contends that when working with children, and particularly those in challenging circumstances, such as children excluded from mainstream school, it is important not to merely try to control them but to take what they bring, listen to their ideas, respond to their requests and support their endeavours. In this way community music workers can build an atmosphere of mutual trust and can help to develop environments where children feel empowered, listened to, able to grow. Children are allowed to be the principal agents of their own music making and creativity, and can be met as equals, as full human beings, full of interests and enthusiasms:

I needed to teach with my students, rather than to my students. Sometimes, my opinion was solicited; frequently, I had to determine when to offer it unasked. If my ideas were rejected on occasion, it became an opportunity to learn something new from my participants. (Allsup, 2003: 34)

By working with children on what they bring, i.e. themselves, their stories, material derived from their own lives and interests, the music leader can find an endless source of rich, continually interesting material. It is easier to be assured of the children's involvement and focus, as they are working on material that derives from them and directly concerns them, and the concerned educator can begin to redress imbalances where children's voices have become absent from their own development:

Where children's agency as cultural producers (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998) and informants is acknowledged, they are able to offer rich insight into aspects of their lives and musical experience (Barrett, 2003, 2006; Campbell, 1998). (Cited in Barrett and Smigiel, 2007: 41)

In summary, the researcher suggests that the children's own lives and interests are the ideal raw materials from which to develop musical pieces. This will command the children's interest and open up creative possibilities.

4.2 Counter-balancing the dominant discourse

Teachers working solely with the curriculum, using the transmission of knowledge as their only educational strategy with children in PRUs, may find they are not making connections, that the students' lives and passions are different from theirs, that their concerns and curricula hold no relevancy for the children they work with. Unknowingly they may be agents of a cultural hegemony, putting forward a set of values and interests that the education system holds as superior to the values and interests of those in their charge:

Where knowledge is distanced from the lives of the learners, education then becomes simply a process of induction into the value systems of dominant groups with inclusion taking place only 'under the terms of those with the power to decide the nature of [that] inclusion'. (Rix, 2013: 251)

Allsup recognizes that it is who the teachers are and the values that they have perhaps unconsciously acquired that build a barrier between themselves and the children they work with:

Teachers represent the kinds of middle-class values that have marginalized those individuals who are outside looking in. Youth may be saying, "I don't look or talk like you, I don't like you, what do you want from me?" (Allsup, 2013: 1).

Thus a narrowness of approach may be embraced by the PRU environment and culture:

Hard-to-reach students appear to be idle or removed from social life, I think, because our mostly homogeneous middle-class teaching force cannot see the fullest range of student interests and desires that are present around us. Most schools are not designed to be places where the fullest range of learner identity and employment is valued or sought after; nor is space allotted for the discovery of new desires and identities. (Allsup, 2013: 1)

Allard and Santoro note how curricula, pedagogies and assessment practices can all act as agents of marginalization for those outside the dominant discourse (Allard & Santoro, 2006: 117).

Music teachers and leaders who emphasise only set curricula and pieces they themselves have prepared may unwittingly narrow the range of possibilities and deny the cultural richness made possible by being open to what the children may bring. Allsup notes that the gulf may be even wider for the non-compliant student – the type of student who could end up in a PRU:

Students who are disobedient and unmotivated by grades and teacher approval are unlikely to reveal their own particular fascinations and objects of interest. Nor are they likely to seek out inclusion or to trust that inter-generational dialogue will enhance their needs or approve of their lifestyle. (Allsup, 2013: 1)

Burnard recognizes that, by multiplying the possibilities for learning and knowing through equalizing student voices with those of teachers, one can open the doorway to a rich and self-sustaining creative dialogue based on mutual respect and enquiry:

What conceptions of learning are held on either side of the teacher–learner nexus tells us that both teachers and pupils need to share their conceptions of learning. Teachers need to recognize the role of pupil perspective and acknowledge that pupils can hold sophisticated conceptions of learning in school-based settings. (Burnard, 2004: 31)

Jorgensen recognizes that teachers may find a barrier between their own interests and those of their students. She also recognizes how hard it can be to cross that barrier and to be open to what they bring and want to share. She speaks of:

a growing sense of unease that students today may not wish to learn what we know how to teach. To find ourselves out of tune with what students long to learn, especially when we are unsure that we know enough about how to teach them what they want to know, is very unsettling. (Jorgensen, 2010: 22)

From the above we can see that by allowing children in PRUs to bring material and ideas from their own lives and interests to the music group we can avoid creating a gap of alienation where the student struggles with material not relevant within their frame of reference. In addition we can broaden the possibilities of what learning might be, both for the leader and the participant, as well as sharing understandings of and feelings for learning between both participants and leader where both view the other as more equal than in more traditional educational contexts.

In summary, teachers who do not allow children to share in the construction of the curriculum may be in danger of perpetuating inequalities in education and can make the children feel marginalized and alienated. In the next section we will look at the importance of the young person's voice and how they achieve validity through being heard.

4.3 The right to be heard

This section is concerned with children's voice and the right to be heard. Children in PRUs have things to contend with inside themselves that in many cases would be challenging for adults. Those suffering from bereavement, abuse or neglect, those not living with family members, those ostracized for being different, all have to deal with adult issues without having the experience or maturity to know how to work successfully with their own emotions. We know that many of these children have experienced difficult lives either at home, at school, or both, before they were sent to PRUs. They may not have had the

opportunity to express their feelings about the difficult things that have happened to them and this may be, at least in part, the cause of their behavioural difficulties. Therefore, there is a case that they need their voices heard, they need affirmation, empathy and support. Otherwise they may feel that their voice is not listened to, and that their inner concerns and challenges are entirely their own. Chambers recognizes that looked after children, who form a significant part of the population of PRUs, may feel not heard and may have much to be heard about:

The right of the child to be heard is both a right for participation in family and school life and a necessary part of creative expression. There may be many reasons why looked after children feel not heard, despite many consultation exercises. Foster carers and social workers may wish to act, but be prevented by resource or local and national policy, especially if there are safeguarding concerns.

When children and young people write song lyrics, or devise work, they can express wishes and experiences that are hard to hear, but have a right to be heard. (Chambers, 2013: 77)

Music is an expressive subject. Its nature allows the performer's or composer's inner voice to be heard, understood, and empathized with on a profound emotional level. Bowman recognizes music education as non-mechanical work, as something concerned with the inner self, as a part of the caring professions:

To conceive of music and music education as human interactions is to conceive of them as special kinds of know-how that take their guidance from ethical considerations – from things like care and caring – rather than from compliance with 'objective' standards.' (Bowman, 2009: 115)

Within this special know-how is a concern to know, and to know about, the Other, a need to humanize the encounter, to meet people as their full and complex selves. It is part of community music practice to encourage participants to be their unpredictable, separate and autonomous selves, not to deny their full voice but to encourage it, support it, welcome it and give it conditions to grow:

At the heart of non-formal pedagogy and many of the opportunities provided to young people experiencing additional challenges is recognition of the validity of that person's voice, and developing musical mechanisms by which to understand, amplify and validate that voice. (Lonie, 2013: 10)

Spruce recognizes that the relationship between educator and learner is paramount to the learner's development. A key part of this is the children's ownership of the musical learning process, where the teacher can act in support of the learner's choices and direction of development:

The involvement of individuals in constructing process, content and decision-making involves issues around the extent to which pedagogy promotes a relationship between the learner and the teacher, where the voice of the learner is enabled to be heard in deciding 'what' is to be learnt and 'how' it might be learnt. It is important also to consider *whose* voices are being heard and especially whether the voices are heard of those who experience alienation from, or who are less successfully integrated into, for instance, the school. (Spruce, 2013: 25)

In summary, children in PRUs often have lives very different from the idealized Western vision of childhood, lives frequently containing sustained episodes of trauma and abuse. It is in the nature of music as a subject that it can be a vehicle for a deep, relational encounter between the child and the community musician. This is dependent on the musician allowing the child's voice to be fully heard and valued.

4.4 Valuing their own identity and creativity

Lonie, looking at a programme of music based mentoring, noticed how a methodology that valued what young people brought allowed them to find validity and value in it themselves, and by extension, to find value in their own sense of self as the producers of the things that were valued:

Mentees were not 'done to' or 'instructed' in how to become more active or employable citizens, but through the process of having their creativity nurtured and facilitated in a trusting relationship, began to recognise the validity of their 'voice' and the range of ways in which it could be heard. (Lonie, 2013: 9)

Skeletal structures, such as creating a safe space and encouraging self-expression are important parts of making the young people feel validated:

Mentors were instrumental in motivating the mentees and encouraging them to recognise the value of their own creativity. Lonie (2010, 2011), following Hallam (2005), discusses how intrinsic motivation is one of the key elements fostered in music mentoring and how this allows young people to validate their experiences and perspectives. He argues that it is in providing mentees with a safe space to acknowledge and develop their expressive abilities (building on trust and personal knowledge) that music mentoring flourishes. (Lonie, 2013: 10)

Through this acknowledgement of their own creative worth and by having a safe space to reflect on that acknowledgement, young musicians can begin to develop a range of personal and social skills. One of these skills is often the reappraisal of their own sense of self, their conception of their identity.

In summary, it is important for children with challenging behaviour to have a safe space where their creative work can be valued. This may be a first step for many in developing a new range of skills and an improved self-concept.

4.5 Identity development

Many children who are sent to PRUs will enter them with a sense of their own selves as 'bad', 'unfit to be with the other children' and so forth. The fact of their exclusion can easily foist on them a negative sense of their own identity. When they enter PRUs, this low sense of self worth can become magnified by being in the company of similar young people (Cole and Knowles, 2011). In addition, the PRU atmosphere can curtail their own sense of self-expression. As members of a

group of children, bound together by their distance from the mainstream, some might be overwhelmed by a negative sense of self-image:

Identity exists as a dialectic between an individual and society; it emerges from a social context and is maintained and reshaped by social interaction (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Social identity may be understood 'as that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group [...] together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (Tajfel 1981: 255). (Cited in Dabback, 2008: 282)

It may be however that, for some, the crisis of being excluded, if accompanied by appropriate support, could provide opportunities for self-reflection. Given the appropriate circumstances it is possible this could lead to a change, i.e. an improvement, in self-concept:

The individual maintains a sense of consistency over time but is able to change when there are large or continuous discrepancies between the self and experiences. (Whitbourne, 2001: 102)

Some students when they arrive in PRUs will be in a transitional state. Their identity concept will be challenged and they may become open to new ideas, new ways of behaving. Others will be aware of their likely futures and may reach out for what they might see as positive activities.

Marcia, on adolescent identity, says 'one becomes progressively aware of one's basic characteristics and one's position in the world' (Marcia, 1993: 7). He also speaks of both a conferred identity and a self-constructed identity. Family, society and society's institutions essentially give the conferred identity to the individual. By contrast, the self-constructed identity involves the individual modifying and rejecting, as well as accepting, some conferred elements, and also gives the individual a sense of participating in the process of their own becoming. Being accepted by a group for who you are, for your own likes and interests, your own passions and formerly secret expressions may have an additional positive effect on a young person's self-concept

These transformations to oneself and one's sense of place within the world are engrained within community music approaches to group music making:

According to Hargreaves, Miell and MacDonald (2002: 5), the social functions of music are to (1) define and mediate interpersonal relationships; (2) regulate mood; and (3) establish and develop an individual's sense of identity. (Dabback, 2008: 268)

Bowman argues that the central point of music education is not executive competency but about a series of becomings based on the learnings of a musical life:

Musical actions undertaken with educational intent have as their goal not so much the transmission of particular knowledge and skill as the development of inclinations, attitudes, and dispositions – fluencies closely connected with 'who I am'. (Bowman, 2009: 120)

To Bowman, music educators engaged in a dialogic development with their students are also in a state of becoming. By fully bringing who we are and freely sharing it with what the children bring of themselves, our identities are constantly evolving, shaped by our knowings, our doings and our relationships:

Because identities are shaped by the ways our actions are interpreted and reflected back to us, who 'we' music educators are is a function of those 'others' with whom we undertake alliances. Who 'we' music educators are is also a function of the kinds of doings in which we engage, and engage repeatedly. And who 'we' music educators are is also a function of the kinds of relationships enabled by the music we make and the ways we make it. (Bowman, 2009: 122)

The implications for the community musician are that, if music can be a force in the creation of identity, then we should use music as a conscious tool in the process of positive identity creation. Where students have in life constructed identities suitable only for survival in difficult or traumatic situations, or where, perhaps through experiencing abuse, the sense of self they developed was one where they felt they had no worth, then music can play a role to refashion and reframe this sense of self through supported experiences of self-expression and creativity:

Hargreaves *et al.* (2003) propose that the purpose of all music education, wherever it takes place and however it is structured, is to advance skills in music, but also to develop *self-identity*. They propose an overlapping model for the aims of music education that encompasses musical-artistic, personal and social-cultural outcomes. Group performance and ensemble activities, for example, can develop outcomes across all three domains. It could therefore be argued that the role of the music educator is to explore and have an awareness of how their approach to the learning situation may have an effect on any of these domains. (Lonie, 2013: 4)

Lonie cites an example where, through the combination of validation and guided progression, learners were able to change their understanding of who they were. By responding to students' real selves and by not imposing an identity of compliance and control, music leaders can allow space for a reevaluation of the self, a collective shift in the understanding of who we are and who we have become:

By validating their musical identities and supporting them to progress musically, the practitioner enabled the young people to transform their perceptions and understanding of their musical and wider selves. Indeed, 'The young participants' accounts... offered vital understandings of the affective qualities of the spaces of musical production in such non-formal educational contexts, but further, showed how the emotional geographies of their everyday lives extended and unfolded through such contexts. (Dickens & Lonie, 2012: 11)

In summary, being in a PRU can be a place where a young person acquires a new identity, either that imposed by the surrounding society of being unwanted and excluded, in other words a deficit identity, or a self-constructed identity that establishes a young person's worth. Music can be a significant tool in the creation of a positive identity, through validation, guidance and support.

4.6 Resignification

Matza (1976) uses the term 'signification' to describe the point at which an individual's persona comes to be identified with a particular form of deviance e.g. 'bully':

The effect of such labeling is to set in motion a self-fulfilling prophecy, whereby people judge only that behaviour which accords with the label as typical of the individual, and the labeled individual comes to develop a self-image that is in keeping with the label. (Cooper et al, 1994: 144)

Positive signification or resignification (Cooper, 1993) occurs when a negative label/signification is replaced by a positive identity:

Resignification involves the development of new and positive identities as a consequence of relationships and experience, which undermine the pupils' negative self-image, by revealing evidence of desirable, and positive, qualities of self.

Resignification is achieved through the availability ...of opportunities for pupils to take on new challenges, learn new skills, develop a deeper knowledge of themselves, and move towards a more positive acceptance of themselves. (Cooper et al, 1994: 145)

The structure of community music programmes is woven through with opportunities for resignification and reassessment of self-identity. Practice wisdom suggests these opportunities come from community music programmes' commitment to building a collegiate atmosphere and accepting the other as a fellow artist. In addition the leader's role in listening rather than merely telling helps formulate a community of trust. In community music programmes spaces are made available for freedom of expression and optimization of expression. When looked at collectively and bearing in mind community musicians' increasing use of structured reflection both for themselves and the participants, these initiatives open up significant possibilities for the types of personal change outlined above. In such environments the young person need no longer be a 'troublemaker' and a 'nuisance' but can become a musician.

In summary, music provides an opportunity for children to adopt new identities through resignification, e.g. going from troublemaker to musician. This new identity emphasizes creative aspects already within the child and does not require that they conform in the same way that formal academic achievement does.

4.7 Engagement and motivation

By honouring students' own preoccupations and respecting their cultural choices, the music leader can create space for an engaged response. Students, who might otherwise become distracted and find the content of their lessons meaningless, are invited to explore, share and collectively transform their own

cultural gifts. This is an invitation for participants to engage, to become involved, to be fully present and to share the things they are passionate about, without fear of sanction.

Legg recognises the importance of students' own musics in developing motivation:

Failure to acknowledge students' own musical practices and preferences within the curriculum has been widely identified as the cause of a problem with student engagement. Evans summarises this well when he writes that students 'feel an underlying mismatch between their interest in popular culture and the messages they perceive they are getting from their teacher about the superiority of Western art music' (Evans, 2012: 198). It follows that bringing students' own musics into the classroom helps significantly to address low levels of engagement. (Legg, 2013: 94)

Ballantyne and Mills remind us that by combining student interest with the world of learning, teachers are building for academic success:

By ensuring that there are transparent links between the classroom and the world beyond, teachers can encourage and assist students to draw on their cultural experiences in order to succeed academically (Gale & Densmore, 2000). In re-evaluating their school curricula, these teachers are able to acknowledge and respond to the needs and interests of the communities they serve (Mills, 2007). This also demonstrates a further condition of recognitive justice by fostering students' opportunities for self-determination. They are participating in making decisions that directly affect them and what they learn. Such participation enables students to go beyond engaging in tasks determined by others, such as teachers. (Ballantyne and Mills, 2008: 85)

If teachers work with what the children bring, it can lead to increased student engagement, and opportunities for the children to find themselves validated. In addition working this way may also have other personal impacts such as increased motivation. Reports from staff during the participant observations indicated that students were more motivated on music days and with some children there were less incidents of disruptive behaviour on those days. Increases in motivation can sustain beyond the period of contact time and, with guidance, act as a change agent in the child's life circumstance. As Hallam (2010) reports, increased motivation may sustain and carry into other areas of study thus raising the child's potential for academic success. In this researcher's experience, children in PRUs and EBD units need strong support to help them transfer the motivation they have for music into motivation for other areas of learning, particularly when the learning environment seems less responsive to their own ways of knowing:

However, motivation is a crucial factor in how well children perform at school. Motivation is closely linked to self-perceptions of ability, self-efficacy and aspirations (Hallam, 2005). If active engagement with music increases positive perceptions of self, this may transfer to other areas of study and increase motivation to persist in the light of initial failure. (Hallam, 2010: 277)

Lonie is also upbeat in his attitude to motivation and notes how developing motivation can be a key to increased attainment:

Motivation is linked to self-perceptions of ability and self-efficacy (i.e. how able a person feels to carry out tasks), and therefore, the higher a person's motivation, the bigger the gains in achievement. (Lonie, 2013: 5)

Lonie also cites a range of other effects of music education that have positive impact on the self. These include:

- better attitudes towards learning and the peer group
- increase in social cohesion and improved behaviour
- commitment, respect, responsibility and trust
- emotional intelligence and well-being

(Lonie, 2013)

In summary, working with the children's own voice and interest at the centre of the musical encounter creates space for increased engagement and motivation. From this comes a range of other positive benefits to the child's wellbeing.

5. Conclusion

Through focusing on the child's own interests and creating conditions to enable their self expression, community musicians can enable children to feel secure in themselves and challenge the negative identities which they often take on if educationally excluded. Music can be a means through which they can find their own voice and construct a positive new identity, based on their own experiences and concerns. The next chapter will look at the various structures that affect PRU based music work including structures of education for children with behavioural difficulties, structures of labeling, and structures of institutions.

Chapter five - Organising structures

1. Introduction

This chapter will look at a range of ways of interpreting the role of structure and structures in PRUs. Firstly the chapter will outline the structure of education for vulnerable children, specifically those with behavioural, emotional and social, difficulties (BESD, also called SEBD and EBD in this document) from the late eighteenth century through to today. This will include some parallels between the past and now in terms of poor resourcing. Secondly there will be a focus on the structures of labeling and diagnosis, which in part determine who ends up in pupil referral and EBD units. Thirdly there will be an outline of the structures of PRUs themselves and some of the issues within PRUs as educational establishments. The chapter will also have an emphasis on the role that the search for behavioural conformity plays as a key driver in many PRUs. The researcher will argue that at times this is overemphasized and that this can be to the detriment of other ways of being, including the development of other learnings and independent life skills. Overall the researcher will argue that the provision for children with BESD is historically under resourced and poorly thought through. These various structures of educational policy, labeling, the structure and environment of PRUs, and the structuring of the child's experience in PRUs to modify behaviour, all act on the child's response to the world and their sense of their own position in the world. They also affect the potential atmosphere and outcomes of any work community musicians might undertake in PRUs. As a prelude to looking at these various structures, it is useful for the reader to understand that the expected academic and life outcomes for children excluded from mainstream school and placed in PRUs and EBD units are low.

2. Outcomes for children in PRUs

Taylor (2012: 5) asserts that 'the academic outcomes for pupils who go into Alternative Provision (AP) and PRUs are poor'. While there may be a number of reasons that pupils arrive at PRUs with low academic achievement, such as poor attendance or special educational need, Taylor (2012: 5) argues that 'some AP and PRUs do not pay sufficient attention to improving academic attainment for their pupils'. Indeed, overall, significantly more children in PRUs are achieving lower academic results than their mainstream peers:

Despite the many complex difficulties of children in AP it is still concerning that only 1.4 per cent of them achieve 5 or more GCSEs at grades A*- C including English and Maths compared to 53.4 per cent of their peers in all schools, as outlined in the DfE's GCSE and Equivalent Results first statistical release in June 2011. (Taylor, 2012: 6)

In addition, outside the world of school, children who have been excluded from school persistently do poorly in life. They not only have troubled outcomes for themselves but many also contribute to anti-social and criminal behaviour that impacts on others. German (2003) reported that young people excluded from school are 90 times more likely to become homeless than those who remain on at school and pass exams, while there is some evidence that many turned to crime following exclusion from school (Graham and Bowling, 1995). In their interviews of young men convicted of gun crime, Hayden et al (2008: 167) comment:

With a few notable exceptions, interviews with the offenders in this study illustrated that they had grown up in disrupted family environments, had underachieved, *had been excluded from mainstream education* and had poor work histories in legitimate employment – my italics.

With a history of educational intervention with these vulnerable children stretching back over two hundred years, it could be argued that the educational system has not identified the elements that can help these young people make a success of their lives.

In summary, children in PRUs fare significantly worse than their peers academically. They also face lower life outcomes than other children and many go on to be marginalized and excluded all their lives. The following section will look at the history of schooling for children who were likely to exhibit anti-social behaviour and who had similar characteristics to the type of children who end up in today's PRUs.

3. The history of schooling vulnerable children

3.1 The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

Long before compulsory school attendance for all children was introduced in the UK in 1880, children deemed at risk of what we would today call anti-social behaviour were targeted for a range of educational and other interventions:

One of the earliest attempts to deal with delinquent children took place in 1756 with the founding of the Marine Society "for the purpose of clothing landsmen and boys for the use of the king's ship, and as an expedient to provide for poor boys who might become a nuisance." (Higginbotham, 2014)

These initiatives and others followed on from the work of Thomas Coram with orphaned children in Central London and were in part forerunners to the Victorian philanthropic endeavours energized by the writings of Dickens and Mayhew:

In 1788, the Philanthropic Society was set up "for the protection of poor children, and the offspring of convicted felons; and for the reformation of those who have themselves been engaged in criminal practices." (Higginbotham, 2014)

Between the end of the eighteenth century and Queen Victoria's ascension to the throne in 1837 a range of initiatives developed for the children of the poor and those whose parents were criminals. These consisted mostly of industrial and vocational training, and little attention was given to education itself before the 1830s (Hurt, 1988: 13).

The nineteenth century saw a plethora of types of schools differentiated according to which children of the so-called underclass were educated there:

Among the ranges of schools developed in the nineteenth century were workhouse schools for child inmates of the workhouse, reformatory schools for children convicted of crime, industrial schools, initially for children convicted of vagrancy and abandoned by their parents and later for children whose education was neglected by their parents, as well as the arguably more philanthropically intended Sunday Schools and Ragged schools. (Higginbotham, 2014)

The mid nineteenth century saw over eight hundred certificated (if of variable competency) teachers working with poor children across the country (Hurt, 1988). These initiatives were intended for children who had already been in trouble and those who were at the poorest levels of society, although Hurt notes that both Sunday schools and other voluntary day schools both failed to reach the most destitute children (Hurt, 1988).

This gap was first really tackled by the advent of the Ragged Schools in the 1840s. The City Mission London opened its first Ragged School in 1837, although Field Lane School in Smithfield Market, which opened in 1841, was the first to be designated with the title 'Ragged School'. It was also one of the most famous, being visited by Charles Dickens. The purpose of these schools was to bring the gospels to the poorest children (Hurt, 1988). The Ragged School Union followed in 1844 and was the key agency in working with those children who were not taught by other educational establishments because of their poverty, their clothing and their background (Hurt, 1988).

In summary, educational interventions for children with similar backgrounds to those in PRUs today go back to the eighteenth century. The Ragged School movement was successful in reaching the poorest children.

3.2 Reasons for intervention

Educational initiatives with pauper children in the Victorian era were created with a mix of intentions, some philanthropic, some concerned with economics, some based on faith and conversion (Hurt, 1988). The schools often saw the child

as carrying hereditary criminal tendencies that could be eliminated by a regime that regulated their behaviour (Hurt, 1988). As Hurt notes:

Children in both industrial and reformatory schools underwent a disciplined and oppressive routine of hard work, severe punishment, austere living conditions, and a Spartan diet to eradicate the alleged defects of their characters, the evil influence of their previous environment, and the sins of their fathers. (Hurt, 1988: 77)

The concept of contamination (in the sense of the spreading of anti-social behaviours and tendencies from one child to another), still an issue in PRUs today (Knowles and Cole, 2011), was something that concerned the schools for pauper children greatly. Children were kept apart from their families, their neighbourhoods and from the influence of any others whose morality and lifestyle did not meet the approval of their middle-class educators (Hurt, 1988). A strong reason for these early interventions of both philanthropists and the state in the education of vulnerable children was the fear that they might become criminals.

Before the advent of compulsory education for all:

Children in workhouse, reformatory, and industrial schools formed part of a small group for whose welfare the state, *prompted by a realization of the social danger they posed*, assumed responsibility. (Hurt, 1988: 11) - my italics.

In pre-Victorian times the cost of imprisonment in comparison to keeping a child in an industrial school was an incentive towards the educational route (Hurt, 1988).

In summary, education for the Victorian poor had a number of different motives. It was often designed to keep them away from a life of crime. The regime was frequently harsh. These children were identified as a social danger.

3.3 Parallels between the education of vulnerable children in the nineteenth century and PRUs today

It would be untrue to suggest that the lives of children in the Victorian workhouse, Ragged, and other schools, was similar to that of children in PRUs today, but, nonetheless, there are some quite significant parallels, notably in the backgrounds of the children, the way they present themselves as different, and in some of the deficits of the educational system.

While the children in Victorian times were united more by their parents' poverty or criminality, or their residence in the workhouse, rather than anything about their individual behaviour, parallels can be drawn between the risks they faced in their life circumstances and those faced by contemporary children at risk of exclusion from school and placement in PRUs and EBD units. At one Ragged School in 1855:

Out of 260 pupils, 42 were orphans, 21 had no fathers, 36 had run away from home, 19 were in lodging houses, 29 never slept in beds and 41 lived by begging. In addition, an indeterminate number supported themselves by mudlarking – gathering coal and other rummage from the river. (Hurt, 1988: 73)

This is somewhat paralleled by a sample of thirty-one children who had been permanently excluded in one UK city. The table below illustrates how often risk factors were found in the sample

Table 3 - Risk factors for permanent exclusion (Pitchford, M. (2006). Cited in Arnold et al, 2009: 19)

Mental health problems	8
Special educational needs (SEN)	14
Looked after children (LAC)	1
Single parent	11
Disabled	5
Domestic violence	8
Parental rejection	14
Parental substance misuse	4
Parental mental health	4
Parental reports of behaviour management problems	18
Child protection register	8
No fixed abode/ rough sleeping	4
Risk of sexual exploitation	3

We can see that this group of children and the Victorian children mentioned by Hurt were similar to each other in that many from both groups often experienced a life without clear safety and nurture at home. Both groups share a pattern of being isolated in the world with, in many cases, abuse, neglect and failure to cope replacing expected levels of parental care. Questions that arise from the way these children have been treated across history include: how much (or how little) does the society value children whose lives have been traumatized by events beyond their control? Are they valued enough to put the resources in place necessary to give them an equal chance with children who have not been through the same challenging circumstances?

We have noted that the Ragged School Agency was key to working with those children who were not reached by other educational establishments because of their poverty, their clothing and their background. Noteworthy here is that their clothing, the way they looked, placed them outside of societal norms. This is mirrored today in an interview with a music teacher in a PRU in Oxfordshire:

What makes them distinct as a group is they either look odd or they have odd patterns of behaviour or they are neglected as a group. They are curious. The school head is trying to get them to look physically better than they do, which (currently) counts hugely against them. They are mostly desperately lacking in self-awareness and confidence. In some respects they can seem overconfident. They don't fit into groups. They don't work in their social networks at all well. (Music teacher PRU, 2012)

Other parallels between today and the nineteenth century are concerned with the resourcing of schools in terms of staff and the physical accommodation of the PRU itself:

Posts in workhouse, reformatory, and industrial schools offered the prospect of low salaries, long hours spent in uncongenial surroundings, and a lack of professional status and social esteem. (Hurt, 1988: 11)

The education of children of the poor in the nineteenth century was often limited in outlook and provided by teachers of questionable standard. With the advent of education for all in the 1870's, the children left in reform, industrial or workhouse schools began to be left behind. There was a difficulty in attracting and keeping good staff (Hurt, 1988: 49).

Working with children with challenging behaviour is frequently difficult, at times dangerous, and fraught with the tension of possible confrontation. Teachers rarely get the reward of seeing a child excel in life, knowing that they were the person who inspired them. Instead, many children with BESD will leave school with few skills and with a future on the edge of society. It is hardly surprising that there is often a high turnover of staff and there is sometimes low morale:

Many PRUs have described losing high-quality staff who leave in order to train or qualify as a teacher elsewhere. This is unfortunate because the skills required to teach effectively in a PRU are eminently transferable to mainstream or special schools. The best PRUs are an underused resource that could be used to improve both their own and the wider schools' workforce. (Taylor, 2012: 20)

What children were taught was also limited in the nineteenth century, a narrow curriculum that lagged behind that of mainstream schools, something again mirrored in the twenty first century:

The regulations issued by the Poor Law Board in 1847 set the pattern of workhouse education until after the turn of the century. Thus the pauper children did not generally benefit from the extension to the school curriculum made by the education Department when it offered financial inducement for teaching such subjects as English, history, geography, elementary science, object lessons, and manual training. (Hurt, 1988: 50)

The following extract is from a contemporary Ofsted report into PRU and alternative provision:

For 16 of the PRUs visited, inadequate accommodation limited the curriculum which could be taught on site; examples included no space either indoors or outdoors to teach PE, no specialist teaching rooms for science, ICT, design and technology, art or music, no playground for recreation and no dining room. At one PRU, pupils attended part-time because of a lack of teaching space. (Ofsted, 2007: 8-9)

Since the early nineteenth century and still today, children with challenging behaviour have, in many cases, received a narrower education than their mainstream peers, often with a demotivated or transient staff pool, with resources that did not match those of mainstream, and in accommodation that

was frequently unfit for educational purpose.

In summary, there are a number of parallels between the education of the Victorian poor and children in PRUs today. Many share a similar insecure and chaotic background. In addition, many of their institutions of education also share poor resourcing, restricted curricula and a high turnover of staff.

3.4 A change in thinking

Gradually over the last one hundred years, attitudes towards the children have softened to more informed approaches, changes in labeling, attempts to understand the conditions these children present and an approach that often emphasizes personal, social and emotional aspects of learning. At first this started with the ideas of one individual at a time, not always followed through as intended:

At the turn of the twentieth century William Hunt established the Wallingford Farm Training Colony for (mainly) adolescents caught up in the nineteenth century poor law system. The ethos was a 'warm, restful, non-provocative environment', although others described the physical conditions as 'crude and squalid' (Bridgeland, 1971). Unfortunately the treatment of the individuals often involved violence and aggression in spite of Hunt's humanitarian principles. (Arnold et al, 2009: 12-13)

A change occurred in the 1920's when books such as Professor Cyril Burt's *The Young Delinquent* (1925) questioned the notion that juvenile delinquents were bound to become criminals. This, coupled with the increased interest in child development from the end of the nineteenth century and the development throughout the 1920s and the 1930s of child guidance clinics, served to develop professionals with a better understanding of the individual child's needs and potential (Smuts et al, 2006) (NHS, 2015). New schools called approved schools were developed:

Leila Rendel's work led to the evolution of the Caldecott Community, one of the first schools to be recognised by the Board of Education under Section 80 of the 1921 Education Act as an appropriate (or *approved*) school for children who had been excluded from normal schools. (Arnold et al, 2009: 13)

The early twentieth century approaches to dealing with children with behavioural problems were based on medical, psychological and psychiatric models. This lasted until the 1960s and early 1970s when the growth of educational psychology challenged the medical model (Cooper et al, 1994: 2). Today the vast majority of children with challenging behaviour are in schools where education and learning are at the centre of the work and the medical model is peripheral.

This researcher has not found any examples of extended collaboration between the medical model and the educational model for children with challenging behaviour. Given these young people's need to do well in both their learning and in their personal and social lives the researcher contends that such collaborations may be fruitful and would at the very least bring new insights into the difficulties both these children and those working with them face in trying to secure positive life outcomes for them.

It is this researcher's contention that approaches are needed for these young people that combine their own need for validation through achievement (the need for a sense of competency) with a humane approach that fosters their inner needs for agency and belonging (Deci and Ryan, 2000a). Given the current nature and concerns of the respective sectors, this approach would need to be cross – sectoral, concerned with the whole child and their ability to function and achieve in a group. Approaches which honour and value the creative possibilities within each child have the added value of creating a space for a reframing of self-concept from unwanted and excluded to artist and creator.

The medical model did significantly contribute to the development of a more caring and humane approach to children with BESD (Cooper et al, 1994: 22). While the medical model may have offered support and validation for the individual child, Cooper et al critique it saying that it provided ' a rationale for schools to be places of unconditional acceptance and almost boundless tolerance of even severely disturbed behaviour' (Cooper et al, 1994: 33).

In summary, gradually, over time, educational conditions for these children became more humane. Child guidance clinics and other approaches in the early twentieth century provided caring environments but tolerated behaviour that would be unacceptable in mainstream schools. The medical and the educational approaches developed along quite different lines.

3.5 'Maladjusted': A shift in terminology

The term 'maladjusted' indicated a shift in understanding of children with challenging behaviour. It was coined by John Sully who stated that the 'so-called abnormal child, in the vast majority of cases, was a maladjusted one, that is he had not adjusted himself to his environment' (Hurt, 1998: 167). The term signaled in the start of a shift towards an educational model rather than a medical one:

The ill defined word 'maladjusted' was in official use by 1930, and indeed the first local education authority (LEA) schools for the maladjusted were founded in the 1930s, advocating an educational as much as a medical approach, but the legally enshrined

category of 'maladjusted children' did not come into being until the 1945 Regulations which followed the Education Act 1944. These defined the maladjusted as: 'pupils who show evidence of emotional instability or psychological disturbance and require special education treatment in order to effect their personal, social or educational readjustment'. (Ministry of Education, 1953, Part 3,9g, cited in Cole, 1998)

One thing of note here is the use of a non-medical term 'maladjusted' as a diagnostic term for children with challenging behaviour. There was much room for confusion as to who was 'maladjusted' and what that might mean in terms of their cognitive and emotional makeup:

Under the 1944 Education Act, children with special educational needs were categorised by their disabilities defined in medical terms. Many children were considered to be "uneducable" and pupils were labeled into categories such as "maladjusted" or "educationally sub-normal" and given "special educational treatment" in separate schools. (House of Commons, 2006: 11)

'Maladjustment', while not having a clear diagnosis, and being itself a somewhat confusing term, still indicated a clear medicalisation of children with challenging behaviour:

'Maladjustment' defined problem and treatment in medical terms, drawing especially on the perspectives of psychoanalysis and psychotherapy. (Cooper et al, 1994: 14)

Cooper et al (1994: 20) note the deficit implied in the term maladjusted and the implication of fault lying within the child (although this may not have been part of the original intention behind the use of this term). The term 'maladjusted' can be taken to imply that children need to adjust to the norms of society:

While the 'maladjusted' have been conceptualised as a separate grouping, in fact many children thus labeled could equally have been described as 'socially deprived', 'disruptive', 'disaffected', sometimes 'delinquent' or 'mentally ill' or 'mentally deficient'. These descriptors were applied to many children placed in schools for the maladjusted. Conversely, children who might have been seen as genuinely maladjusted were placed in Home Office or health or welfare department provisions; or, from the 1950s, in tutorial classes or special units designed primarily for the so-called 'disruptive'. Galloway and Goodwin (1987) put forward a persuasive argument for describing these pupils as 'disturbing' to teachers and other professionals, rather than 'disturbed'. (Visser, 2003: 11)

Despite the intention of the new term maladjusted to be a step towards better provision and better outcomes, in practice the vagueness of the term led to diverse and ill-defined groups of children being bundled together without appropriate specialist provision being put in place (Cole et al, 1998):

In fact, dating back to the work of the Royal Philanthropic Society in the 1790s, the precursors of the 'EBD' would seem to have been taken under the wing of any one of four government departments: welfare, juvenile justice, education or health. Whether the 'problem child' has been 'cared for', 'punished', 'educated' or 'treated' has often been a matter of chance depending upon which individuals in which agency happened to pick up his or her case. A child's placement often depended on where the vacancies were when the child was perceived by particular professionals to have reached crisis point or when funding became available. (Hyland, 1993; Grimshaw with Berridge, 1994; Cole et al, 1998; Daniels and Cole, 2002; Visser, 2003: 10)

This continues in part today with the researcher being told by staff during the

participant observations about young people who should be in EBD units being placed instead in PRUs because that was what was available.

One of the impacts of Dr King's 'I have a dream' speech was to give hope to those with ideas about educational integration:

In the 1960s and 1970s a new educational movement emerged. At the time it was called *Integration* and roots can be traced back to the human rights movements found at that time. Later, in the 1990s the term integration gave way to the concept of inclusion. (Arnold et al, 2009: 14)

A key change in the education of vulnerable young people was the Warnock Report:

The Warnock Report in 1978, followed by the 1981 Education Act, radically changed the conceptualisation of special educational needs. It introduced the idea of special educational needs (SEN), "statements" of SEN, and an "integrative"—which later became known as "inclusive"—approach, based on common educational goals for all children regardless of their abilities or disabilities: namely independence, enjoyment, and understanding. (House of Commons, 2006: 11)

While there has been a movement worldwide to integrate children with special educational needs into the mainstream classroom and thereby create a more inclusive society, as outlined in UNESCO's Salamanca statement (UNESCO: 1994), to date this has not been so much the case with children with challenging behaviour:

The way in which society deals with difference, particularly differences that manifest themselves as difficult or challenging behaviour, can be seen as a reflection of the view that society holds about its most vulnerable members. However, there are gaps between rhetoric and reality. The present educational climate in the UK, which emphasises inclusion of all pupils, nevertheless continues to operate a state sanctioned system that allows for pupils to be excluded from school. (Arnold et al, 2009: 7-8)

In the 1980s new terminology emerged which is still in common use:

The Education Act 1981 abolished the categories of the Education Act 1944, preferring to use the generic term 'special educational needs' but government and practitioners rapidly adopted a new label (in part suggested in the Underwood Report, 1955): 'emotional and behavioural difficulties', defined as a form of special educational needs. Circular 23/89 (DES, 1989b; see also Cooper, Smith and Upton, 1994, p20) described EBD as 'children who set up barriers between themselves and their learning environment through inappropriate, aggressive, bizarre or withdrawn behaviour [they have] developed a range of strategies for dealing with day-to-day experiences that are inappropriate and impede normal personal and social development, and make it difficult for them to learn'. (Visser, 2003: 11)

In summary, changes in labeling highlighted changes in how children with challenging behaviour were perceived. The term 'Maladjusted' was somewhat ambiguous as to whether the cause of the child's problems lay with the child or with the society around the child. By the 1980s the terms SEN and EBD were beginning to be used. These terms are still used today. In the next section we will look at definitions and understandings of EBD and the issues connected with this type of labeling.

4. Understanding EBD

In this section we will look at a number of different, mostly official, descriptors of children with EBD. These children share the fact that they are not in mainstream schools because they have difficulties with their behaviour. However, apart from how they present the symptoms of their distress, there is little that can be found to bind them together. The DfEE (2001: 83) identified these children as having:

Evidence of significant emotional or behavioural difficulties, as indicated by clear recorded examples of withdrawn or disruptive behaviour; a marked and persistent inability to concentrate; signs that the child experiences considerable frustration or distress in relation to their learning difficulties; difficulties in establishing and maintaining balanced relationships with their fellow pupils or with adults; and any other evidence of a significant delay in the development of life and social skills.

The first SEN Code of Practice (DfE, 1994c: paras. 3.64 –3.66) stated that pupils with EBD:

have learning difficulties [as defined at paragraph 2:1 of the Code]. They may fail to meet expectations in school and in some but by no means all cases may also disrupt the education of others.

Emotional and behavioural difficulties may result, for example, from abuse or neglect; physical or mental illness; sensory or physical impairment; or psychological trauma. In some cases, emotional and behavioural difficulties may arise from or be exacerbated by circumstances within the school environment. They may also be associated with other learning difficulties...

Emotional and behavioural difficulties may become apparent in a wide variety of forms including withdrawn, depressive or suicidal attitudes; obsessional preoccupation with eating habits; school phobia; substance misuse; disruptive, anti-social and uncooperative behaviour; and frustration, anger and threat of or actual violence.

Practice wisdom suggests that the greater the range of difference between children at the levels of both their cognitive ability and cognitive diversity and their emotional and behavioural responses to situations and stimuli, then the more difficult it is to teach them specific things in a group. This, in practice, is significantly modified if the children are agents of their own learning, setting their own goals and devising their own targets within their areas of interest:

Children with EBD are on a continuum. Their problems are clearer and greater than sporadic naughtiness or moodiness and yet not so great as to be classed as mental illness. (DfE: 1994b: 4)

This group is not able to follow the expected norms of the mainstream classroom and consequently the children are excluded, as the norms have not been shifted to find a place for them. Yet it could be argued that for many of these young people their circumstances are not extreme enough for them to be deemed ill and therefore receive appropriate care. So they become defined and isolated because of the symptoms they display of their inner turmoil, often caused by very different reasons, often displayed in very different ways. The only thing that makes them

homogenous as a group is their collective exclusion, the fact that they are not wanted, not accepted, by the mainstream.

The range statement below gives some idea of the complexity of factors affecting children with EBD and hints at the complexity of approach needed to help them overcome their difficulties, difficulties beyond their power to solve unaided:

EBD range (DfE 1994b: 8) from 'social maladaptation to abnormal emotional stresses ...are persistent and constitute learning difficulties', involve emotional factors and/or externalised disruptive behaviours and general difficulties in forming 'normal' relationships. Social, psychological and sometimes biological factors or, commonly, interactions between these three strands, are seen as causing pupils' EBD. There follows detailed amplification in which 'within-child' emotional factors are counterpoised with difficult externalised behaviours including truanting, aggression, violence and destructive behaviour. Children with EBD have problems in relationships; the causes are likely to be complex and systemic involving school and home factors. Determining whether a child has EBD depends on 'frequency, persistence, severity or abnormality and the cumulative effect of the behaviour in context' compared to 'normal' children. (Cited in Visser, 2003: 13)

This web of influencing factors and causes makes it difficult to find ways out of difficulties for those with EBD and suggests that caution be used in trying to tie down either definitions, understandings or indeed strategies for improvement.

For most pupils, it is the cumulative interactive effects of the different parts of children's lives, which give rise to their challenging behaviour. (Visser, 2003: 13)

The Scottish Executive (2001: para. 2.14) again found it hard to define SEBD, expressing reluctance to attach any label to a child. However, the Executive said there were such children and they clearly had SEN:

Children with SEBD may:

- be unhappy, unwilling and/or unable to work
- receive less praise for their work and have fewer positive child/adult interactions
- have learning difficulties or be under-achieving
- have poor social skills and fewer friends
- have low self-esteem
- be emotionally volatile
- be easily hurt.

Interestingly the phrase here 'receive less praise for their work' points not to the actions of the child but those around them. Again we come back to the question of how much of the children's condition is their inability to adjust to the society around them, to conform to the norm and how much is their condition due to the inability of society to recognize and respect their worth, to make them feel valued and respect their otherness. McBrien and Felce (1992: 3) develop this idea:

We have adopted the term challenging behaviour...as a general label for those classes of behaviour which have previously been called problem behaviours, disruptive behaviours or behaviour disorders. The term emphasises that the behaviours constitute a challenge to other people to find effective ways of responding to them... the problem lies in the interaction between the person, their behaviour and their social environment.

Here the authors recognize that the challenge is how we respond to the

difference of children with challenging behaviour: the difficulties for these young people lie to a large extent in the zone of their interaction with others. During the participant observations, the interactions between non-music specialist teachers and children in PRUs were observed by the researcher to be predominantly based around the concept of the teacher as holder of knowledge and therefore very much in the stronger power position. It is not possible to say how far this extends through other PRUs.

In summary, children with challenging behaviour can exhibit a range of different symptoms and the condition is complex in its causes. Some of the problems emanate from within the child while others may be due to how people respond to the child. In the next section we will look at the difficulties and complexities of defining and diagnosing EBD.

4.1 Dangers in diagnosis and definition

Kauffman (2001: 22-23) notes that:

The definition of such a disorder – the construction of guidelines that will foster valid and reliable judgements about who does and does not have it – is anything but simple. One reason it is so difficult to arrive at a reliable definition is that an emotional or behavioural disorder is not a thing that exists outside a social context but a label assigned according to cultural rules...A science of behaviour exists, but the objective methods of natural science may play a secondary role in designating someone as deviant. An emotional or behavioural disorder is whatever a culture's chosen authority figures designate as intolerable. Typically, it is that which is perceived to threaten the stability, security, or values of that society. Defining an emotional or behavioural disorder is unavoidably subjective, at least in part. (Kauffman, 2001: 22-23)

Diagnosis of EBD is also complex as there is a lack of precision within the diagnostic process and also the behaviours of children are subject to quite sudden change. They may be disruptive on one occasion and compliant on another, for example. Achenbach (1991) noted that there was no well-validated criterion for categorically distinguishing between children who are 'normal' and those who are 'abnormal' and that with respect to mental health syndromes, 'children are continually changing'. He warned that:

All assessment procedures are subject to errors of measurement and other limitations. No single score precisely indicates a child's status. Instead, a child's score on a syndrome scale should be considered an approximation of the child's status as seen by a particular informant at the time the informant completes the CBCL. (Achenbach, 1991: 45-6)

Daniels et al (1998) noted the continuing debate among psychiatrists about the relevance of the diagnostic model and particularly the use of diagnoses such as 'conduct disorder', which essentially medicalise difficulties. The Canadian psychiatrist Barker (1996) was also critical:

Efforts to create categories within what is a heterogeneous and wide ranging collection of

patterns are commendable attempts to bring order out of chaos; yet they are essentially both arbitrary and artificial and have serious limitations, particularly as guides to treatment and prognosis. In reality the disorders of childhood and adolescence are a very mixed bag of social-behavioural-emotional disorders, which usually have multiple causes. A comprehensive formulation of each case is more important than the assigning of a diagnostic label. (Barker, 1996: 13)

This urge to fully take each case, each child, as an individual with unique issues, and unique ways forward, argues for a level of resourcing that is not available for these children.

In summary, diagnoses of EBD are complex and may be contested. There has been criticism of the relevance of these diagnoses. It may be more fruitful to look at every child's situation individually.

4.2 Who has EBD?

This study focuses on working with children in PRUs and EBD units, particularly those with challenging behaviour. It is not concerned with all children with EBD, merely those put into special units because they cannot be accommodated in mainstream school. Yet there are many children in mainstream who regularly exhibit EBD and of course there are some in PRUs whose challenges are not behavioural. Cole and Knowles (2011) estimate that there are over 150,000 children in the UK with significant EBD and certainly less than a third of those are in PRUs, EBD units or other alternative provision (AP):

There is no reliable data on the number of pupils in AP but the latest figures from the Department for Education (DfE) 2011 AP Census recorded 14,050 pupils in PRUs and 23,020 in other AP settings on full or part-time placements. Children attend AP for a wide range of reasons, but predominately they are children with behaviour difficulties in years 10 and 11. These children have either been permanently excluded from school and are placed in AP by the local authority (LA) or the PRU, or they are sent to AP by individual schools as early intervention to change behaviour. (Taylor, 2012: 4)

While some children may develop challenging behaviour from a simple desire to challenge authority, many present their behaviour as a response to complex life situations they find themselves in, for which they have developed no other coping mechanism:

It is important to note that many children who are referred to PRUs and AP come from the most deprived backgrounds. They often come from chaotic homes in which problems such as drinking, drug taking, mental health issues, domestic violence and family breakdown are common. These children are often stuck in complex patterns of negative, self-destructive behaviour and helping them is not easy or formulaic. Many also have developed mental health issues. (Taylor, 2012: 4).

Visser also emphasizes the complexity of their circumstances:

Experience of failure and rejection, usually mingled with unsettled home circumstances had commonly led to low self-esteem (certainly in relation to their educational potential) and damaged confidence. Traumatic life events involving loss and bereavement were not uncommon. (Visser, 2003: 12)

These issues of troubled background can be compounded by differences between the child and their peers in terms of cognitive diversity or impairment or by the challenge of being poor in modern Britain:

Children in PRUs and AP are twice as likely as the average pupil to qualify for free school meals. They are more likely to have had poor attendance in school and to be known to social services and to the police. As set out in the DfE's Statistical First Release for children with special educational needs (SEN), in January 2011, 79 per cent of pupils in PRUs have SEN, and often the boundaries between AP and SEN provision are blurred. Two-thirds of pupils in AP and PRUs are boys. (Taylor, 2012: 5)

It is unclear whether it is because of social, cultural, familial expectations of boys, cognitive diversity, or for other reasons, but many studies, both in the UK and internationally, note the large gender imbalance between girls and boys in alternative provision. Cole et al (1998) (1999) established that there were ten to twelve times more boys than girls in English EBD schools and over three times as many boys as girls in PRUs. Egelund and Hansen (2000) noted a 5: 1 boy: girl ratio in segregated provision in Denmark. In Scotland, Lloyd and O'Regan (1999) report that over 80% of the pupils in specialist provision for EBD are boys. Fortin and Bigras (1997) note that boys heavily outnumber girls in Canadian literature on EBD.

In summary, EBD is much more likely to affect boys than girls, children whose families are poor rather than financially comfortable and children whose home life is chaotic.

5. Pupil referral units

While there is a range of different types of provision for young people with challenging behaviour, PRUs have been and are a significant institution for the care of these children.

Pupil referral units (PRUs) are short stay centres for pupils who are educated other than at maintained or special schools, and they vary considerably in size and function. They admit pupils with behavioural difficulties and others who can be identified as vulnerable because of their health or social and emotional difficulties. Some PRUs educate and support school-aged mothers.

Although there is a wide variety of PRUs, they face similar barriers in providing children and young people with a good education. These may include inadequate accommodation, pupils of different ages with diverse needs arriving in an unplanned way, limited numbers of specialist staff to provide a broad curriculum and difficulties reintegrating pupils into mainstream schools. (Ofsted, 2007: 4)

PRUs have a small population by national standards:

There are approximately 14,000 pupils in both full and part time placements in PRUs, as set out in the DfE's Schools, Pupils and their Characteristics, statistical release. The Department for Children, Schools, and Families *Back on Track* (2008) reported that just under half of the pupils in PRUs were there because they had been excluded and over half of children go to their first AP placement via a PRU. (Taylor, 2012: 19)

In summary, PRUs are an important source of Alternative Education Provision.

Many have a range of structural problems.

5.1 Homogenous or diverse student groups

PRUs cater for more than just children with challenging behaviour. Young mothers, refugee children, children who are school phobic and others all attend PRUs as well as those who have behavioral difficulties. Often the makeup of the PRU's student body is, at this time dictated more by the circumstances of geography and resources available than by the needs of the children:

Whether the PRU catered for a group of pupils with very specific needs, such as medical needs, behavioural difficulties, or support during pregnancy, or whether this was mixed, varied. A specific remit made the management and organisation of the PRU more straightforward and simplified curriculum planning. However, particularly in some rural areas, some PRUs visited were catering very effectively for pupils with widely varying needs within the same centre. (Ofsted, 2007: 14)

One strong concern within the area of who is in PRUs is the number of children with special educational needs.

Almost all the PRUs in the survey had pupils with statements of special educational need. In the LAs with no designated special school for pupils with behavioural, emotional and social difficulties, almost all the pupils in the PRUs had a statement. In others, all the pupils left the special school at the end of Year 9 and were admitted to the PRU. (Ofsted, 2007: 16)

Quite often, children are in PRUs who need other specialized provision:

Commonly, pupils with statements of special educational need had been admitted to PRUs without appropriate decisions being taken about long-term placement. In four PRUs some statements of educational special need named it as the school to provide the support; this does not fully comply with the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) guidance that where a pupil's special needs are long term the pupil should be given a special school rather than a PRU placement. Most monitoring by LAs of the progress of these pupils was minimal and consisted only of the LA's attendance at the annual review meeting if indeed one took place during the pupil's time at the PRU. (Ofsted, 2007: 6)

While thinking on the curriculum has been changing for PRUs during the time of writing this document, they have not until now had to provide a full curriculum. This may be to allow a focus on core subjects including personal and social development (Taylor, 2012: 6) or it may be to allow more time spent on non-academic subjects, which may be more suitable for some of these students. They should have:

an interesting, relevant and appropriately accredited curriculum. Partnerships with a wide range of agencies support pupils and enrich their experiences, particularly for the many PRUs which have limited specialist facilities of their own. (Ofsted, 2007: 5)

PRUs do emphasise personal and social development:

All the PRUs made sure personal and social development was emphasised: it was integrated into all lessons and activities, as well as being taught well at discrete times. (Ofsted, 2007: 4)

In practice, Maths, Science and English are taught in all PRUs. Students tend to have a less arduous academic regime than at mainstream schools. Sometimes

subjects such as music can be sidelined as being potentially volatile; especially because these subjects are 'unknowns' in the amount of creative control they give to students. PRU curriculum provision is quite different to mainstream:

It's tough at times. I think I would struggle now to go back into mainstream school. That's fine, that's my choice. We don't teach a full curriculum here. Unless I choose to do it in topic I don't teach explicit history or explicit geography or art. I think going back to having 30 children would scare me to death. That would be a lot different. (Senior teacher in PRU, 2012)

In some cases the lack of a full curriculum offer is driven by a lack of available resources and expertise and in these circumstances PRU based children receive a narrower education than their mainstream peers:

PRUs were sometimes unable to meet the requirements of the pupils' statements of special educational need; for example, the full National Curriculum was seldom taught. In some cases pupils with a statement were not receiving a full time education. Many stayed on the roll of a PRU for an inappropriately long time, sometimes years. At least two of the LAs visited had policies which stated clearly that pupils with a statement should not be placed in a PRU but, nevertheless, they had such pupils on the PRUs' rolls. (Ofsted, 2007: 16)

In summary, PRUs cater to a wide range of children. Many of them have special educational needs. Often PRUs are catering for children who should really be in other institutions. Many PRUs offer a limited curriculum.

5.2 Issues within PRUs

As in Victorian times with the education of poor children, many PRUs today suffer from a lack of suitable accommodation and sometimes a lack of suitable resources. About a third of the PRUs visited in the study were Portakabin or demountable structures, including one placed on a street behind a row of advertising billboards. This contrasted with others, including some EBD units that were essentially residential homes in the country, one complete with stables. Some PRUs visited had no sports facilities and some were clearly cramped for space. Others had good space including adequate libraries. It varied quite significantly from area to area – 'almost all the PRUs inspected had to overcome limitations in their accommodation' (Ofsted, 2007: 4).

Cole et al's (1998) national study concluded that effective EBD schools could be housed on sites of contrasting age, size, style and location but they must be warm, inviting, well-resourced buildings which allow for individual, group and whole-school needs both in lesson time and breaks and, in residential schools, in the care hours:

Ofsted (1999) noted the effect of the physical environment on the social and behavioural development of pupils: bare walls, hard floors and steel and plastic furniture in, for example, dining halls, were said to defeat staff efforts to provide positive social experiences, often

contributing to a crescendo of noise and shouting adults, struggling to stay in control. (Cited in Visser, 2003: 62)

This lack of attention to the learning environment and to creating a stimulating space for children who already feel disengaged from their learning is also echoed in very many PRUs in relation to the learning resources on offer. It is noteworthy that students who have poor outcomes in literacy very often have no library in their place of learning. If reading is only done in a classroom context, the joy of discovery and becoming one's own navigator through the world of books is likely to be lost to the children:

Beyond the physical environment, the provision of appropriate and sufficient teaching equipment and materials is an obvious and important ingredient of effective schooling. Yet Ofsted (1999) found that provision for pupils with challenging behaviour had a narrower range of resources for English and mathematics; fewer than half of the inspected special schools (particularly EBD schools) had adequate libraries. (Visser, 2003: 62)

In addition to the issues raised so far in PRUs, there can, in some, be a culture where staff feel isolated within their own units and play no active part in their own continuing professional development. Cooper, Smith and Upton (1991) found that only 30% of teachers in EBD schools had undertaken any additional relevant training. Cole et al (1998) found that in 46% of 156 schools, no member of staff had been funded to take an award-bearing EBD or SEN course between 1993 and 1996:

Working with children with EBD is stressful, particularly for those new to the work but also for long-serving staff who can become tired and prone to 'burn-out' (Cole, 1986; Upton, 1996).

Staff may suffer from social exclusion:

Staff themselves can become identified with excluded groups and, like their pupils, risk becoming invisible to the mainstream. (Solomon, 2009: 35)

Some may themselves show inappropriate behaviour:

History show that closed systems, and the mentality of staff that feel invisible to the outside world, have tended to breed unprofessional and occasionally abusive practice. (Solomon, 2009: 36)

In summary, many PRUs offer poor provision in terms of resourcing and many are not housed in buildings that are highly conducive to learning. Staff may be unconcerned with their own professional development and may at times feel isolated.

5.3 Behaviour and conformity

Unsurprisingly, many of the children in PRUs find it very difficult to regulate their behaviour:

Children from chaotic backgrounds, placed in chaotic schools, inevitably become more

chaotic in their behaviour. Where the school mirrors their home lives by being disorganised, unpredictable and unsafe, they feel emotionally uncontained and revert to the behaviour that they use to survive at home. (Taylor, 2012:13)

During the participant observations the researcher frequently noted the pressure on the children from school staff and the school system to behave differently, to behave 'better', to operate within a band of behaviour that can be understood as 'normal'. This meant to be still, to be quiet, not to answer back, to be compliant, not to be disruptive. This is how children in mainstream schools are supposed to, and often do, operate and the intention is that children who are currently excluded will conform over time to these norms of behaviour and therefore gain reacceptance to mainstream:

Yes, their academia is important but it's the behaviour first and foremost. (Senior PRU teacher, 2012)

Seeking controlled behaviour in PRUs was seen to be important not just for re-entry into mainstream but also for staff and student safety. PRUs can be dangerous places and staff and students need to be protected. At an early observation in a Primary PRU, a member of staff had her jaw broken by a student. Other musicians reported similar troubling incidents:

I have been in one that was very disturbing and ended up dangerous with kids throwing chairs and having no other adult in with me. All of the other adults were with kids being taken off to safe zones in corridors and they locked them off so it ended up just because children have been taken out I was the only one left in the room. So I ended up in a window going you have to let me out of here, I'm not allowed here on my own. Apart from the fact that was dangerous but it was a school that seemed to thrive on that. It was a culture of the school because there are other schools with kids with the same level of difficulties that have a different culture, things never got to that level. So it was a teacher who was complicit with the kids and here in order to control the kids had become a pal and of course the minute she wasn't there they couldn't be controlled. (Community musician, 2012)

Many of the children in PRUs have difficulty with a loosening of the controls. Experienced staff are often very good at imposing a level of control that is effective in keeping disruptive behaviour in check:

Our children find unstructured very difficult. They push their behaviour because they want to see where the boundaries are, if the boundaries aren't clear. But they also have, as I said before, have quite low self-image, low self-worth so doing something that exposes them to, in their eyes, ridicule from their peers makes them very nervous. And I think it's important that we know our children. We would never send anybody from outside to work with a group of children without us. Because, the tiniest thing, a funny look from you, you might not mean anything by that look but the way children perceive you. Because we get to know the children so well we are able to jump in before anything happens. It's where I control the situation quite closely and that's quite hard for other people to do. (Senior PRU teacher, 2012)

A thought-through approach to behaviour management, delivered calmly and clearly, can help the children improve their focus, become active as learners and raise their levels of self-esteem:

Good practice - Consistent behaviour management strategies, good policies, reward and sanction systems, behaviour management done in a positive way, longevity, it's good when you build up relationships. We set targets, lay down what expectations are.

On the whole the majority of children do respond well to the environment – we are very calm and know what expectations are and all staff are consistent with expectations – once they know what their boundaries are and what is expected of them they feel safe and comfortable in beginning to learn – whereas in mainstream they may not feel that – or even at home there may be boundary issues – it takes some children longer than others to understand what the boundaries are. (Senior PRU teacher, 2012)

Many PRUs are calm places where behaviour is very regulated:

It is surprisingly calm at the PRU, because we have very high expectations; we have consistent staff, consistent rewards and sanctions. The children know where they are, they know what to expect and they know how we are going to respond. So on the whole it has been very, very calm. (Senior PRU teacher, 2012)

However it is clear from the researcher's observations, the feedback from community musicians in focus groups, the literature and also interviews with staff members, that the focus on behaviour regulation in PRUs is often a significant driver of the workforce and receives much more detailed attention for each child than would reasonably be expected for mainstream children:

I feel sorry for the children when they come in sometimes because we have very, very high expectations of what's appropriate behaviour and for some of these children, certainly at home, that's not the same case. We have much, much higher levels of expectation. We also, controlling is the wrong word, but we also structure things very differently from mainstream schools. I don't know if you've been and had lunch with us. Lunch is very organized. All the children sit down. They all eat off a plate. They unload their lunchbox and put it onto a plate. So when lots of the children come in they have no idea why they can't just sit down and wolf down their lunch in 5 minutes and then go out to play like it is in mainstream school. But our children rise to that sort of expectation. And they enjoyed a challenge because the praise comes with it. (Senior PRU teacher, 2012)

This highly controlled atmosphere was clearly evidenced in those PRUs where the researcher joined children and staff for mealtimes. Children had to carefully control how they prepared to eat, their level of voice, everything about their behaviour. In some PRUs this was extended to the playground and playtime was also very structured:

Playtime here again is very structured and lots of children struggle with that to start with. You have to be playing something; we have lots of activity, lots of games going on. There is no wandering around just having a chat because they need to practice their social skills at playtime and that's very, very different in mainstream schools. (Senior PRU teacher, 2012)

In some PRUs and EBD units this focus on 'right' behaviour was very marked and came at the expense of developing other social skills:

On one occasion in a passing game, a child passed the ball on quickly so as not to be the one 'out' of the game. This was intended as a fun, inclusion activity and also to help the children be 'out' for a short period of time (one round). The teacher punished the child for cheating which of course destroyed the fun game based atmosphere of the class. (Reflective journal, 2011)

Behaviour management does need to be a focus in PRUs and EBD units. Given the circumstances around the child, a calm safe environment may provide these

children with their best chance to focus and move forward. However, given that these children are only together because they have behavioural difficulties, it would seem that a school which focuses on their behaviour to the exclusion of other aspects of the child may well close itself off to what the child can bring creatively. It may narrow the discourse for the child so that they end up becoming identified, not just by the school, but also by themselves, as the person who behaves badly and does not deserve happiness and success:

One of the things that really struck me when I was working in an EBD school in South London was, during the introduction period of going in and meeting everybody, been doing a bit of observation, one of the little girls in the reception class, a really tiny 5-year-old who had been excluded from mainstream education. And it was over breakfast, we used to have breakfast there, she introduced herself, she said her name and then said I'm here because I'm bad. I was bad and I was taken out of my other school. And I very quickly said you know I'm not here to tell you off. I'm here to do some singing with you. But just to have that perception of yourself, and obviously the staff were very good and they said you don't need to say that. This lady is here to do some singing. But to have that perception of yourself at the age of 5!

I'm pleased because by the end of the session she was singing a song about being a bubble and being the sea. She had spent about half the session hiding under a chair and eventually came out and sang that, which felt like a nice ending.

I think that's the thing that strikes me most about working with these sorts of kids - just how complex the emotional and social issues can be. (Community Musician, 2012)

Cole and Knowles (2011: 18/19) argue that the B in BESD should not be the first consideration in working with these children:

There can be an assumption that the 'behaviour' is usually 'bad', is probably the child's fault and needs managing, suppressing or even punishing. Such an attitude can guide practice rather than allowing teachers and support professionals to seek to *understand* the behaviour and to consider more reflective and effective responses to it.

Cooper argues that this focus can blind the school to more systemic problems and to possible problems within their own practice:

By focusing the blame for the behaviour problem on the pupil they remove the need to question the value of the school structures and regimes. (Cooper et al, 1994: 21)

It can be argued that it is the duty of the PRU or the EBD unit to continually question their methods, their understandings and their relationships with their students until the outcomes for their pupils improve to a point where by far the majority of the children lead happy, fulfilled lives, making their contributions to the wider society. As the data quoted earlier in this chapter clearly showed, this is not currently the case for many children in PRUs or EBD units.

In *Discipline and Punish* (1995), Foucault points out the use, in institutions, of a range of penalisations that act on both the behaviour and the identity of the person within the system:

The workshop, the school, the army were subject to a whole micro-penalty of time (latenesses, absences, interruptions of tasks), of activity (inattention, negligence, lack of zeal), of behaviour (impoliteness, disobedience), of speech (idle chatter, insolence), of the

body ('incorrect' attitudes, irregular gestures, lack of cleanliness), of sexuality (indecent). (Foucault, 1995: 178)

These micro penalties create the structural framework for maintaining both the penalising institutions and for the 'idealised citizen' it sets out to create:

All behaviour falls in the field between good and bad marks, good and bad points. Moreover, it is possible to quantify this field and work out an arithmetical economy based on it. A penal accountancy, constantly brought up to date, makes it possible to obtain the punitive balance sheet of each individual. (Foucault, 1995: 180)

This structural framework can impact on the self-concept of the individual:

Through this micro-economy of a perpetual penalty operates a differentiation that is not one of acts, but of individuals themselves, of their nature, their potentialities, their level or their value. By assessing acts with precision, discipline judges individuals 'in truth'; the penalty that it implements is integrated into the cycle of knowledge of individuals. (Foucault, 1995: 181)

Foucault goes on to clarify the ultimate purpose of this system of penalty:

The perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes. In short, it *normalizes*. (Foucault, 1995: 183)

This researcher suggests that children with challenging behaviour are best served if the main areas of teacher focus shift from modifying their behaviour to reach what may be for them an unachievable norm, to looking critically at the ways they can be engaged and helped to develop as individuals. This would involve moving away from the concept of the teacher as the centre in learning transmission and decision making, towards the child, over time, being given the responsibility for guiding their own learning. This implies a range of approaches that give more power to the child, sometimes before they might be deemed to be 'ready'. While this may be happening in some PRUs, it was not evidenced in the participant observations nor was it reported in interviews or focus groups:

The fact is we are obsessed with controlling, monitoring, disciplining, punishment, excluding and labeling rather than focusing on relationships, communication and social justice. If our goal is to motivate, raise attainment and reduce behavioural problems among our children, it is critical we give greater status to social justice and human rights of young people in our schools. (Majors, 2003: 6)

From within a music education perspective Wayne Bowman advocates for educational aims to be centred on giving individuals the skills to lead independent and engaged lives beyond the realm of school:

Educational aim involves preparing students for life by giving them skills that will serve them well. Significant among these in capitalistic democracies are such attributes as empowerment, independence, self-reliance, critical skills, and the inclination to use them. (Bowman, 2004: 39)

In summary, while it is important that children learn to regulate their emotions and behave in a way that is safe for themselves and others, many PRUs emphasise 'correct' behaviour, in some cases at the expense of highlighting the strengths of

the children. Children who have challenging behaviour are likely to find this area their biggest struggle and may well wear their bad behavior as a badge of identity. In this way their possibilities for their own life's achievement can be diminished and their identity becomes entwined with their behaviour.

6. Discussion and conclusion

In summary, in this chapter we have seen that, while there have been over two hundred years of educational initiatives for vulnerable children, particularly those seen as posing a 'social danger', educational and life outcomes for children with BESD remain very poor. In some ways, e.g. resourcing and staff turnover, children with BESD still fare poorly within the education system, mirroring the treatment of their Victorian counterparts. Understanding BESD is difficult and there have been changing attitudes to children with these issues over the last two hundred years. This has been reflected in changes in terminology and labeling. In addition provision for children with BESD has moved over time, notably from a medical model in the first half of the twentieth century to an educational model today.

While PRUs are an important part of alternative provision, they are often housed in inappropriate buildings and are also often poorly resourced. In some PRUs there is an over – riding focus on behaviour management that can on occasion obscure the potential of the children attending. By focusing on what the children have difficulties with, rather than working with what they are good at and what motivates them, there is a danger that the children will continue to identify themselves primarily as excluded and will never realize their true potential.

In this study, it has been noted that, as an educational approach, community music is concerned with the whole child, their musical, personal and their social development. In this way it moves beyond the concerns of academic learning into concerns for engaging with each individual and enabling them to express themselves and grow creatively in their own way.

Community music approaches respect the individual's need for their voice to be heard. For children with BESD, this may well involve a cathartic expression of the children's feelings, their response to their situation and the stigma they may endure, all delivered through the medium of music. This can be healing and a source of learning as well as a possible route to a new understanding of self, a resignification.

Community music approaches, while well suited to engaging with the

children's own interests, have to be sensitive to the context of PRU based work. In addition to focusing on the six elements identified in this study in relation to working with the children, community musicians need to be aware of a potential disjoint between their methods and those already used within PRUs. Many PRUs put a primary focus on controlling and managing behaviour. While it is important to be safe and to have a functioning group, the emphasis on this in PRUs may cause some children only to identify with their 'bad' behaviour. This may lead the children further towards negative life outcomes and a failure to reach their potential.

In order to achieve real partnerships with PRUs, community musicians need to understand and respect the organizing structures within the PRU, while being clear on their own structures and the educational reasons behind them. In this way community musicians can begin to develop an equal dialogue with PRU staff about educational intention, methods and outcomes. The next chapter, Ideas and Material looks at the pedagogy employed by community musicians working with children with challenging behaviour and the music delivery used by community musicians in PRUs.

Chapter 6 - Ideas and Material

1. Introduction – What this chapter covers:

This chapter will focus on the music and on pedagogical approaches used in PRUs. It will look at what approaches and ideas are used by musicians working with these children and why, and the importance of creativity in music making with these young people. It will begin by looking at the contextual background to music making in PRUs, specifically: The movement for educational inclusion, *The National Plan for Music Education (NAPME)*, and our increasing knowledge of the power of music to affect transformation. It will also look at the emerging pedagogy for children in challenging circumstances (of whom children with BESD form part) and why a non-formal music education approach may be seen as a good fit for these children's needs.

Finally the chapter will look at specific aspects from musical practice in PRUs such as developing engagement, encouraging creativity, using a range of musical genres, sharing ownership and also the issue of censorship in PRUs. The chapter will also highlight the importance of performance and recording. Aspects of the work will be highlighted through some case studies from the participant observations.

2. The contextual background

2.1 The movement for educational inclusion

Internationally there has been a movement towards inclusion in education for at least the last 40 years (Kavale, 2000). Ferguson (1996) identified inclusion as a movement seeking to create schools that meet the needs of all students by establishing learning communities to educate students with and without disabilities together in age appropriate, general education classrooms in neighbourhood schools. Erwin states:

The true essence of inclusion is based on the premise that all individuals with disabilities have a right to be included in naturally occurring settings and activities with their neighborhood peers, siblings, and friends. (Erwin, 1993: 1)

While these definitions of inclusion that relate mainly to students with disabilities and special educational needs are widely in use, other understandings are also accepted. UNESCO adopt a broader understanding of who is involved in inclusion in the following:

Schools should accommodate all children regardless of their physical, intellectual, social,

emotional, linguistic or other conditions. This should include disabled and gifted children, street and working children, children from remote or nomadic populations, children from linguistic, ethnic or cultural minorities and children from other disadvantaged or marginalised areas or groups. (UNESCO, 1994: 6)

In a UK context Burnard also notes the broader understanding of the term:

The drive for 'inclusion' has become a prominent feature in UK educational policy agendas and school improvement programmes. The term refers to all children achieving and participating despite challenges stemming from poverty, class, race, religion, linguistic and cultural heritage or gender. (Burnard, 2008: 59)

In this sense inclusion can be seen as directly tackling exclusion, which Fraser identifies as being associated with:

Cultural domination (being subjected to patterns of interpretation and communication that are associated with another culture and are alien and/or hostile to one's own);
Non-recognition (being rendered invisible by means of the authoritative representational, communicative and interpretative practices of one's culture); and
Disrespect (being routinely maligned or disparaged in stereotypic public cultural representation and/or everyday life interactions). (Fraser, 1997: 14)

People and organizations working towards educational inclusion gained international legitimacy after the Salamanca conference of 1994 and the subsequent Salamanca statement. The conference featured 300 participants representing 92 governments and 25 international organizations who attempted to further the aim of education for all by considering what basic policy changes were needed to promote inclusive education.

The Salamanca statement proclaimed a belief that:

- every child has a fundamental right to education, and must be given the opportunity to achieve and maintain an acceptable level of learning,
- every child has unique characteristics, interests, abilities and learning needs,
- education systems should be designed and educational programmes implemented to take into account the wide diversity of these characteristics and needs,
- those with special educational needs must have access to regular schools, which should accommodate them within a child centred pedagogy capable of meeting these needs. (UNESCO, 1994: viii)

Elsewhere it acknowledged that 'most of the required changes do not relate exclusively to children with special educational needs' (UNESCO, 1994: 21). It contained a strong focus on pedagogy assuming:

that human differences are normal and that learning must accordingly be adapted to the needs of the child rather than the child fitted to preordained assumptions regarding the pace and nature of the learning process. (UNESCO, 1994: 16)

This places a child-centred approach at the centre of inclusive learning pedagogy.

In addition the Salamanca statement asserts that:

Teaching should be related to pupils' own experience and to practical concerns in order to motivate them better. (UNESCO, 1994: 28)

The UK Government has been formally committed, since the 1997 Special Educational Needs (SEN) Green Paper, Excellence for All Children (DfEE, 1997), to

the development of an inclusive education system (Dyson et al, 2004). While the effectiveness of inclusion has been contested (Kavale, 2000), it has been consistent government policy since that time.

From the above we can see that a commitment to inclusive education in practice is now part of any UK based education worker’s professional life. Educational inclusion presents a challenge for any music teachers who promote the ideas of a single curriculum objective for all, the development of a single standard of musical excellence and a music programme that references a single genre of music, instead of drawing on the diverse musical interests of the students for its material. To align with inclusive pedagogy music educators must work in a child-centred way. To exclude children from their optimum learning experience could be interpreted as a social justice issue. Spruce (2013) proposes a framework for social justice in music education, which aligns with the principles of Salamanca:

Table 4 - A Conceptual Framework for Social Justice in Music Education

Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The opportunity to take part in music • The opportunity to learn, understand and engage with the practices of a particular music culture and tradition • The openness of music practices to change and for that change to be instigated by ‘newcomers’ to the practice
Inclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The willingness of musical projects, including curriculum design to: • Acknowledge and value multiple ways of musical knowing; • Involve participants dialectically in constructing knowledge and pedagogy • Recognising musical learning as a lifelong endeavour
Diversity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diversity of participation • Diversity of perspectives

(Spruce, 2013; 25)

Young people in PRUs arguably have a right to take part in music, to learn music and to have their own individual approach to learning validated through the music learning experience. Anecdotal evidence indicates that until 2011 this was not regularly the case throughout the country, with some PRUs having music but many not and with no national agency acting as a guarantor for the level of provision or the quality of the provision. While the latter is still the case there is evidence of a level of interest in this area of work and a rise of PRU based projects.⁷

Burnard, when talking of inclusion, recognizes the claims of music educators

⁷ <http://network.youthmusic.org.uk/search/site/PRUs> accessed 20/1/2016

for music as a force beyond that of other curriculum subjects when she asks:

We know music teachers advocate music as: a powerful channel of communication for everyone; a social process; a way to develop a range of skills, for example, cognitive, physical and emotional; and a way to promote wellbeing and self-esteem. But what should we expect to see happening in pedagogies aimed at promoting inclusiveness? (Burnard, 2008: 62)

This raises implications around whether music education should be a prime ingredient in the quest for educational inclusion and if so which type of musical education best promotes true inclusion.

In summary, the movement for educational inclusion is a global movement for all children and learners. It has gathered momentum over many decades and is now a prominent part of music provision in England. It raises issues of social justice for all children including those in PRUs.

2.2 The National Plan for Music Education (NAPME)

In 2011 Michael Gove, the then Minister for Education, signed off on *The Importance of Music, a National Plan for Music Education*, which has since changed the landscape of music provision in England. The plan acknowledged the inequalities that had previously existed within English music education:

Children's personal circumstances can inhibit the type of engagement they have with music education. For example, barriers prevent some pupils with special educational needs or disabilities from making music. We know, for instance, that pupils with special educational needs are under-represented in the GCSE music cohort: under 15% of those entered have special educational needs compared with the GCSE cohorts for art & design and drama which respectively have almost 21% and more than 19% of pupils with special educational needs. Hubs and schools need to break down barriers to music through innovative approaches to teaching and making music. (Dfee, 2011: 17)

It set in place structures and ideas designed 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. (Dfee, 2011: 9)

In summary, *The National Plan for Music Education* is an important document that provides a framework for the development of musical inclusion and equality of educational opportunity within music in England.

2.3 The power of music and holistic working

This section looks at the claims made for music engagement and by inference music education to affect change and transformation within the individual, particularly those excluded or at risk of exclusion. These claims can be seen as a justification for prioritizing music work with children in PRUs and if examined in detail can give indications as to appropriate methods, ideas and material to be used when trying to promote this change and transformation. In this way the practice can be developed with the outcomes in mind. It must be noted that some

of the research studies mentioned were with children in mainstream schools and some were with children in challenging circumstances but not necessarily in PRUs, where to date little research has been carried out on the effects of music participation to affect change and transformation. However, a number of the studies were with children who display similar behaviours to those in PRUs even if they have not been excluded from mainstream school.

Hallam (2010) reviewed the empirical evidence relating to the effects of active engagement with music on the intellectual, social and personal development of children and young people. Drawing from a large number of studies encompassing areas including creativity, well being, personal and social development among others, she stated that her 'overview provides a strong case for the benefits of active engagement with music throughout the lifespan' (Hallam, 2010: 281). She acknowledged the power of music to enhance self perception but 'only if it provides positive learning experiences which are rewarding' (Hallam, 2010: 282). Broh (2002) finds engagement in music making enhances self-esteem and motivation. Spychiger et al (1995) showed how increased music making in schools led to greater social cohesion, more positive attitudes about the self and others, and better social adjustment. The strongest differences were observed amongst those children deemed to be the least engaged and have the lowest academic ability.

Lonie speaking about several non-formal music projects in England stated:

Music education in the examples discussed above is providing the tools by which young people, particularly those in challenging circumstances, can alter their understandings of their identities and their situations. Rather than explicitly tackling the conditions of material poverty, physical illness, or disability often experienced by young people facing additional challenges, the music project serves as a way of raising consciousness and expressive ability, facilitating a deeper understanding amongst the young people of their own abilities and providing opportunities to communicate and connect with other people. (Lonie, 2013: 10)

This points toward a music making that focuses at least as much on the person's sense of themselves and of themselves within a group context as it does on executive or instrumental skill.

Deane et al identified 10 positive outcomes for the individual working in youth music mentoring programmes:

1. Engagement - music as a 'hook', to get young people into the programme
2. Trust - the shared interest of music making; the credibility of the mentor as a respected musician
3. Transferable skills - communication skills, giving and receiving criticism, increased confidence, developing resilience
4. Success - doing something well and getting praise for it; stepping out into the professional world
5. A safe place - developing a community with peers and adults

6. Social pedagogy - room for a more equal relationship between mentor and mentee
7. Telling the tale (expressing yourself) - most directly with rap lyrics, but seen in music generally
8. Therapeutic aid - music not as therapy, but as therapeutic
9. Creative cooperation - not only in group projects but also creating music with the help of a mentor
10. Personal reflection – on life challenges, understanding of self, and the art they do. (Deane et al., 2011b: 12)

Each of these positive outcomes could be utilised by community musicians at the planning stage of their work. For example, number seven ‘Telling the tale’ could lead to space for young people to write songs about their own lives and the things that interest and concern them. Number five ‘A safe place’ points towards the benefits a ground rules session might bring (Mullen, 2013). Working with hard to reach children, Crickmay et al (2013) identify nine personal qualities that can be directly developed through a musical model called the creative ensemble. These include equality, flexibility, communication, empathy, inclusivity and interactive creativity.

Rusinek, working with disaffected adolescents, notes a number of ways in which the (non-formal) approach to learning was effective in promoting personal and social outcomes:

The adolescents appeared to be agents of their learning, could see short-term goals with expectations of success, and could get a feeling of self-efficacy that improved their self-esteem. They also highlighted that the social character of the music learning promoted responsibility and compromise, that discipline was attained through self-regulation of behaviour instead of reprimands, and that the teacher was perceived as a facilitator in achieving a shared goal. (Rusinek, 2008: 20)

Given the poor academic and life outcomes for many children in PRUs (Taylor, 2012; German, 2003; Graham and Bowling, 1995) and the evidence that an appropriate engagement in music can facilitate self-reflection and change, it seems almost self-evident that any music programme should emphasise personal and social outcomes as much as musical ones. In other words, music leaders will need to work holistically, addressing the range of young person’s needs, acknowledging that the musical development can feed the personal development, which can also input into the quality of their music making, thus making a virtuous circle.

A number of writers and researchers (Pitts, 2005; Rusinek, 2008: 20; Jorgensen, 2003) have noted links between young people’s development in music and their social development and personal growth:

There is a strong understanding in many programmes that the social and personal well being of all participants is as important as their musical learning (if not more important). CM leaders frequently emphasize the power of music to bring people together, and to nurture both individual and collective identity. (Veblen, 2010a: 52)

In PRUs this is certainly partly because the children, with their current life challenges, often suffer from low self-esteem, a negative sense of who they are and what they are capable of. Frequently they feel they are not competent, not able to do things others can do, and consequently get disengaged from their own ability to learn and to achieve. In addition, issues in their background and circumstances may mean they find it hard to function well in a group. They may be disruptive and have challenging behaviour. All of this can act as a self-fulfilling prophecy and lead to poor quality engagement and consequently poor musical outcomes. To facilitate the long-term goal of improving the group's ability to make creative music together, often the music leader must first spend time building the group, establishing appropriate ways of working together and supporting each other. The music leader may also work to build individual children's confidence and improve their self-esteem through using appropriate praise and other methods. While this approach may take some time, it establishes a strong foundation for the group to become a group and collectively raise their ability to achieve excellence. For music work with children in PRUs to lead to increased self worth and better social interaction and respect it is not enough for the children to develop musical skills. The whole pedagogical process will seek to:

establish 'positive personal relationships', representing and modelling pro-social values, respect and a sense of fulfillment in their own achievements for the young person. (Kinder & Harland, 2004: 53)

Gooding notes that children with special educational needs may be the ones to benefit most from an educational approach that emphasizes group skills and personal development:

When looking at the specific social skills necessary for success in the classroom setting, three primary skill areas emerge: skills that help children relate to others (interpersonal behaviors), skills that help children regulate themselves (self-related behaviors), and skills that help children complete assigned tasks (task-related behaviors). Most children innately acquire these skills through interactions with adults and peers, but there are some children who do not pick up on the social cues of others. In fact, children with disabilities often lack age-appropriate social skills in the areas of self-control, communication, cooperation, and assertive behaviors. (Gooding, 2009: 35)

Lonie advocates ensemble and performance work as areas that can promote an improved sense of self-identity:

Hargreaves *et al.* (2003) propose that the purpose of all music education, wherever it takes place and however it is structured, is to advance skills in music, but also to develop *self-identity*. They propose an overlapping model for the aims of music education that encompasses musical-artistic, personal and social-cultural outcomes. Group performance and ensemble activities, for example, can develop outcomes across all three domains. (Lonie, 2013: 4)

Deci and Ryan (2000b) cite a sense of competence, a sense of relatedness or

belonging and a sense of autonomy as key factors in intrinsic motivation. Musicians working within PRUs are careful to reflect on and celebrate achievements (sense of competency), establish, bond and develop the group (a sense of relatedness) and give individuals within the group choice and control over aspects of the collective compositions (a sense of autonomy). In this way, children's inner needs for mental wellbeing are met through the music.

In all the above it becomes clear that if the end goal incorporates some type of personal reflection and/or change then the musical methods and ideas must explicitly contain within them strategies for promoting that change. Abrams is explicit about the role social outcomes play in her work:

The majority of my work is in settings where offering a meaningful musical experience is the tool or intervention by which there can be a range of social outcomes including confidence, the ability to communicate, make decisions, be part of a group and in fact build a community. My goal is to balance social and artistic outcomes, while very consciously ensuring that the process is socially driven. I don't tend to arrive knowing what the artistic outcome will be – the participants will decide - but I have yet to see a project produce a piece of work that the participants are not proud of. (Abrams, 2013: 62)

Abrams also sets a note of caution for those working in a holistic way – that the children and young people have no interest in personal transformation, they only want to make their music:

While I am actively engaging in practices that incur social outcomes, I am, of course, doing this in the context of the musical *outcome* the participants are working towards. After all, the group is *only* focusing on a musical/artistic outcome. (Abrams, 2013: 63)

In summary, there is substantial evidence that certain types of music provision provide opportunities for personal growth and community cohesion. In PRUs, where many students suffer from poor self-concept and a negative sense of their own competencies, music may become a tool for personal and social transformation.

3. An emerging pedagogy

This section looks at the emergence of a pedagogy for music working with children suffering from social exclusion, now commonly referred to as children in challenging circumstances (see below). Children with BESD or in PRUs are seen to be part of this group.

3.1 Children in challenging circumstances

Children in challenging circumstances is the term favoured by the charity Youth Music for work with children who might otherwise be called vulnerable, marginalized or at risk of exclusion. Currently 69% of their funding goes to

working with these children⁸, and, as they are the biggest funder of community music projects in England, the phrase has become commonplace in the field.

Mullen defines challenging circumstances under four categories:

Who are children in challenging circumstances?

Life condition – young people with a permanent condition such as a disability, impairment or a condition such as Asperger’s syndrome.

Environmental issues – Young people with a challenge related to where they live. This could be about such issues as rural isolation or living in areas of social or economic deprivation.

Life circumstances – Young people who bully or are being bullied, who live in state or foster care, refugees, to name but some.

Behavioural issues – Young people with behavioural, emotional and social difficulties who become excluded from mainstream school.

(Mullen, 2011)

Children in PRUs fit into the last category.

As a pedagogy has begun to emerge for working with these children it is clear that it is based in the area of non-formal music education. Non-formal approaches are used by all those musicians interviewed in this research into PRUs and were used by the researcher during the participant observations.

3.2 Community music and the interface between formal and non-formal music education

Community music, while being a broad field of work encompassing community development through music and mapping of the music made in communities, among other dimensions, is, in terms of pedagogy, very close to non-formal music education. The lack of a clear definition for community music (see chapter three) makes it difficult to be precise about whether or where the two terms diverge in relation to music making and pedagogy. In addition Prouty (2002) also argued that the intersection between informal and formal music education is not clear.

Bowman (2004) described the formal teaching environment as problematic and asserted there “frequently comes with institutionalized study a degree of technical polish and refinement uncharacteristic of praxis in the field outside” (Bowman, 2004: 41). Howard Gardner asserts that formal education is concerned with “mastery of disciplines” (Gardner, 1999: 29). Regelski (2009, 4) argues that:

Most music teachers in schools – public and private music schools – are trained in Classical music, and school music curriculum has typically favoured Classical music.

Vitale (2011) is critical of some classical music education and regards it as damaging to the students’ independent creative growth:

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http://www.youthmusic.org.uk/assets/files/Downloads/Review_of_the_National_Foundation_for_Youth_Music.pdf accessed 3/5/2016

Too often, teaching and learning resemble training (or even indoctrination) more than education. The do-it-this-way mode of instruction, in which modeling rightly figures centrally, can, if not carefully monitored, foster critical compliance and nurture dependence rather than the independence and empowerment that are hallmarks of true education. (Vitale, 2011: 13)

Lonie differentiates non-formal from formal:

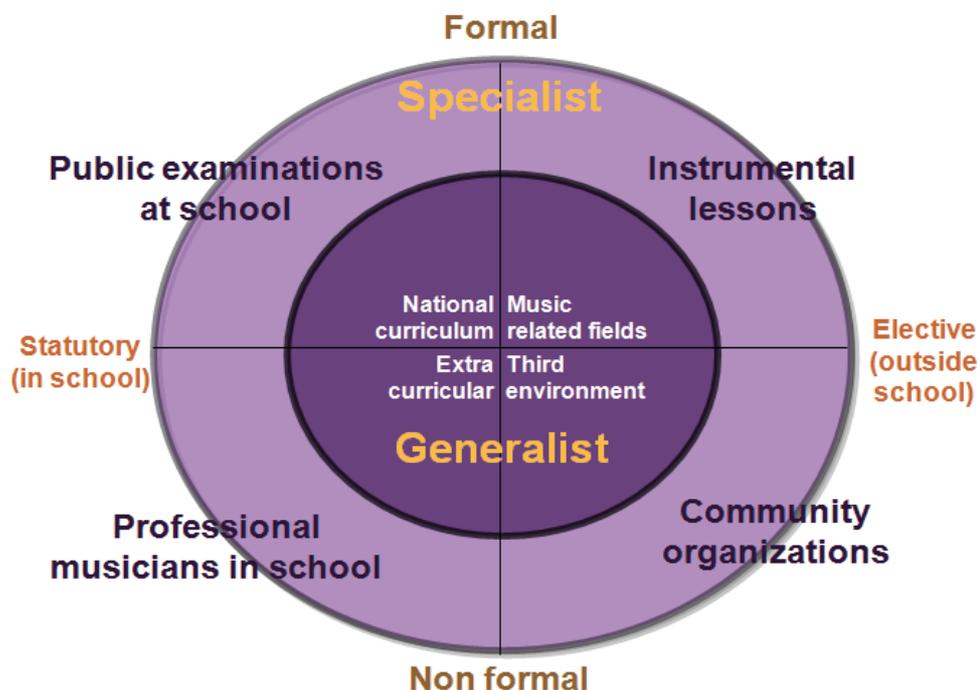
This type of music making is broadly referred to as ‘non-formal’ music education, referring to structured and progressive music-making activities that are facilitated by one or more educators in specific contexts and settings. This type of learning is different to ‘formal’ music education, which relates to more traditional pedagogic approaches (such as didactic learning and master-apprentice models), and ‘informal’ learning which largely takes place without the guidance of a third-party educator and is less explicitly intentional. (Lonie, 2013: 4)

Thus in a community music programme there is expected to be a leader who moves beyond a didactic learning approach to enable participants to develop their musical capabilities. Deane (2013) states that in community music:

There has to be active music creation, equality is central, and the music making itself somehow tells the tale of the community that’s making it. (Deane, 2013: 41)

Hargreaves, Marshall and North place formal music education within the context of curriculum, exams and instrumental lessons while non-formal is linked to professional musicians and community organisations.

Figure 2: A ‘globe’ model of opportunities in music education (Hargreaves, Marshall and North, 2003)



Saunders and Welch argue that ‘however, the established dichotomy between formal and non-formal learning is increasingly less distinct’ (Saunders and Welch, 2012: 15).

There has been a move among educators and researchers (Allsup, 2003),

(Ruthmann, 2006) towards a music education in schools that is more receptive to students' creative ideas and to honouring student voice. Gromko (2003) suggests that working:

to the children's individual needs and interests requires the teacher not to do as much overt teaching in the traditional sense, but to be more keenly aware, socially astute, and musically flexible in response to the children's direction and ideas (2003: 89).

In England, in the first decade of this millennium, the funding of young people's music making through the National Foundation for Youth Music, the idea of honouring students' voice, and the increasing stability of community music organizations, were all factors influencing changes in music provision, at least outside school, towards a more non-formal approach. Schools themselves have also moved towards some more non-formal delivery.

Spruce notes a key moment of change as:

The launch of the Music Manifesto, whose broad aims were to provide a framework for bringing together the many agencies and organisations involved in music education in England in order to 'deliver a universal music education offer to all children, from early years onwards, where they can take an active part in high quality music making' (Music Manifesto, 2006: 7), (Spruce, 2013: 26).

One initiative that sprang from the Music Manifesto was Sing Up, a national singing programme for primary age children that combined within its large programme of professional development both formal and non-formal approaches.

Spruce (2013: 27) recognizes that simply using popular music in the classroom did not in itself mean a completely non-formal approach:

Although the music curriculum in many schools had for some years included the products of popular, traditional and non-western musics, some teachers' pedagogies ignored the musical practices and values which lay at the heart of their production and reception, continuing instead to teach according to the values and procedures of western art music. In short, although the music curriculum included a wider variety of music it often valued only one learning process, or 'way of knowing', and therefore limited participation (as defined here) to those for whom that way of learning and knowing was familiar.

This was in some ways countered by the Paul Hamlyn funded Musical Futures project which utilized Lucy Green's (2008) work on informal learning and learning in popular music as well as some elements of community music practice to create a non-formal classroom experience (Dave Price, 2012: personal interview).

One key recommendation of the Music Manifesto, which was not followed up at the time, was that of music education hubs:

The development of collaborative music education hubs, which can bring together all music education providers, including schools, music services, the community music sector, the music performance sector, the music industries, children's services, and other key children's agencies, in order to deliver the new education offer. (Music Manifesto, 2006: 64).

Hubs, referred to by Kathryn Deane (2018: forthcoming) as ‘a new way of structuring extra-curricular music education to involve a greater number of young people, and a broader base of formal and non-formal activities’ were central to the UK Government’s 2011 National Plan for Music Education (NAPME). In practice the advent of hubs have led to some providers, including a number of area based ‘Music Services’, moving towards a more non-formal approach, while Youth Music have funded non-formal projects in the classroom in special schools and PRUs and also through their Exchanging Notes Programme.

With the shift in the provision, inequalities in long-term opportunities for those from popular or other non-classical forms have become highlighted. Sarah Derbyshire writes that while:

the music education landscape now encompasses the formal classical music approach (historically the preserve of music services and private instrumental teachers, usually tracked through graded exams), and what is often now termed the inclusive approach (which includes non-formal activities offered by a range of established organisations and informal activities arising from local groups formed to address a perceived need)....the National Plan’s shortcoming is its failure to provide an infrastructure which knits together the many and various strands for delivery. The sector has yet to fully embrace the richness and diversity of musical forms and the ways in which young people engage with music. (Derbyshire, 2015: 4/5).

Practice wisdom suggests that there are a range of music styles and ways of knowing on offer, with many schools and music services sticking with the formal music education approach, while others are in the process of opening up to non-formal and community music styles of provision.

Community music work in PRUs is an informal practice located in a formal (school) context. In PRUs, where there is no requirement for music or for following the National Curriculum, and yet where the environment is still that of a statutory formal learning centre, it may well be that a blend of some formal and non-formal approaches will thrive and the issue of boundaries may be less relevant than in other contexts.

The researcher has developed the table below to indicate some of the differences between formal and non-formal music provision that might have relevance for PRU contexts:

Figure 3 – Differences between formal and non-formal music education

Formal

- ◉ Teacher decides
- ◉ Based on curriculum
- ◉ Mostly other people's music
- ◉ Arguably single intent
- ◉ Values around task completion
- ◉ Teacher sets goals
- ◉ Outcomes known in advance
- ◉ Likely to be western Classical

Non-formal

- ◉ Ownership is shared
- ◉ Based on group interest and need
- ◉ Mostly original created by group
- ◉ Multiple intentions
- ◉ Values around personal and group development
- ◉ Ideally student sets own goals
- ◉ Outcomes unfold
- ◉ Any style

These differences point to why non-formal methodology may be a better fit with children in PRUs. Through a process of shared ownership, working to students' interests, allowing them to develop their own material and set their own goals, the non-formal music leader develops an atmosphere where the young person's identity is valued, something that may otherwise be denied to them as 'excluded' children. In addition, by having values around group and personal development and by allowing outcomes to unfold, the leader creates an environment in which growth and change may happen, where everything is not pre-ordained and constrained.

In summary, community music delivery in educational contexts is virtually indistinguishable from non-formal music education. With an emphasis on affirming the individual student's voice and having a focus on group and personal development through music, community music may well be a suitable intervention in PRUs.

The next section looks at specific areas of approach used in PRUs, and particularly in the participant observations.

4. Approaches and ideas used with children in PRUs

4.1 Engagement:

Given their academic outcomes (Taylor, 2013) it is unsurprising that the majority of children in PRUs have difficulties with getting and staying engaged in learning and in many cases have little motivation towards engagement:

Many children in challenging circumstances may start from a point of disengagement, a disillusionment with an education system that has marginalised them, that doesn't look or talk like them. (Allsup, 2013: 1)

Initial music activities need to be fast, fun and create a sense of flow. Otherwise participants may decide that music is another activity they would disengage from:

The last thing you want to do is turn things off so if you use the staff, the stave etc., that won't work. [Introduce] a predominantly simple exercise that you believe the group will take up: use boom whackers to compose and then let them know what they have done. It sticks more because you are not turning them off. They are improvising on what you have taught them and taking ownership of it. (Community musician, 2013)

If we acknowledge that children in PRUs have a fallback position of disengaging then it is important for engagement that we accept rather than reject whatever it is they do have to offer. Given their history in education, what they offer is likely to be different and perhaps less easy to see as a worthwhile contribution than one might find in mainstream. It can be helpful if we open our minds to new ways of contributing:

In order to combat the exclusionary tendencies 'a pedagogy that is open about questions, uncertainty and difficulty' (Jeffrey, 2005: 16) is more likely to make a real difference for individual young learners for whom most conventional approaches do not work. (Burnard 2008: 61-62)

During the projects that ran for a number of sessions with relatively the same group, the challenge was to deepen the level of engagement for both individuals and group.

Over time the researcher developed a model for different stages of involvement for children in PRUs as in the figure below. This indicates the stages that were reached as engagement deepened. This table was loosely inspired by Kirkpatrick's training evaluation model with its four stages of:

- reaction of student - what they thought and felt about the training (this relates to level 1 - staying in the room)
- learning - the resulting increase in knowledge or capability (levels 2 and 3)
- behaviour - extent of behaviour and capability improvement and implementation/application (levels 4 and 5)
- results - the effects on the business or environment resulting from the

trainee's performance (level 6 peer leading) (Kirkpatrick, 1998)

Figure 4: stages of involvement for PRU music

Stages of involvement



4.1.1 Staying in the room

The most fundamental stage was about the children being present without disrupting the session or actively wanting to leave. As this (leaving or disrupting) is a commonplace in many PRUs, it can be seen as an initial measure of success if that does not happen. In the participant observations this only occurred regularly in one setting. In all the other settings disruption was minimal. Some of the strategies which may have helped minimize disruption were where the researcher/ leader remained aware of and regulated their emotions, their tone, body language, eye contact and choice of words, giving a calm but warm impression to the group, putting them at their ease, letting them know they would not be forced to do activities.

4.1.2 Joining in

In the participant observations the researcher interpreted this not as every one joining in all the time but rather as some of the group attempting some part of the material, however short. This was so that all of the group could feel to some extent included without being coerced. In practice this meant using material that might have only a single word chorus, making it easy to learn and join in, or else getting a regular pulse either on the drums or on a foot-stamp. Even with this the researcher found it better not to build excitement up too quickly but to get something like the first stamp of every four beats rather than the excitement and noise of stamping on all four. This goal was reached with all the groups of children in the PRUs. It set up an atmosphere of there being a functioning group, even if not a full one. Also by allowing people to not join in while remaining in the group, it established the leader's credentials as someone who would not force people into uncomfortable situations and therefore contributed to trust building. The challenge was how to leave it open for group members to join in activities at any time and not have them left behind. In order to do that all activities within a piece had to be self contained and accessible within themselves while the piece overall still had to have some sense of progression for those involved from the start. To accommodate this, pieces would have multiple parts, for example, movement or body percussion, instrumental accompaniment, usually on drums, chorus vocals that all could join in on and verse vocals allocated to those who showed the interest. Not every student joined in in every session and certainly not on every piece but the openness to allowing people to come in meant that people did gradually get more involved as the sessions went on, thus vindicating this as a marker of success.

4.1.3 Sustaining their engagement

Once the students had shown some active interest in music making, the next stage was to encourage them to start at the start and continue through to the end. Clearly this was something many of them had not done before in music and required both coaching and coaxing, a lot of positive feedback and a careful selection of the musical material so that it was both fun to engage with and easy enough to perform. Rehearsing a song or instrumental piece from start to finish felt like an achievement for the group and did usually lead to celebration from everybody involved.

Not all students achieved this stage but what was noteworthy, especially in projects with multiple sessions, was that this happened more frequently as time went on. It was interpreted as a sign of deepening engagement and motivation.

4.1.4 Contributing ideas

This stage was a real change over from being led by the leader to sharing ownership with the group. The ideas were no longer coming solely from the leader, although there may have been an initial input 'to get the ball rolling'. A key intention here was to make the creative input as democratic as possible so a number of pieces were developed with one student adding a line after the other one, all in turn. However, if students got into flow and were excited, then common sense dictated that it was better to structure things organically rather than worry about strict democracy. This was based on the idea that a good piece and a group in flow was positive for all the students but with the proviso that the leader noticed those who did not contribute and made time for them next session. Positive feedback was crucial in developing this phase, letting students know their ideas were good and valued by the leader.

In most groups most students contributed lyrics, song melodies and occasionally ideas for rhythms and so forth. In the project where students worked with music technology this process became easier, with all the students contributing ideas (albeit in a one to one forum) within five minutes of the start of the session.

4.1.5 Developing a sense of excellence

The idea of working on things over and over to get them right is a central part of anyone's musical development. However with the combination of PRU students' poor self-concept as learners and the tendency to give things up quickly, coupled with the students' low achievement in other areas of study and, for many, short attention spans, it made educational sense to approach this late in the work, if at all. The researcher / leader made sure not to focus unduly on correctness or even improvement until it was obvious by their involvement that most, if not all, the students were deeply engaged with the work and had gone through the other stages. Essentially this meant they had made a commitment to working on the piece. They had contributed to it and they felt some ownership of, if not in fact pride in, the piece itself. Given this stage of development, it was relatively easy to turn the students' focus on to: starting and stopping together, maintaining a unified dynamic, contributing relatively evenly throughout the piece

and, on occasion, adjusting their pitching or timing to the rest of the group. In most of the groups these things were by no means a given at the start of the programme. This work required sensitivity and was not always completely successful, but in the encounter it was evident that each group invested more and more concentrated focus on improving their performance over time, displaying attitudes that, according to teachers, were rarely found in other classes.

4.1.6 Peer leading

Peer leadership was rare in both PRUs and EBD units. Only in a very few sessions did any of the students teach part or all of a song or piece to the others or initiate a piece of music work for them to follow. Although there were many opportunities set up for it to take place, peer leadership was rarely successful. On the few occasions it did occur the researcher interpreted it as a significant milestone in the group's development and this interpretation was supported in debriefs by the staff.

In summary, there are different levels, or stages of student involvement in PRU music ranging from tolerance of the activity to being involved as someone co-teaching peers. Part of the leader's duties are to create openings whereby students can get engaged at any time and to support their transition through the different levels of engagement.

4.2 The importance of creativity

Both the researcher and all the community musicians interviewed used approaches to music making, such as songwriting, soundscapes and group devising, which involved the children using their own creative powers. This met with considerable success with children with challenging behaviour. The success was in terms of children's sustained engagement, contribution of ideas, levels of focus. During the participant observations, the effectiveness of these approaches was affirmed by staff members post session as well as through verbal feedback from the children at the end of the session. They were not the only approaches used but they were often effective and engaging.

Community musicians use creative approaches to material - either enabling new material to be created or reinterpreting existing material in creative ways - for a number of reasons. For some community musicians it is an extension of how they work in their performing and recording lives and is the most natural approach; for others it is about the various effects and outcomes that working creatively with young people can have.

It may be about the simple desire for children to express themselves:

Creativity is the core of every project. That is how the children like it; they want to express themselves. The music leaders have to work hard to make that happen (Director of community music project, 2013)

And the simple fact that students enjoy being creative:

The opportunity to play – and imaginatively *play with* – their own music is one that students evidently enjoy, notwithstanding the fact that, in order for it to be successful, support and mediation from a teacher is often required. (Legg, 2013: 94)

Or it may be about focusing on a range of often-ignored soft skills and giving students confidence in areas where they had previously felt bad, including the area of failure itself:

Creativity is a key transferrable skill that will serve young people well in other contexts: critical reflection, editing, structuring. Crucially, it enables children in challenging circumstances to become comfortable with mistakes, with the idea of trial and error, trial and success. (Pestano, 2013: 121)

Writing their own material about their life concerns allows young people to vent their emotions, to express themselves in a cathartic way. This can improve their sense of self. The young person may write about traumatic, challenging experiences and it requires a mature leader to be able to work with this material in a way where the young person is safeguarded and able to develop as an artist at the same time:

When children and young people write song lyrics, or devise work, they can express wishes and experiences that are hard to hear, but have a right to be heard. (Chambers, 2013: 77)

In order to show quality in such an encounter the leader needs to be open to work with the young person's issues and journey, create a safe environment in which to work with personal issues, support the young person in devising suitable frameworks in which to express themselves and sensitively challenge the young person to produce the best art they can.

The community musicians interviewed and the researcher used similar approaches to creative development in PRUs. In primary PRUs they developed soundscapes with the children, often based on a theme such as animals or space. In addition, they developed songwriting, sometimes starting with a 'template' song, where a simple chorus could be taught to the children who would then each add a line of verse in turn. This meant that the task was achievable from the outset. As sessions went on, children could write a verse and then later a full song with support from the leader. The musical side was sometimes covered by getting the children to choose chime bars to give a framework for the harmonic background and then reciting the words over the top until a melody started to naturally emerge.

At Key Stage Three much of the creative input was through computers. This was very much a facilitated way of working with the young person choosing first which instrument to record. Often they would then select a short played section of that instrument from a bank of 'loops'. This section is then recorded and the young person chooses another instrumental loop to put on top of it. The encounter is about what the young person chooses as their loop and where they place it in the song to build it up into a coherent piece. This tends to be a very reflective process, more so than live playing, with much listening back and discussing the merits of the work done so far. In this way the young person builds up a critical approach to listening and recording, they find their own style and quickly become autonomous in their music making.

During the participant observation the young people were enthusiastic in every PRU/EBD unit during creative music work and in most cases were happy to contribute. These included groups of children where the staff had briefed the researcher beforehand that the children might well be disengaged and disinterested. However, some times the group's energy and focus were so loose that the leader/researcher decided to play it safe and focus on pre-written material (aurally learned). This was also true in the early stages of the encounter where the group were still getting used to working together musically.

In summary, creative approaches are used by many community musicians in PRUs and are popular and effective ways of getting the children engaged. The children like expressing themselves creatively whether this is through live playing or through computer music.

4.3 Different types of music making, different ways of knowing

The community musicians who worked in PRUs all commented on the range of different musical interests shown by the children. While the expected genres of Rap and Hip-hop were popular with some, especially in London, the researcher worked with students who loved reggae, rock, Turkish and South Asian music among others. The other musicians interviewed had had success with European and African American children's songs, West African and Japanese Taiko drumming, songs from 'Oliver' and in one case a lullaby:

In the 'hard to reach' classroom, as in any situation, it is vital to appreciate that you will encounter a range of musical preferences; not all children and young people listen to Grime or Hip Hop! Music technology allows you to cater for plurality and diversity within the classroom, giving each young person different sounds and allowing each learner to have an experience that is tailored to them. (Hewitt, 2013: 105)

This musical pluralism opens up the creative palette for young musicians. It honours their own tastes and adds new ones. Through linking it develops their knowledge of the world. For example, learning West African songs enabled the students to learn more about geography and history in ways that were accessible to them. It also raises complex issues in understanding musical quality. The concerns of Taiko drumming are not the concerns of folk singing and so on. While it would be convenient to look for universals such as singing in tune, playing in time, starting and stopping together, even these prove elusive across the genres mentioned. One example of the diverse nature of quality would be in electric guitar styles. For heavy metal, technical dexterity, speed and density of playing can at times be very positive attributes. In reggae guitar, feeling rather than dexterity and a highly developed sense of space are more likely to mark the good players. So, when working with different types of music the leader needs to understand the different parameters that affect quality within the different genres.

Working with different genres, especially those familiar to the young people, significantly boosted their levels of engagement and feelings of ownership.

In addition to wanting to work in a range of musical styles, the students wanted to work across different platforms or modes, moving from singing and live instruments, through computer technology to tablet apps and, when approved by the institution, mobile phones. Each of these platforms essentially leads to a different way of knowing about music and to making musics that each have different commonplaces.

Another aspect of the young people's music making was the sometimes unconventional way they would approach instrumental and especially voice work. One example of this was during the participant observations when it became clear that some students felt more comfortable disguising their voices or using 'funny' voices rather than risking people making fun of their true voice. It was effective when this was accepted and built on it rather than trying to correct it or make it 'normal':

C did a weird vocal on Jamawaile and we made this a feature so he kept doing it, which was good – learned from A to accept oblique versions of repertoire. (Reflective journal, 2011)

So, across repertoire choice, and across the types of platform preferred and the way students performed pieces, they brought a challenge to the music leader's understanding of what was good practice or appropriate performance

parameters. This was resolved by trusting the young people's creative choices and their increasing confidence to be musically intuitive.

As well as different forms of music, the students brought with them different approaches to learning and knowing. Rather than try to homogenize these into one learning style, the researcher/leader opened up pathways for diverse approaches to learning and knowing, partly in order to raise students' concept of themselves as learners. Given the high percentage with special educational needs it made good practice sense to work with the students as they were and to celebrate all achievements, all steps forward in their construction of knowledge, their performance skills, their confidence to be musically intuitive etc.:

A socially just music education recognises, values and supports different ways of musical knowing but also seeks to enhance the ways of knowing of those who learn music, firstly through deepening their understanding of the music in which they might be socially embedded and secondly by broadening their knowledge and understanding of other musical practices. What a socially just model of music education does not do is to seek to impose a particular practice or 'way of knowing' on a community or social group as being in some way inherently superior. (Spruce, 2013: 24)

The researcher noticed that many of the children and young people instinctively had their own way of musical knowing. MCs and beatboxers showed confidence to be creative in the moment through freestyling, without necessarily conceptualising how this way of knowing is different from, say, more formal instrumental learning. Young people took away different things from a session. So, it was not appropriate to have a permanent hierarchy of knowings; rather, it depended on the use the young person had for those knowings.

These different ways of knowing can include:

- *Learning (executive)* Instrumental and executive knowledge; knowing what to do because something similar has been done before. For example, knowing how to play an instrument well, having command of pieces, being able to read music.
- *Learning (conceptual)* Knowing how and why things are done: for example, understanding how chords are put together, understanding song structure, knowing about different reverbs.
- *Performance* A reflexive knowing of what to do in the moment based on dynamic interaction within the music, with the audience and with the other musicians, combined with a knowledge of performance conventions. (NB This was not part of this research project)
- *Judgment* The ability to make improver judgments, e.g. editing recordings or realising new sections are needed in songs.
- *Creative assuredness* The ability to produce, with reasonable confidence of outcome, good quality original works either by themselves or with others.
(Deane et al, 2015: 79-80)

In summary, music in PRUs is a diverse practice. This brings specific challenges for the music leader, whether these challenges are about diversity of genre, multiple ways of knowing, or the different platforms young people employ to make music.

4.4 Ownership and interest

Writing about music mentoring work with children in challenging circumstances, children whose lives often parallel those in this study, Lonie reports that:

Rather than disengaging through participation in an enforced model, these young people took the opportunity to make themselves heard, with music providing the device through which this happened.

The mentors enabled the young people to identify their own agency and supported the mentees to validate their opinions and self-efficacy. (Lonie, 2013: 10)

In these types of approaches the ownership is shared between the leader and the group or individual, often with a devolvement of increased decision-making power going to the group over time.

In terms of developing the work, the first thing this approach does is distance the leader from the notion of authority or position power. Sharing ownership makes the group somewhat more democratic. Practice wisdom suggests that, in most situations, the leader working with children with challenging behaviour is more effective the less authority they show. Using a more democratic approach and sharing elements of ownership may reduce aggression among the children in groups, as outlined in Kurt Lewin's classic study of leadership styles in groups (Lewin, Lippit, and White, 1939).

For the leader this process of shared ownership can involve a leap into the unknown, placing complete trust in the children's ability to produce good quality music making with guidance and support but not with any imposition. In truly creative music sessions it is not possible to know in advance what the pieces of music will sound like, who will do what when, or where the music will lead the group. So in a sense the ideas and materials are unknown and to be created and discovered. What is important here is to develop an atmosphere where the group feels safe to create (Higgins, 2012; Mullen quoted in Everitt, 1997).

This complex way of working is not about the leader abdicating their responsibility. Rather it is about a dynamic responsive interaction between the leader and the young person. The trust needed for this to flourish can take a long time to build and it may at times be difficult for outsiders to understand the nuance of what is going on:

The teacher or conductor must be willing to share the authority of knowledge. This does not mean abdicating responsibility. It may mean engaging in a shared discussion of the music to develop playing style, identify areas for further discussion or practice, and explore possibilities in the re-creation or composition of music. Students would thus become engaged in the exploration of the knowledge and processes involved in the evolution of a music that enlivens and motivates them to participate in music, rather than to be told about

music, how to appreciate it, or how to play it. (Luce, 2001: 23)

Using a shared ownership approach engages the interest of the student because it is about them, it belongs to them, it is tied into their sense of self, and it gives them the responsibility (with guided support) to develop their own musical identity further:

By working with genres and musical cultures that were familiar to the participants, the projects engaged young people on their own terms and gave them the capacity to direct their learning through lyrical and rhythmic practices that built on their existing musical knowledge. Music was reported as aesthetically engaging young people, encouraging them to explore their identities and participate more fully in the immediate communities in which the activity was taking place. (Lonie, 2013: 6)

A shared ownership approach has much in common with the ideals and methods of cooperative learning, which has individuals assigned to groups, given responsibility for their own achievements and emphasizes developing a form of positive interdependence (Hill and Hill, 1990). Certainly when Goodsell et al (1992: 4) say that a goal in cooperative learning is that students change from “passive recipients of information given by an expert teacher to active agents in the construction of knowledge” it resonates with a shared ownership approach in PRUs. However, while that is certainly an ideal, the nature of PRUs as institutions and the difficulties many of the young people have in working well in groups has led the researcher/ leader to approach shared ownership in an elementary way. This involves the leader working hands on to facilitate group learning, actively looking for suggestions, and then acting as the arbiter of ideas put forward by the group. From the point of view of space management, this often means keeping the group together as a single creative unit rather than giving the autonomy associated with small creative groups. It may be possible, given longer programmes, to develop more student ownership including fully autonomous, creative small groups but this was not possible during this research project. Nelson (1999) notes that not all students may possess the mature skills necessary to work in a cooperative learning framework and in PRUs it is this goal of student maturity to make success of their learning that remains elusive.

The challenge in working in PRUs is around how to get the group to function with sufficient mutual respect so that the leader can in a sense withdraw and let them get on with it. While this was not possible in the participant research phase it may be more achievable in say term two or three of a longer project that initially focuses on group building and trust. The researcher’s experience of shared ownership in PRUs is affirmed by McGillen and McMillan’s assertion that:

The notion of liberating the authority relationships, either teacher or student

centred, is an important first step in establishing positive socio-musical relationships with adolescents. It seemed of primary importance to acknowledge that there were no authority figures, only companions in learning, mutually and causally linked on a journey without predetermined outcomes. (McGillen and McMillan, 2005: 15)

In summary, shared ownership distances the leader from perceived notions of position power and helps create an environment where young people can be agents of their own musical creation. It is not a simple process and, in PRUs at least, ownership may be more or less shared depending on the maturity of the group.

4.5 Censorship

All of the community musicians interviewed highlighted the need for a self-censoring approach to choosing material. Working with children who have come from abusive or traumatising backgrounds requires music leaders to be sensitive to song lyrics that might have a provocative effect on individuals or the group. Songs need to be examined for provocative and sensitive content and areas that could be difficult include any reference to family, especially mothers and fathers, as well as reference to alcohol or any type of violence or weapon.

In addition the music leader needs to have as much awareness as they can of other likely triggers, such as references to where specific people live.

Sometimes the children will have slang or disguised words for specific things and the leaders will not know in advance where things are leading:

I just had an incident in a PRU where I went in and they were writing songs and someone wrote the word biscuits in a song and suddenly chairs were flying to and fro and people were hit over the head. This is, and I would guess you wouldn't know but apparently biscuit is a term of abuse, of racial abuse so it was just completely out of the blue somebody was just writing about this. Biscuit meant you were of mixed heritage. Those sorts of things are always going to surprise you. It is different in every school, every little street has its own subculture, its own sub-language songs, it's own patterns of behavior and you can't be briefed on everything. We can only learn. You can't be briefed; you can't go in and say well if they use the word biscuits it's going to go off. (Community musician, 2012)

The following exchange between two community musicians during the focus groups gives an idea of the complex issues and personal circumstances that make self-censorship an appropriately sensitive approach in PRUs:

B - the other song is the Austrian went yodeling. There's a shot, granddad finds a pistol but he's in Austria and in Austria they use pistol to set off the avalanches and the point is that the pistols is shot and the snow falls and they are used - it is still to this day used and also dynamite. So we often have a discussion about that if I'm going to sing that song. It is one that never fails and everybody loves it. One school I went to where they change it into a bang..

G - do you make a gun sign?

B - I fire up into the air

G - I think I would be slung out of most PRUs if I did that. If you're estimating from the 30 kids in the school I would've thought 2 or 3 of them, even little ones, have either been shot or uncle's been shot or big brother's been shot. It would be an absolute no-no, anything to

do with guns. In fact, most PRUs I've been in it's a no-no to mention guns. (Focus group, 2012)

The researcher encountered difficulties in more than one song-writing session where the children wrote lyrics that were inappropriate. In one session a boy of about nine or ten years old wearing camouflage trousers and clothes that looked military, chose to write a graphic song about killing. This was a session shared with a music teacher and both leaders switched the session from songwriting after this point. Another young boy of about eight, when asked to write two lines about somewhere he had been, wrote, 'I went to the pub with my Dad and he bought me a pint of beer'. Again it was important to move off this topic onto something new. Other children in changing a song lyric put in the names of over eighteen certificate games into the song – again inappropriate for their age (under ten). Despite these incidents, there was a consensus among the community musicians (and the music teacher) interviewed, that songwriting was a great tool to develop groupwork, comfort with creativity, and a sense of achievement.

In summary, censorship and self-censorship are important considerations for music leaders in PRUs, perhaps more so than in many other contexts. There is a range of possible trigger points including mention of weapons, alcohol or family.

5. Performance

There was no opportunity for putting on any standard type of performance during the participant observation phase of the research. Logistically and in terms of staff security it was too complicated and the researcher's relationship with the venues was not such that it could be organised.

Talking with community musicians, very few of them had experiences of performances within PRUs, again mostly for security reasons or because their relationship with the institution was not secure enough to impose this.

The researcher did see a performance at one EBD school in London (and was present at the rehearsals). This performance was for the rest of the school, family members and some invited guests such as school trustees and the local MP. While the performance was not technically strong and the final rehearsal was something of an edgy experience, with concerns that the children might become disruptive, the performance itself was very well received and from the discussion I had with parents afterwards, it was a very important and moving experience for them:

Performance can:

- Act as a catalyst for individual and collective transformation and growth - it can be a space to forge and claim new and more positive identities for children with challenging behaviour - to become a performer, a gigging musician.

- Be a motivator for participants to work towards, honing their skills and material
- Introduce participants to real world musical settings, taking their aspirations out of the rehearsal room
- Be a place of heightened learning, from developing 'togetherness' through dealing with an audience, to learning about light and sound systems and stagecraft
- Be a space for risk-taking by allowing the young people to directly interact with an audience
- Act as a culmination point for a programme, allowing everyone to pour all their learning and passion into the final event. (Deane et al, 2015: 96)

In summary, while performance in PRUs may present significant challenges, it can also be a significant culmination to the young people's learning. It makes the music making seem more real and can heighten motivation.

6. Recording and technology

Most of the community musicians interviewed used technology regularly in the PRU classroom. For some it was merely an MP3 recorder to capture ideas and to listen back, reflect on and improve performances. For others, including the researcher, it meant combining computer and tablet software with a range of apps and programmes. Chief among these was the recording software GarageBand that enables musicians to create and arrange their own pieces using any combination of (virtual) instruments. This way of working was very popular among PRU students, although it is generally very labour intensive, only really allowing up to three students at a time to get suitable benefit from the work.

Music technology has a number of attractive factors that have a resonance for working with children in PRUs. Firstly, some music technology is easy for children to operate and doesn't need a long period of learning before pieces are produced. Given the disaffection of many children in PRUs from their own sense of themselves as learners, this 'instant' and accessible factor means it is more likely they will get engaged and stay engaged:

Technology has smashed down the barriers to accessing music - music that is technically complex and rewarding. And it is for that reason that it works so well with hard to reach children, whether they are in Pupil Referral Units (PRUs) or facing disabilities. (Hewitt, 2013: 105)

Secondly, much of the software is intuitive to operate. Indeed a number of modern apps are based on icons only and don't rely either on literacy or conceptual knowledge. This may suit learners who struggle with more academic subjects. It also can be more attractive to learners with special educational needs, who constitute the majority of young people in PRUs:

As many parents and carers soon discover, children find technology intuitive and often operate it with confidence. Consequently, the use of technology in music significantly narrows the gap between beginner and expert. For me as a teacher this means that I can be more of a guide, working alongside the children and young people as they learn and discover. This change to the teacher/student dynamic can be helpful when working with hard to reach

children. (Hewitt, 2013: 105)

Thirdly, app and computer generated sounds tend to be of high quality production and easily fit together to make pieces, thus enabling the learner to get a real sense of high achievement at a very early stage, very often in the first session. Fourthly, the domain of technology itself is likely to be familiar to the PRU based learner who may see themselves as more technologically advanced than their classroom teachers and part of a technology generation. This may well contrast with their knowledge of, for example, classical instruments. Fifthly, the range of possibilities in terms of sound choice offer endless individuated pathways for the learner who may struggle within the confines of set material. This is also true of the roles available, ranging from artist to engineer to producer, each requiring a different sensibility and set of skills. Sixthly and finally, for some young people the affirmation of producing music with which they strongly identify in terms of sub-culture may promote a more positive sense of identity and the acceptance of what may have been seen previously as a transgressive culture (for example gangsta rap and gang culture). This partial acceptance by the music leader may form a bridge for dialogue and may go some way toward creating conditions for transformation and resignification.

In summary, recording and other technology applications are important parts of community music work in PRUs. They are very accessible and produce high quality results in a short time. They are attractive to the learner and offer much scope for individuation.

7. Case study – Music mentoring in an East London PRU

This is a case study from the participant observation research phase where the researcher ran a project in an East London Pupil Referral Unit, which works with young people from twelve to fourteen years of age. The case study focuses on both groupwork and one to one sessions. In total nine students, which was all the schools' students, engaged with the programme, although one left the school after a week. All the participants were boys and most had behaviour issues when it came to working in groups. There were six group sessions and five days of one-to-one work. The centre has individual computers and iPads for all the students but the software versions they have are somewhat limited so the researcher used his own computer for the one to ones and concentrated on live work for the group sessions.

For the group sessions the researcher worked with all the students at the same time. This suited the school and there were no serious incidents. However interviews and focus groups with community musicians and the researcher's own experiences elsewhere in the study all indicate that a live group of three to four young people is the optimum for PRU students. While a range of activities was covered and progress was made, the group dynamic was sometimes diffuse and required a lot of energy and direction. Another factor that made the group sessions difficult at times was the length of the session with one hour forty minutes with the same group. Again the focus groups and the researcher's other observations during this project indicated an optimum total time of forty to fifty minute sessions for maintaining attention and, despite a varied programme, the second half of the group sessions felt overlong and had slips in focus from the students. All this being said, the students were for the most part engaged and in comparison to similar work in other PRUs the groupwork was very successful. All the intended musical outcomes were met and surpassed.

The local music service provided djembe drums and acoustic guitars for the group. There were enough of these resources to go round and some useful musical group work was accomplished. That said, several young people expressed a wish to work with keyboards, drum kits and vocal mikes, which would normally be more age appropriate resourcing for this type of group. It was clear to the researcher that while some of the young people were interested in developing guitar skills, the djembes were of limited appeal outside the session and would not be an instrument anyone was likely to take up in the long term. However, having a rock band setup could bring as many problems as it would solve for this PRU group, as amplification might easily exacerbate the difficulties they have in functioning as a respectful group. The obvious and frequently used solution would be groups of three or four using music tech but timetabling didn't allow this in this case.

The centre is a well run PRU with all the staff using an emotionally intelligent approach to working with the young people. In all of the group sessions two members of staff were present in low-key roles as well as the researcher. In the group sessions staff gave advice to students in a non-threatening way as to appropriate behaviour, clearly stating the advantages to helping the group perform well. Students had a warm relationship with their teachers and with occasional exceptions they treated each other with mutual respect. The

researcher was well supported by the teachers, being allowed to lead while having the ability to call on them for behavioural support. They were also happy to fully join in all activities and to give positivity to the session while remaining boundaried. The students were almost always respectful to the researcher/ music leader although one student did disrupt the last session to the extent that he had to be asked to take time out from the session.

The group sessions were structured around warm-ups, instrumental and musical skills and performance pieces. Unsurprisingly with this group, the warm-ups met with mixed response with some showing a lack of enthusiasm for some of the pieces. This is no surprise at all with teenagers and even less so with a PRU group. Workshop warm-ups are group activities that require and deepen trust and social interaction. They would in the main have been outside this group's 'comfort zone' and may have raised feelings of self-consciousness and social awkwardness. While at times they may not be appropriate for a group, the researcher made a 'judgement call' that this group could benefit from these structured activities.

The researcher continued with the warm-ups, feeling that by their nature they would open the group up to experimentation and interaction, which generally did happen. The warm-ups did help them become a functioning group to some extent although less so than many mainstream groups. The researcher/ leader included quite a bit of vocal work in the warm-ups and was pleasantly surprised that most of the young people had a go. Also included were musical passing games, pieces that set them up as two teams and pieces that developed things such as pairs work, which they seemed unused to, at least in a creative context. The warm-ups were fun and age appropriate for this group.

It is very difficult to know beforehand with PRU students what pieces will work or not and this group was no exception. With the warm-ups (and indeed with the other pieces) there was always enough involvement to make it worthwhile continuing with the piece and some pieces caught their imagination and became mini performances. This was also true with the songs and chants, although there was some reticence with some students about the voice. Some were accomplished singers and by using encouragement rather than coercion and by having other tasks such as percussion accompaniment available, most of them were engaged most of the time.

As with most PRU groups, there was a range of involvement, with some happy to try every activity to the best of their ability, able to take direction and provide

initiative, while others positioned themselves on the periphery of group activity giving quite little. Through dialogue in those sessions that were held one to one with the students and through using a range of inclusion strategies, it was possible to engage all but one of the students to be enthusiastic about the music. This last student did, over time, make some contributions and did write their own lyrics, but also on occasion displayed disruptive behaviour and was frequently hard to engage in the group sessions. For example, this student complained that they couldn't join in drumming, as their arm had recently been broken. The fact that the arm in question tended to change from left to right made the researcher less concerned about the student's health that they might otherwise have been.

An important part of the group sessions was the instrumental work. By using simple drumming patterns and by allowing the more able students to build on and solo over them it was pretty easy to keep the group in flow and achieve some good, quite tight pieces of music. With the guitars the researcher/ leader used what are known as open tunings to make the work easily accessible and this was also quite popular. Generally for most of the group sessions, more than half, quite often almost all, of the group were involved in music making together and showed good interest and a warmth towards the piece.

It did become clear that in some sessions a small number of students would mess about and disrupt part of the session. This seemed less like an authority challenge (there was little overt aggression) and more like their fallback position in a group. There was rarely any antagonism but some young people found it very difficult to stop doing things that interfered with the forward flow of the music. An example of this was count-ins. The researcher/ leader made a point of trying to get silence for a four beat count-in so everyone would start the piece together and at the same speed. He coached the group quite a bit in this but even four seconds of group silence was very hard for some members.

There were some issues with two individual members of the group in the group sessions that bear mentioning. One student who joined the group late, was scapegoated quite a bit and made fun of by other members. This was despite a groundrules session and also quite a bit of intervention by the staff. This scapegoating seems quite common in PRUs and may be impossible to eradicate.

The other student had been doing quite a bit of the scapegoating. As this student had been quite reticent to join in with the music, the researcher/ leader found that he was interested in lyric writing and provided him with a notebook for

that purpose. He had then written about the other student in that notebook. This caused a problem in the session as a staff member wanted to confiscate his notebook. What he had written was completely innocuous but the staff member thought he was going to write something racist (the other student was from Eastern Europe). As he had not written anything derogatory at all the researcher/leader let him keep the notebook. This was an uncomfortable incident as the staff questioned him about saying racist things, which he had not done (it seems probable from staff feedback that he had done so on a previous occasion before the music programme). Everything of note was discussed with the head of the unit, and these events were seen as very much part of the day to day work in the PRU and not exceptional incidents.

The one to one sessions were much more obviously productive than the group work. Most of the students wrote tracks on Garage Band software although two focused more on lyric writing and one on guitar skills and another on drumming techniques. They were all engaged and productive from the beginning. It was easy to build an instant rapport with almost all the students in the one to ones. They started to open up about their lives and families. This all came from discussion around themselves and music and did not need any prompting. One student who had been disruptive in the group sessions immediately changed attitude after he wrote his first garage band track. He opened up about how he had been thrown out of school for fighting and how he was beginning to realize how foolish he was. He went on to work very well in both the one to ones and the group sessions and, based on his feedback, it is not unreasonable to attribute this change to the one to one mentoring.

Another student who had been attentive in the group sessions really showed deep motivation in the one-to-ones. Music was part of his family life, with an uncle who was a songwriter and had placed videos on YouTube. The one-to-ones were a way for him to connect with that side of his family, through songwriting, singing and guitar. Some of the other students opened up and spoke about parts of their lives, as immigrants, as peripheral gang members and how that affected their attitudes. They all engaged well and did productive work, although not to the extent of the two mentioned.

One student, mentioned above as being disruptive in the group sessions, was less productive than the rest. He spent most of the time on lyrics, which as they were personal, allowed him space to discuss his feelings and how they related to

his songwriting. He was productive, at a more basic level, but it didn't carry through to the group sessions.

The one-to-ones had no dead time i.e. no disruptions, and there were no issues in concentration in these sessions. As regards creativity and the level of the work, with almost all students it was at a similar level as it would be with mainstream students of the same age. This was not true in terms of the group work. The sessions in the centre were enjoyable, productive and creative, although always exhausting and sometimes somewhat challenging. The challenges were never at a threat level and the students achieved more than the researcher/ leader imagined in the timeframe. What was particularly impressive was the way they bonded with the researcher/ leader in the one-to-ones and took direction when necessary as well as taking a creative lead in the sessions.

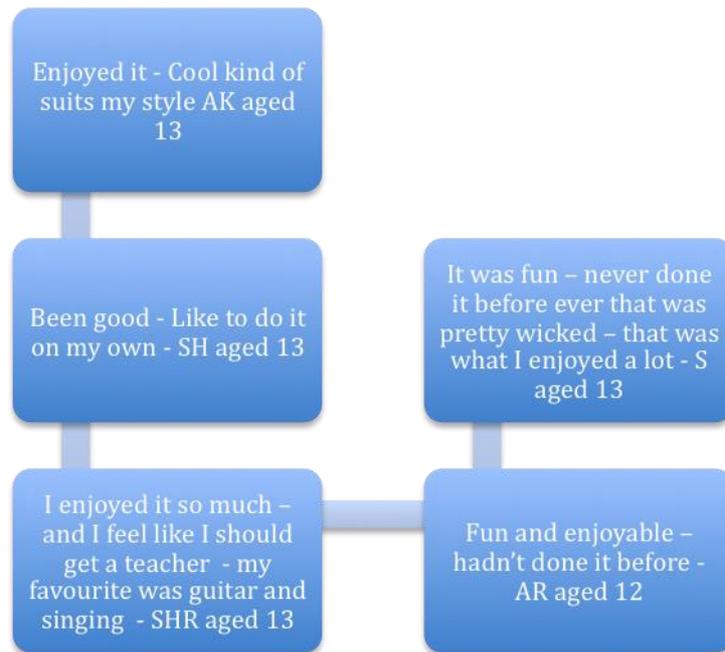
7.1 Comments

This case study illustrates the challenge in working with PRUs between one-to-one work and group working. In the groups, some of the young people 'acted out' and were either unfocussed or disruptive. In addition there was very little sense of group spirit. The young people were quick to put each other down and gave no praise. In the one to ones each student was engaged and contributing throughout the session and opened up about themselves, their aspirations and their emotions in ways that seem unthinkable in the group context. Given that what binds them together is their difficulty in working well in groups it is hardly surprising that they had difficulty working well together in a music group. Given the difficulties in the group sessions and the positive outcomes and productivity of the one-to-ones, the question arises, would it be better to just work one-to-one as the chances of good musical and personal outcomes are high, rather than perhaps waste time pursuing elusive social outcomes at the expense of musical and personal achievement? Without answering this question, we can say that the decisions of how to work musically here (in recording sessions or with group guitar or djembe sessions) go back to our intentions for the programme overall – whether we are trying to achieve musical, personal and/or social outcomes and which is most important at this time. The link between intentions and musical ideas and materials is strong and vital to any project outcomes.

Table 5 - Stages of involvement in the group sessions in East London PRU

Level	Session 1	Session 2	Session 3	Session 4	Session 5	Session 6
Staying in the room	All students physically stayed in the room. However 2 students disrupted the session throwing drums around	1 student verbally disrupted some of the session. The other students expressed frustration at the disruption	No disruptions – all stayed in room	No disruptions – all stayed in room	No disruptions – all stayed in room	1 student verbally disrupted in the first part of the session. Given that it was the last session he was asked to leave so the other students could listen to their work and also perform.
Joining in	All but 2 students joined in	All but 1 student joined in	All students joined in	All students joined in	All students joined in	All but 1 student joined in
Sustained engagement	5 of the students	8 students but only for about half the session	7 of the students	7 of the students	7 of the students	7 of the students
Contributing ideas	Did not reach this stage	5 of the group contributed	5 of the group contributed	All of the group contributed	6 of the group contributed	This was a consolidation session
Developing a sense of excellence	Did not apply	Did not apply	All students	All students	This was around silence in count-ins. This proved hard for 3 of the group	Most of the group (8) kept their sense of wanting to do their best in performance, e.g. starting and stopping together
Peer leading	Did not apply	Did not apply	Did not apply	Not achieved	Not achieved	Not achieved – This was the week for peer sharing of what they had achieved in the recording sessions. No students would listen to anyone's work but their own.

Figure 5 - Quotations from mentees about the programme in East London PRU



8. Conclusion

In conclusion, the actual music making in PRUs, the ideas and material are both diverse and complex. Working in a musically inclusive way, it is possible to engage many of the young people at different and often deepening levels. Using a shared ownership approach the leader can allow the young people room for self-expression in a number of styles and on a range of platforms. This engagement can begin to address issues that are not just musical but also to do with the individual's sense of self and their role within a group. The leader needs to encourage exploration and be open minded to young people's contributions but also needs to be sensitive to any thing that could trigger discord within the group.

Chapter 7 - Focus and energy

1. Introduction

This chapter looks at the links between levels of children's focus and their energy and the issues arising from these in community music in PRUs. According to the Cambridge English Dictionary focus is the main or central point of something, especially of attention or interest.⁹

In the latter part of the chapter the researcher argues that creating flow environments (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990, 2002) enable participants to manage their own energy and focus and make space for personal transformation at a significant level.

2. Focus and energy in the context of PRUs

The two extracts below, from the researcher's reflective journal, illustrate some of the problems that occur around childrens' energy and focus in PRUs that can detract from a productive session. The first extract shows how quickly such groups can lose focus if another stimulus is presented to them:

This class started well but lost it quite strongly just after the half way mark. They found it very hard to get it back - this was a very interesting and intense session with many possible undercurrents.

The Teaching Assistant left with one boy who was afraid from the off, leaving A and myself alone with the group. One boy had difficulties with his nose, which brought a reaction, and they all got very tired suddenly, which coincided with the smell of food from the kitchen, signaling soon to come lunch.

They started to get very scatty and disruptive and couldn't stop (except for one very well behaved kid).

A and myself became very focused, directive, calm tone, assertive language, and essentially held the line. I immediately went into Yondar (a song which involves long notes and consequently deeper breathing and some relaxation), which fortunately one of them had done in another context and this did give some calm. When I moved on there was still some small disruption. (Reflective journal, 2011)

This second journal extract from a different project shows how quickly things can get out of control if the leader has to take their focus off the whole group:

In this session one student deliberately tried to disrupt the session by turning up the demo programme on a keyboard thereby disrupting the music. While I was attending, gently, to this young man, the rest of the group, presumably feeling neglected, left their instruments and started throwing things round the space. This whole episode took no more than two minutes. In a meeting with the staff afterwards, it was agreed that I would, in future sessions, keep an overview of the session, staying in charge of the whole group all the time, while other staff members would deal with individual disruptions. (Reflective journal, 2012)

The two incidents above illustrate how, during the participant observation period of this study, children in PRUs could get distracted, off task and disruptive quite easily and quickly and how the researcher and other workers would have to

⁹ <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/focus>: accessed 3/5/2016

devise strategies to bring them back and keep them on board. It was important for all the workers to trust each other and to emphasise a teamwork approach when these incidents occurred. While these disruptive incidents were quite rare, they did occur and could on occasion be dangerous. For example, on one occasion, in an EBD unit, one of the music team was hit in the head when a young person threw a drumstick.

In almost all the PRUs visited during the participant observations there was a clear sense of the unpredictability and volatility of the environment and the possibility that at any time things might 'kick off'. Children were more tightly controlled than in mainstream schools. Often they could not leave the classroom alone and sometimes all the doors in the building were locked. In pre-meetings with teachers, the researcher spent much time discussing whether children had to sit behind desks in rows, or whether the children were allowed to sit in a semicircle, stand up and sing, or even move about. This was all related to what they could handle and to what their likely behaviour would be if things were changed too much for them. When working face to face with children with challenging behaviour in a group this same underlying factor was always present, how free could they be before they might lose control and perhaps do harm to themselves, other children, the staff or the building.

This control was also frequently part of a system of preparing the children to re-enter the mainstream. If the team could create an environment in which the children were able to regulate their emotions and behaviour, it was seen as a major step towards reintroducing the children to mainstream schools and larger classes. It was certainly clear to the researcher that the majority of the children in the music groups had difficulty in positive self management and would find it very challenging to work in self-directed groups. Rather than being able to cooperate and work constructively or even just wait quietly for attention from the leader, many of the children, if not substantially engaged, were likely to mess about in ways that could spiral into disruption, distress and possibly aggression.

The types of control used by the staff varied considerably from school to school but tended, in the observations, to require restrictions on creativity and any great freedom to try things or embark collectively with the teacher on a voyage of creative discovery. The researcher was told of examples of creative writing and saw some evidence of visual artwork. On the whole however the environments were highly controlled with little room for either individual or

collective creative expression in evidence. This approach contrasts with Lee Higgins injunction towards a more open, perhaps more equal, interaction as part of the essence of a community music approach:

The facilitator enters the relationship without presenting a front or a façade and encourages the participant to do likewise. This opens the possibility for both to journey together, a chance to venture “safely” into the unknown. (Higgins, 2012: 161)

Without the opportunity for sustained periods of both individual and collective creativity it is hard to see how children with challenging behaviour, many of whom tend not to do well academically, can find positive ways to develop their own self-expression or to understand each other’s imaginative potential and find positive ways to collaborate on things which come directly from themselves.

When the children were all engaged, focused and using their energy in the music, there was little or no disruption to the session. But things could change very quickly and in the participant observations the higher the energy levels in the group, the greater the chance of disruption in the session:

Focus levels change very quickly – one child can spark a wave, both ways. (Music teacher in PRU, 2012)

In several PRUs and EBD units there were occasions where just enjoying the power, tempo and creativity of the music led participants to become very excited. Often that meant they were less able to regulate their behaviour, to avoid talking over others, to stay in their seats as required. Sometimes the excitement would spill over into uncontrollable behaviour and then it occasionally had within it a threat of major disruption and violence. Within many of these children, because of their background, there was a strong tendency toward anxiety. When this anxiety was combined with situations that had a high flow of energy and an element of unpredictability, some children lost the ability to stay in control of their own responses. Without the ability to stay calm and self regulate it was quite possible for children to misinterpret each other and see aggression where there was none:

We did the piece they had written for Halloween. We got well into it and had big involvement from the entire group. There was some over-energy and moving round the floor. (Reflective journal, 2011)

Many of the children had little or no internal locus of control. This is developed in one way through the behaviour management work of PRU staff, where the staff encourage the children to develop strategies to regulate their behaviour, but the researcher saw little evidence of this being fostered as part of creative or other work, where the goals of the work itself would require self-regulation as a by-

product. The development of increasing internal regulation fostered through regular feedback and reflection sessions could be an important feature of community music work in PRUS.

On other occasions during the observations, it was clear that as the group became more energised they became more committed to and engaged with the music and felt the power of the music to transform the whole atmosphere of the space and the group. They got a sense of working together as a supportive team and the feeling that through the music they were creating something fun, exciting and worth doing well. One of the things they were clearly transcending when the music and group became energised was the old pattern of social interaction where there might be a hierarchy, a pecking order, and a social coolness:

Through an openness and focus toward relationships, the workshop can become a touchstone through which diversity, freedom, and tolerance might flow. Consequently, pedagogical practices that work within workshop or laboratory structures are actively involved in the pursuit of equality and access beyond any preconceived limited horizons. (Higgins, 2012: 145)

In the participant observations, while in many sessions children learned well and were engaged, it was only when the young people were letting go and getting involved without having significant external controls on their energy dynamic that there were real opportunities for creativity to flow around the group and for creative surprises to occur. This did not happen when teachers tightly controlled the energy of the group. If the intentions of the session include allowing the creative impulse to take control of the group as a whole and include giving them space to discover new abilities in group contexts, as well as to make surprising and innovative new music, then there is a tension with the leader maintaining strong controls on the energy of the group. Developing a stronger internal locus of control amongst the individual children, although likely to take a very considerable time, perhaps years in some cases, may be of benefit to the children in their wider school life and their life beyond school. From the evidence of some sessions in the participant observations, music may well be a strong motivating force to promote this internal change. Community Music work thrives on the idea of the transformative session, where participants and leader become players together in an intense, joyful and highly energetic musical experience where letting go and interacting spontaneously, with little regard to structural limits, are key elements, influencing the internal change that occurs in the individuals and group. It is in essence a group venting or catharsis:

The workshop space becomes a site for experimentation and exploration through a deterritorialised environment. Although the space is bounded, it is not a tightly controlled location that fixes parameters with rigidity and barriers. (Higgins, 2012: 146)

Conversely music leaders need to be aware of the dangers of what Bion calls:

The capacity of human beings for harnessing tremendous energy effectively and at the same time of the danger of such energy when it is not harnessed. (Bion quoted in Rioch, 1975: 31)

In summary, PRUs are volatile places where the young people are often kept under quite tight control. This is often to minimize risk of disruption or even violence. Music can create circumstances where students' energy and focus levels change quite quickly. While there may be advantages in this in terms of creative flow, music leaders will also need to be mindful of the levels of energy and anxiety in the group and have strategies to avoid the group getting out of control in ways that are damaging to themselves, the environment and others.

3. Specific characteristics of the children worked with during the participant observation

In the participant observation many of the children had noticeably low focus and they found it difficult changing this to becoming more focused. Their listening skills were often very poor, they found it hard to remain attentive to what the researcher/ leader, or especially other children, were saying. They needed to move about and fidget and often would interact with other children below the level of the focused activity that was supposed to be going on e.g. messing with instruments together, pushing each other with their feet and so on. There were a number of children who just found it difficult to settle at all. This restlessness was somewhat compounded by the need in most of the schools to start the session with children sitting down, sometimes behind desks. In addition some of the children showed visible signs of tiredness and fatigue, regularly yawning, resting their heads, slumping in the chair or on desks and saying how tired and exhausted they were.

Other children had clearly decided not to join in. Often they hid their heads, sometimes covered in hoodies. In one unit they regularly lay across the tables as though about to sleep and the staff accepted this behaviour. Some chose not to engage simply by not responding to requests for their name or encouragement to join in. Often, about one child in every group sat out of the activity at some point in the session, although in one EBD unit, over ten sessions, all of the 7 children, at year 7, chose not to participate for at least part of the session, sometimes leaving the music team of four, as it was in that school, working with a single child:

I seemed to walk into week 2 syndrome with lots of poor behaviour, testing boundaries, acting out. Several children were taken out. Second half settled well. (Reflective journal, 2012)

In some cases children simply did not join in, and in these circumstances the leader left it open for the child to join in later. Sometimes, although not often, the child would leave the room or be taken out because of their behaviour.

Finally, the children, even when focused, might lose that focus very quickly indeed because of an outside stimulus or trigger. On these occasions, without attention from the leader, it was unlikely that the children would regain their focus.

In briefing and de-briefing sessions and also in discussions and interviews with the long-term staff they listed the following as causes for children's lack of focus and their difficulties with maintaining positive and appropriate energy levels:

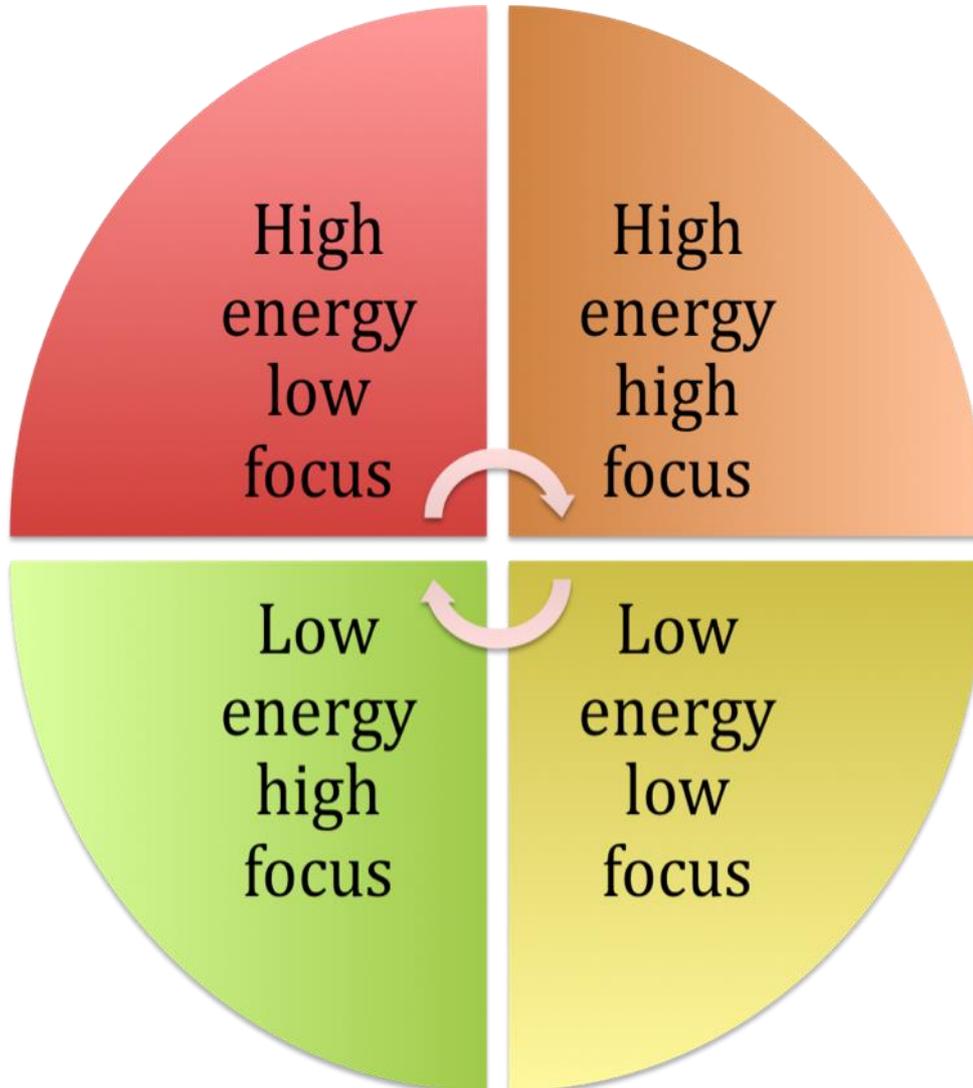
- The side effects of long term trauma, abuse or neglect
- Short term emotional turmoil after a recent incident, often but not always at home
- Low muscle tone caused through birth circumstances (leading to excessive tiredness)
- Hunger and malnourishment
- Difficulties due to medication (usually psychotropic drugs such as Ritalin to modify behaviour)
- Long term syndromes such as ADD, ODD, ADHD, Dyspraxia, that affected the child's ability to concentrate and be still
- Feelings of low self esteem and a sense that they were poor learners
- Anxiety or mental health problems among the children including the perceived need to control the environment
- Over response to stimuli such as can occur with dyspraxia and other conditions (children in this situation find it hard to selectively focus and are drawn to such things as bright colours in the primary classroom, over sensitivity to the touch of say a drum, or sound etc). Also difficulties with selective focus caused by Autism or Asperger's syndrome (obsession and repetition).
- Tiredness due to lack of sleep

In summary, children in PRUs often have poor focusing ability and can lose their concentration quickly. There are a number of reasons for this, including medical reasons and also their background and life circumstances.

4. Four states of energy / focus

Figure 6 illustrates four combinations of energy and focus that were evidenced at different times during the participant observations:

Figure 6 - Four combinations of energy and focus



4.1 Low Energy / Low focus

A small number (less than 5) of the schools visited during the participant observations had classes of unfocussed, sluggish students (low energy, low focus). There would be a visible lack of engagement often with children lying on top of desks or slumped on the desk. More often there would be one or more children like that in a class. The staff explained this might be perhaps because the child was on medication, perhaps for lack of sleep.

4.2 Low energy / High focus

More frequently still, the student group was engaged and focused but with a low energy level, constantly being brought on task by teachers with a keen eye for who is involved, who is losing concentration. In this type of session there would be little or no student-to-student interaction. All the interaction would be between a student and the leader, constantly returning to the leader. The session was very much mediated by the leader's tone of voice and communication style, which on most occasions remained calm and unexcited throughout.

4.3 High energy / Low focus

In one EBD unit in particular, the children's behaviour was, for much of the time, outside conventional norms and the staff made little attempt to control it. Students were not focused on learning tasks and displayed high and frequently aggressive energy. The students ran in and out of the classroom, sometimes chasing and hitting each other. They climbed on desks and other available heights and spoke loudly throughout. On occasion this spilled over into aggression, which was again outside the leader's control. Community musicians described similar environments in PRUs and other EBD units during the focus groups.

4.4 High energy / High focus

PRUs and EBD unit staff fed back at times that the high energy / high focus of an active music improvisation session was something they were not used to and in feedback they expressed their concerns about the risk of this type of session, being so close in nature to high energy / low focus, what one teacher called the 'conservatory of chaos'. Given the need for PRU staff to have to deal with the consequences of children's disruptive behaviour, their concerns are valid and need acknowledgement by any community musicians working in these contexts. However, this researcher contends that exploration, reflection and careful management of active high energy / high focus sessions can lead to positive musical, personal and social outcomes for the children concerned and that risks can be minimized.

It was possible in these environments to achieve high energy coupled with high focus when the leader was sensitive to the levels of focus and energy in the group and made sure to link any increase in group energy with a strong attention to maintaining group focus, to work closely with individuals and to step in and take the energy levels down if there was a sense of danger:

I was aware of the need to be sensitive to the group who were initially a little unstable so I built the dynamic on a slow burn. (Reflective journal, 2012)

High energy and high focus only happened, during the participant observations, when students were working in the round, i.e. sitting or standing in a circle or, on occasion, a semicircle, facing the leader and not behind desks. It only happened after much groundwork had been done on focusing in on the leader as leader so the energy could be pulled back quickly if necessary. It was on these occasions that a sense of group spirit and immersion in the music sometimes took over:

You want the freedom, it's creative but they badly need boundaries – creativity and chaos are terribly close. (Music teacher PRU, 2012)

Interviews with teaching staff and musicians on the topic of children's energy tended to have different points of view. Teaching staff were almost all concerned with the energy levels in the group, and the controlling of behaviour was one of the most talked about topics in their interviews. Musicians rarely mentioned this directly and were much more interested in the transformative moment where everyone would know something new had occurred. These differing areas of interests and concerns were very much reflected in the different teaching / leadership styles of teaching staff and community musicians and constitute a tension for community music practice to be accepted as worthwhile within the PRU environment. For community musicians to succeed in these environments they must find ways of lowering the levels of student anxiety and keeping those levels low throughout their work. One teacher compared the relationship between energy and focus to that of a double helix, the structural shape of DNA. At different times both energy and focus would come together and spark off each other and that was where most and best learning would occur. Then they might drift apart and the leader's role was to keep bringing them back together.

In summary, there may be a difference between how PRU staff and community musicians view the merits and demerits of different levels of energy and focus. Musicians may be inclined to work towards developing high energy and high focus in the group and may see in this much potential for individual and collective transformation. PRU staff may have reasons to be wary of this in terms of the potential for chaos and disruption this release of energy may bring.

5. Energy and focus and children with ADHD

As noted earlier in this study, many of the children in PRUs have special educational needs. One of the more common conditions these children have is

attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). There are no figures on how many children in PRUs have ADHD, and with the ever-changing population of PRUs such figures might have little meaning. That said, a number of the musicians interviewed for the study talked about working with children with ADHD and the researcher noticed many instances of what might be described as hyperactivity in the participant observations.

Children with ADHD have difficulty with their focus (attention) and also display difficulty managing their energy (hyperactivity). They can find school very difficult¹⁰ and their academic outcomes are frequently low. Children with ADHD have significant difficulties with academic performance. An American study noted lower average marks, more failed grades, more expulsions, increased dropout rates, and a lower rate of college completion (Weiss & Hechtman, cited in Fowler, 1992 and in Johnston, 2002). For those who do get to college or university, research suggests that they experience less academic success and greater psychological and emotional difficulties than other students and use alcohol and drugs at higher rates (Green and Rabiner, 2012).

It is not surprising that many children with ADHD are in PRUs. A study by Barkley (1990) found that 46 percent of a student study group with ADHD had been suspended from school and 11 percent had been expelled. The symptoms children with ADHD may exhibit can directly clash with the ideal of a calm and controlled environment. ADHD's core symptoms—inattention, hyperactivity, and impulsivity—make meeting the daily rigors of school challenging (Zentall, 1993):

Difficulty sustaining attention to a task may contribute to missing important details in assignments, daydreaming during lectures and other activities, and difficulty organizing assignments. Hyperactivity may be expressed in either verbal or physical disruptions in class. Impulsivity may lead to careless errors, responding to questions without fully formulating the best answers, and only attending to activities that are entertaining or novel.¹¹

Traditional classroom work and environments are very difficult for many children with ADHD (Goldstein & Goldstein, 1992). From an early age, they have difficulty in controlling their responses (Barkley, 1994) and this prevents them from adhering to school expectations for their behaviour. This can include staying in their seats, paying attention to the teacher, and following directions as guided (Reeve, 1994).

Observers suggest that many problems experienced by children with ADHD

¹⁰ <http://www.ldonline.org/article/5925/> accessed 3/5/2016

¹¹ http://www2.ed.gov/rschstat/research/pubs/adhd/adhd-identifying_pg4.html accessed 10/4/2016

result from a mismatch between the child and the school environment (Pelligrini & Horvat 1995; Weaver, 1992; Goldstein & Goldstein, 1992) rather than simply the condition of the child. A number of researchers have argued that children with ADHD need a curriculum that is relevant to their own lives and interests, stimulating and appropriately challenging and that contains space for innovation and creativity (Weaver, 1992; Kohn 1993; Legters, McDill, & McPartland, 1994). Practice wisdom from the observations and other community music contexts suggests that children with ADHD, once engaged in an appropriate practical music making task that keeps on going and is not interrupted, can lose themselves in that engagement and stay on task.

Evidence from both the participant observations and the focus groups shows that music can act as a space for development of focus, engagement and in some cases transformation for young people with ADHD, through the young people:

- Immersing themselves in new and interesting music
- Committing to achievement at the edge of their ability
- Taking creative risks in front of others and giving and receiving trust to do so
- Allowing the music and the musical interaction to take control (losing themselves in the music)
- Achieving both individually and collectively things they never thought they would achieve
- Reflecting individually and collectively on what has transpired and their part in it and also reflecting on how that affects their sense of self.

This is not to say that these children would be 'cured' of ADHD. What does happen is that they become engaged in the task, and focus their energies on their achievement. Instead of failing at tasks which they do not connect with, appropriate and creative music tasks can help them go beyond themselves and find success with things that challenge them to achieve their utmost.

In summary, children with ADHD may have significant difficulty both with focus and with controlling their energy. Practice wisdom suggests that in an appropriate musical environment these difficulties can diminish and the young people can become immersed in the music making.

6. Managing energy and focus in PRUs

6.1 Getting the children focused

If the group was diffuse, the leader used a number of exercises to get them refocused. These included one called “clap when I clap” where they had to clap simultaneously with the leader who would try and catch them out. This helped develop their listening, their attention to being in the moment and also the very important skill of focusing on the leader. As the exercise was then passed around the group it also allowed them to have a short experience of leadership and also to consciously change their focus to different parts of the room. Another exercise was an improvisation where the leader would bring in different members of the group by signaling to them individually and then visually counting them in, also doing the same to bring them out again. This way they had to focus on watching the leader closely. The researcher spent extended periods of time with the children, getting them to follow his instructions, both verbal and non-verbal. A lot of this work was done to promote the idea of a whole group following a single leader and doing the same task together. This contributed to a sense of group cohesion:

Lots of eye contact work – quite successful – talked about cues with J, count ins and trying to get them to look at me for endings with group. Mixed success. (Reflective journal, 2011)

The leader also did a lot of work with the groups on count-ins, trying to make them a space where nobody talked, interrupted or disrupted. This was successful in all but one school. The idea was to try and separate the music from the disruption and give them a clear sense of what was more important. The leader also used the count-ins to get singers to breathe before the song, and to get drummers and other instrumentalists to hold their hands over the instruments. In other words the count-ins were a signal to get prepared, which was quite difficult for a number of the children. Finally the leader spent a lot of time with some children showing them that the count-in set the time for the beat of the song and that when they heard the count they could start to move their body to the beat of the numbers. This improved their sense of the music as well as their ability to prepare to do a task. They gained some understanding of sequence in the sense that the piece of music was always preceded by a count-in and they had to be responsible for maintaining silence during the count-in:

Did lots of bringing the sound level back down and also waiting for count-ins. This was done for focus. (Reflective journal, 2011)

Occasionally the group’s energy was such that it was better to work with what was currently happening, even with some slight disruption, rather than going for absolute silence.

There was low-level disruption. I did allow it to an extent – kept bringing them back but focus was too low to eradicate problem. (Reflective journal, 2011)

The leader adopted a range of roles depending on where the group was in the process (Townsend, 1999; Mullen, 2008). These included: teaching, as in the transmission of information, working as a coach in real-time, including rehearsing and perfecting starting and stopping together, work on breathing for voice and also some work on pitch, rhythmic tightness, dynamics and a range of other musical interventions. In addition the leader adopted other roles, such as Socratic Direction and Guardian of the Process (Townsend, 1999; Mullen 2008). These roles allow different ways of involvement from the young people and different levels of focus.

Two structural methods were very useful for maintaining focus: customizing seating arrangements and using different group combinations. It was part of the session leader's intention to change the seating from what the children were used to and to enable the children to work in peer combinations that were new to them. This was to create an environment where new things could happen, where there was some level of the unknown, albeit with this newness carefully managed so as not to promote anxiety. It was also intended as a way of creating a different power dynamic in the room, with the teacher, while still often at the centre of focus, not removed from the students through sitting away or on a higher chair, but among them in a circle.

For seating arrangements the leader would often arrange the chairs in a circle. The important thing was to have the chairs far enough away from each other to ensure no messing occurred between any two children but close enough to ensure there was no gap to break the 'idea' of a circle. Invariably, if there were a gap, even of a couple of inches, the child's attention and the angle of their body would stray into it and away from the circle. The leader made sure at the start of the session to have chairs equidistant and if they got moved would fairly promptly move them back into the circle:

Lots of talk on focus – and stuff around modeling exaggerated face for vowels. I managed the circle very closely – kept bringing people back in. I restarted the session twice to include late arrivals with the name song. (Reflective journal, 2011)

Having different group combinations, big group, two lines, small groups and pairs, helped vary the sessions, created different approaches to each task, and changed the power dynamic and level of individual contribution and ownership within the session. That said, sometimes in the PRUs there was a difficulty in allowing the students to be independent and take control of their learning and

creativity. They were unused to working together in semi-autonomous creative groups. Pairs work was particularly important in gently challenging how individuals interacted with each other, and, by implication, addressing the overall level of group trust (and therefore openness to high focused, high achieving bursts of creative energy).

In summary, there are a range of strategies that the music leader can utilize to develop focus and keep the group's energy in flow. Careful attention to seating arrangements, young people working in different combinations and changing roles for the leader can all be effective in maintaining group cohesion.

6.2 Creativity and risk

In the participant observation it was evident, and this was echoed in the focus groups by the musicians working in PRUs, that working creatively, i.e. creative teaching and facilitation, was potentially more volatile and likely to create more occasions for disruption of focus and maintaining positive energy than transmission of songs and didactic work. When given the options to write songs or parts the energy among the young people could become, on occasion, quite diffuse and occasionally this would develop into disruptiveness. While this would happen among individuals, in the PRUs, the bonds holding the groups on task were never very strong and an individual going off task could very easily bring others with them. Group cohesion in a one-off session is not likely to be very strong as the music leader has not had time to build trust, establish positive norms or allow individuals to establish themselves and the group through the appropriate stages of forming, storming, norming and performing as outlined by Bruce Tuckman in his classic study (Tuckman, 1965).

This created something of a dilemma in the participant observations as the leader's intentions very strongly revolved around shared ownership of creative material with the group, telling their own story and all the feelings of empowerment that can come from creating their own music, their own curriculum, their own collective expression of self:

Music-making experiences such as these can be uncompromising, personal, and "alive," a process that evokes the telling of "their" story over those of the music facilitator. The self-worth that comes from being 'enabled' to invent is powerfully affirming. (Higgins, 2012: 148)

This riskiness led to a way of leading through initially assessing the situation (see section on reflection-during-action, chapter eight). If it were felt that a group was calm the leader would try some collective writing work, being careful to pull it back to didactic work if the energy started getting out of hand. If the group

seemed restless, the plan changed and the session moved toward learning set, but engaging, material.

In summary, creative work may on occasion add to the volatility of the group. It may be helpful if the leader has a range of approaches, both creative and non-creative, and uses them according to the needs of the situation.

7. Flow

One method for encouraging high focus in tandem with high energy in PRUs is to create an environment where the group is in flow. According to Csikszentmihalyi's theory of flow, flow is:

a state in which people are so involved in an activity that nothing else seems to matter; the experience is so enjoyable that people will continue to do it even at great cost, for the sheer sake of doing it. (Csikszentmihalyi, 2002: 4)

It is achieved through closely matching the level of challenge in a situation with the participants' ability to achieve that challenge while not becoming bored (Csikszentmihalyi, 2002: 30). Csikszentmihalyi calls flow an optimal experience that happens when:

psychic energy--or attention--is invested in realistic goals, and when skills match the opportunities for action. The pursuit of a goal brings order in awareness because a person must concentrate attention on the task at hand and momentarily forget everything else. (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990: 2)

In other words flow occurs when people are sufficiently motivated towards a goal that occupies them to the exclusion of all other concerns.

According to Csikszentmihalyi flow has eight major components:

1. We confront tasks we have a chance of completing
2. We must be able to concentrate on what we are doing
3. The task has clear goals
4. The task provides immediate feedback
5. One acts with deep, but effortless involvement, that removes from awareness the worries and frustrations of everyday life
6. One exercises a sense of control over their actions
7. Concern for the self disappears, yet, paradoxically the sense of self emerges stronger after the flow experience is over
8. The sense of duration of time is altered. (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990: 3)

In summary, Csikszentmihalyi's theory of flow may be a useful tool for the community musician to help create environments where focus is maintained and energy is regulated.

7.1 Flow and music participation

Music has been called a quintessential flow activity (Whalen: 1997). It can be a multi-sensory, immersive experience that can connect with multiple levels of

human expression. In an improvisation the participant can find the level of the challenge that they want to work at. In a group context music can act 'as a communication system, an art beyond words' (Deane et al, 2010: 10) where the participants can set the challenge together, without being limited to rational decision making, through listening, responding and being the music.

Maslow, when talking about peak experiences states:

The two easiest ways of getting peak experiences (in terms of simple statistics in empirical reports) are through music and through sex. (Maslow, 1971: 175)

Bernard (2009) argues that in schools one has to create environments where flow is likely to occur. PRU life with its strong controls over behaviour may not be an optimal environment for flow experiences. Csikszentmihalyi (1993 cited in Custodero, 2002) suggested that school environments with their combination of formal instruction and a need for modified behaviour may cause a waning of flow and Larson (2000) has found teenagers' extra-curricular activities are more likely to create flow than academic ones. Custodero (2002) has argued that a necessary condition for flow, self-assignment, the involvement of the young person as initiator and agent in the activity, is more likely to occur outside regular class time unless the leader's approach leaves space for the student to initiate activity.

Community music approaches that recognize the young person's creative voice and role as agent (Lonie, 2013) may be more conducive to creating flow environments than current PRU environments. In addition the community musician's commitment to the immediate and to honouring what the children bring are additional factors that encourage a state of flow within children making music in PRUs:

Through its focus on immediate experience, the flow model allows researchers to examine how young children are, without preconceptions of where they should be. Becoming is determined by the individual: through engaging with and transforming materials in the environment children contribute to their own growth. (Custodero, 2005: 188)

In summary, PRUs may not be places that are conducive to creating flow environments. This may signal a mismatch between the goals and working methods of the community musician and the environment of a PRU.

7.2 Flow as a space for immersion and transformation

Creating environments, in which flow can be a commonplace, where students can lose themselves through immersion in music activity, may well present opportunities for personal transformation. If the flow experience is coupled with opportunities for reflecting critically and constructively on the individual's sense of self, then there is the opportunity for resignification (Cooper et al, 1994 based

on Matza, 1976) and a fresh start:

In the long-run, optimal experiences add up to a sense of mastery, or perhaps, better, a sense of participation in determining the content of life. (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990: 2)

Abraham Maslow (1971: 168-169) says that the purpose of education is to enable people to self-actualise, to become the best they can. Entering into flow states through creative music making can enable this self-actualisation. It can enable young people to become fully themselves through giving them the means to express to each other, moment by moment, their true inner emotions, feelings beyond verbalization, unfiltered and unconstrained. When these feelings are framed through the structures of music they become an engaged expression of the human spirit. The young people self-actualize i.e. become the best they can be, moment to moment, through the act of making music. When the music is over, the young people and the music leader can use structured reflection to articulate what they feel has happened and their role in it. Over time it is possible that the children can use that reflection to promote a change in their self-perception. Becoming aware of what they can be at their best, the young person can, over time, overcome any negative self-image they had taken on from previous experience and forge a new identity through their developing musicianship:

Everyone experiences flow from time to time and will recognize its characteristics: people typically feel strong, alert, in effortless control, unselfconscious, and at the peak of their abilities. Both a sense of time and emotional problems seem to disappear, and there is an exhilarating feeling of transcendence. (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990: 1)

A key aspect of the conditions for self-transformation is the forgetting or temporary loss of the previously constructed self. This letting go of inhibitions through music, side-stepping sometimes negative self images that were often constructed over long time periods where the young person faced significant challenges, and becoming open to what one can become, are key steps in changing one's sense of self and allowing new approaches to situations and behaviours:

When in a flow experience, what slips below the threshold of awareness is the concept of self, the information we use to represent to ourselves who we are. And being able to forget temporarily who we are seems to be very enjoyable. When not preoccupied with our selves, we actually have a chance to expand the concept of who we are. Loss of self-consciousness can lead to self-transcendence, to a feeling that the boundaries of our being have been pushed forward. (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990: 4/5)

Abraham Maslow sees the process of transcendence as having two key elements: a loss of self-awareness / self-consciousness (Maslow, 1971: 269) and also the ability to be part of something bigger and go beyond self-imposed

limitations (Maslow, 1971: 279). Both these elements can be met in a creative musical group if each participant feels sufficient ownership to contribute their best, in the way they see fit, without an outside authority such as a teacher dictating their input. For this reason, the community music model, with the easy power of the leader to change from one skill-set to another, sometimes teaching, sometimes coaching but also knowing when to facilitate, is well-suited to creating room for optimal, transcendent flow experiences. The idea of transcendence outlined here is not in any way ephemeral but is rooted in a reconceptualising and reworking of the young person's lived experience. It is a place where they can free themselves from perhaps years of imposed negative identity to embrace, through their contribution to an emotionally honest piece of music, a new identity of becoming, forged by their energy, their focus, and their work.

This can give purpose and direction to their lives and can enable them to, over time and the accumulation of similar experiences, change their pathway and lead a life uncircumscribed by trauma, class and their own or other's negative expectations. They can rewrite the story of their own lives:

Creating meaning involves bringing order to the contents of the mind by integrating one's actions into a unified flow experience. People who find their lives meaningful usually have a goal that is challenging enough to take up all their energies, a goal that can give significance to their lives. This is called achieving purpose. (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990: 5/6)

It must be noted, however, that in this research study there was not enough time spent with any group for the cumulative effects of musical flow environments, coupled with supported reflection, to create circumstances where children were able to radically alter their self-concept. All the observations were of short-term work, never more than two terms long and, in the focus groups, the community musicians had also been running short-term projects in most of their work with children with EBD. Clearly what can be achieved in one or two or even a term's worth of sessions is limited and to enable deep reflection and change would, this researcher believes, require a significantly longer period of musical engagement. One aspect of this is the amount of time necessary to build real trust between the music leader and the young people, particularly given the life circumstances many of them have endured. The benefits of flow working as a potential route to personal change are strong enough that the researcher believes longer time resources should be given to these type of projects, with changes in children's self-concept measured as an integral part of future programmes' evaluation.

From analyzing data gathered in the participant observations, the staff and musician interviews and the focus group interviews, this researcher is clear that, to develop flow environments in PRUs, leaders need to be credible, both in their musical abilities and in their ability to bring integrity to the leader/ participant relationship. They also need to understand and work effectively with the culture of the PRU in order to be in a position to create environments for flow. They have to be able to engage and motivate students and set appropriate challenges for them, while allowing the young people to be in flow and to own their own experience. In addition it is necessary to create opportunities for guided reflection that encourage the young people to understand and celebrate their achievements. For this, music leaders need to believe in the students' potential, the power of the music to create conditions for change and also to believe that their own skills and understandings can guide and support that change. Palmer (2006: 153) asserts:

The teacher needs to experience a deeper and broadened existence to be able to lead students to a heightened sense of awareness.

In summary, flow environments may have particular relevance for PRU students in that they may allow them a space in which to deconstruct and then reconstruct their sense of self, moving from a negative imposed identity to one that they make themselves, that acknowledges their creative journey as musicians. This journey will take significant time and could be the subject of further research.

8. Conclusion

In PRU environments community musicians will have to work carefully with the children to enable them to deepen their focus, regulate their energy and achieve flow. Tasks need to be engaging for the individual child and set within the context of worthwhile and challenging goals for the group that require individual and collective endeavour at a higher level than the children may be used to. Both this doing of the task and its achievement create space for the community musician to work with the young person on their sense of identity. This can best be achieved through a supported reflective process in a bounded atmosphere. This can then, over time, lead to significant change in the young person's self perception and can also result in the young person taking responsibility for changes in their own behaviour.

Chapter 8. Reflection and reflexivity

1. Introduction

This chapter will explore the skill of reflection and reflexivity among community music workers in PRUs. It will highlight three stages of reflection: reflection-before-action (Reed and Proctor, 1993), reflection-during-action and reflection-after-action, these last two identified in David Schon's classic work on reflection (Schon, 1987). In particular there will be a focus on reflection-during-action, what happens in the heat of the session and what informs the leader's decisions and actions at that time. The chapter will also look at models of reflection, developing reflective participants and will finally focus on an example from practice. Practice wisdom, including reports from national and regional gatherings of community musicians, suggests that community musicians are increasingly using reflective practice across England:

The ideas of reflection-in-action (during the heat of battle) and reflection-on-action (review after the event in the cold light of day) have been used substantially in professional training for non-formal music education. (Deane et al, 2015: 24)

Community musicians use structured reflection as a way of unpicking issues in their practice, sharing that practice across the field and giving themselves ways to give meaning to complex and challenging situations. Many of the mechanisms and approaches of reflective practice in community music have come from other professions, such as the therapies and nursing, and there may need to be a period where community musicians have to translate or rather adjust these mechanisms to suit their own field. David Elliott in 1998 said:

The ideal belief-system (personal software or operating system) for community musicians in the postmodern world is a reflective mindset. (Elliott, 1998: 20)

In summary, reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action are increasingly being used in community music practice. These approaches have, to a large part, been adapted from their use in other fields.

2. What is reflective practice?

Reflective practice is a way of working for professionals in complex, ever changing situations, where they need to develop understanding of and formulate new responses to events and issues that arise in their practice. Bolton states that reflecting involves thinking about, and conscious awareness of, what we are doing and why we think we are doing it (Bolton, 2009).

In 1933 the influential educationalist John Dewey described critical reflection

as problem solving or investigation brought about by a moment of doubt. It can help us become aware of our and others' preconceptions (Mezirow, 1981), and it can help us understand who we are and how we construct our identities (Wilson, 2002). Schon (1983), when talking about nurses' practice in situations that were new and where there was no clear prior experience to act as a guide, spoke about the 'swampy lowlands of reality' as opposed to the 'firm, high ground' of theory which was often not rooted in practice and did not allow for the real life dilemmas such professionals encountered:

The difficulty is that the problems of the high ground, however great their technical interest, are often relatively unimportant to clients or to the larger society, while in the swamp are the problems of greatest interest. (Schön, 1983: 42)

Reflective practice is a way of discovering what informs our understandings and responses to work situations that are complex and surprising. When people are in situations where there is no rule book or even clear guidelines, it is often necessary to examine our thoughts, and our inner motivations and to critically reflect on how our deep biases and things we take for granted can sometimes hinder us in finding the best ways to help others achieve their goals:

This 'learning by doing', or coming to rely on practice-based evidence, draws on past experience and contrasts with the idea that we can learn our skills through following a set of guidelines. There is no such easy way to 'know that' we are doing the right thing. In clinical practice, we recognize the contrast between application of knowledge and competencies on the one hand, and an ongoing fluid interacting process between the practitioner and clients on the other. (Dallos and Stedman, 2009: 12)

While Dallos and Stedman talk of 'clinical practice' and 'clients' thus rooting their own understandings within the therapies, in community music the balance between using pre-acquired knowledge and competencies and working in a fluid interactive way with the participants is also at the centre of the workshop process.

Reflective practice has become crucial skill in a number of professions where people work with people. These include: nursing (Cooney, 1990, Jarvis, 1992, 1999), education (Boud et al., 1985; Brookfield, 1995; Larrivee, 2000), and social work (Redmond, 2006). Reflective practice is a tool for deep change, challenging the practitioner to face up to his or her own limitations within the professional context:

It challenges assumptions, ideological illusions, damaging social and cultural biases, inequalities, and questions personal behaviours which perhaps silence the voices of others or otherwise marginalise them. (Bolton, 2009: 3)

It can heighten the leader's sensitivity to what is clear and evident in the room and also to what is more hidden in the reasons behind participants' action, their

engagement and disengagement. From this they can work out strategies to create conditions for creative engagement and change, they can take on the taken for granted aspects of the situation and can help participants find new ways to tackle longstanding barriers to their progress.

Fook (2002) argues that among the benefits of reflective practice are both clearer boundaries and openness to multiple perspectives, both of which can enhance relationships between professionals and the people they work with. Some researchers remind us that reflective practice can be dangerous if used unwisely. With students it can cause them to become overly inward looking (Schön, 1996) and self-critical (Morrow, 2009).

In summary reflective practice is useful in situations where the work is so complex and unique that rulebooks, manuals or guides would be inappropriate to the task. In community music it can improve the relationship between the music leader and the participants and can give ideas around why people are doing what they are doing in the workshop session and what strategies might work best.

3. What is reflexive practice?

Reflexive practice is a way of looking critically at our own role or position within situations, and how we cause and influence actions. It allows us to examine the values that underpin our actions and the actions of those we are aligned with. It is a way to question how we can allow situations to occur or be maintained that cause exclusion to others (Bolton, 2009). This can either be through our actions or our failure to take action. It enables us to question the intentions and role of the organizations or institution we are aligned with (Fook, 2002):

Through reflexive practice professionals realise dissonance between their own values in practice and their espoused values, or those of their organisation, leading them to make dynamic change. This might not be easy, particularly if they realise an action, or an aspect of their organisation has been (or is) against their own ethical code, or that they are in an untenable but unalterable situation. (Rowland, 2000 cited in Bolton, 2009: 12)

This type of reflection allows us to examine the uniqueness of our individual 'positionality' within social systems (Foucault, 1982; Giddens, 1976). It enables to look at our position within a setting in relation to issues of power (Riley et al, 2003). By examining this positionality¹² we can begin to move towards changing it. Reflexive practice implies a need for action more strongly than reflective practice. If we examine our work and find we are working in a way that excludes people,

¹² The fact or quality of having a position in relation to other things. *Sociology*. The occupation or adoption of a particular position in relation to others, usually with reference to issues of culture, ethnicity, or gender.

<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/positionality> accessed 5/5/2016

even if we were previously unaware of this, then as professionals committed to musical inclusion we must change our practice to promote inclusion in whatever ways we can. Larivee (2000: 93) sees the potential for the reflective practitioner to develop a professional identity through the fusing of beliefs and values. Zeichner and Liston (1996) argue that reflective teachers should move beyond questions about whether or not their practice is working, to critically examining values and how practice can lead to change, commitment to quality and respect for difference.

In summary, reflexive practice gives us ways to critically reflect on what we do and to find ways to make our practice less exclusionary.

4. Why reflective practice is needed in community music work in PRUs

Community musicians working in a range of contexts are increasingly familiar with the term reflective practice although practice wisdom suggests that much of their reflection is informal and lacking in structure. Sound Sense includes the term 'evaluate and reflect on my own work' as one of its principles for the community musician's code of practice.¹³ It is seen as a way of working that can be helpful in all of those community music programmes that operate outside the formal curriculum and frequently outside formal contexts:

Reflective practice is a particularly valuable activity in a profession where the work situation is complex and relatively recently adopted; and there is a substantial need for participant observation, the spotting of patterns, the exercise of judgement and the building of individual and collective theory about the work in order to improve practice. (Deane et al, 2015: 105)

PRUs are places with complex environments where textbook and theoretical knowledge would never address the myriad important challenges that the community musician has to face. The children bring complex life histories and medical and other conditions to the work and there is a history of PRU education not succeeding in creating positive outcomes for the young people (Taylor, 2012). This means that community musicians cannot rely on the PRU as a place of pedagogical expertise for these children. Without feeling the surroundings to be a base of secure expertise they must feel their way and find their own solutions rather than follow the accepted practice around them. In addition community music practice itself is complex, often addressing musical, personal and social concerns within the same session.

¹³ <http://www.soundsense.org/metadot/index.pl?id=25842> accessed 24/11/2015

As we saw in chapter three, community music practice is diverse, with currently no clearly defined pedagogy. Much of the work is based on observing the group and taking a diagnostic approach. For these reasons using reflection in a structured way can be an important skill for the community musician in a PRU setting. Reflective practice can help musicians ask and find answers to questions such as where do the challenges in community music work spring from – the participant, the systemic structures, or the music leader?

In summary, reflective practice, while established in community music, may benefit from a more structured approach in many cases. The complexities of community music work in PRUs, combined with the pioneering nature of the work at this time, indicate that reflective practice may be a very useful part of the community musician's skill set in these environments.

5. Three stages of reflection

Schon (1987) identifies two stages of reflective practice: reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action. Reed and Proctor (1993) describe a third stage of reflection: reflection-before-action. Grushka, Hinde-McLeod and Reynolds (2005) distinguish between 'reflection-for-action', 'reflection-in-action' and 'reflection-on-action'

5.1 Reflection-before-action

Reflection-before-action involves thinking through a situation before taking action (Cooney, 2009: 1530). Van Manen (1991: 101) calls this anticipatory reflection and suggests that it 'helps us approach situations and other people in an organized, decision-making, prepared way'.

Greenaway (accessed 2016) suggests two areas of education where reflection-before-action is highly useful: when one needs to carry out a training needs analysis or when involving participants in designing a programme that connects to their real world. The latter would be, as we have seen, a key part of community music activity in PRUs.

Reflection-before-action will involve a thoughtful approach to future work that goes beyond mere planning and preparation. From data gathered from the focus groups, the participant observations, and subsequent PRU related training programmes, the researcher suggests that reflection-before-action could include reflection on how to build positive relationships with PRU staff both inside and outside the classroom as well as how to work well with the different individuals in

the group and the group as a group. It could look at issues of power and control and their relationship to the development of a safe creative space and also the music leader's presentation of their own self and strategies to put the group at ease and motivate them. Finally the music leader might focus on what might go wrong in a session that could lead to challenging behaviour and also what strategies does one need to deal with such eventualities?

In summary, reflection-before-action can help sensitise community musicians to the specific needs and challenges of the PRU environment they will be working in and can help them work in a more emotionally intelligent way.

5.2 Reflection-during-action

Reflection in or during action is being able to think about what you are doing while doing it. It can also be described as thinking on your feet. It occurs during practice without any stopping or interrupting of that practice (Reece Jones, 1995; Marks-Maran and Rose, 1997). In relation to nursing, Marks-Maran and Rose (1997) describe reflection-in-action as a spiral process that reshapes the action while it is happening.

During the research process a number of things emerged as especially important for PRUs. These were, firstly, a broad awareness of the current situation within the session – this awareness will involve a feel for the place the group is at musically, where the room seems affectively, a sense of the current group dynamic and a reflection on this in terms of strategies for individual and group development. Secondly there is a need for reflection on and understanding of the various pathways that have brought the individuals and the group to that point in the session. Thirdly the leader will want to develop ongoing judgement of the potential for individual and group development across all areas, musical, personal and social. It is useful for the leader to have a good level of self-awareness especially in terms of their orientation and bias as well as knowledge of their own intentions both for that session and overall, and the values that dictate those intentions. Finally the leader needs a keen sense of the issues relating to power and inequality within this specific context.

Bleakley (1999: 319) reminds us that such spontaneous reflection:

is a "hands on" business, rooted in the immediacy and heat of practice, the sticky moments of indecision, feeding on sudden shifts in circumstance – the unique and irregular – and forcing improvisations and risk.

Zeichner and Liston (1996) differentiate between five different levels at which

reflection can take place during teaching. Two of the five form the essence of reflection-during-action in community music practice. These two are, firstly, rapid reflection - immediate, ongoing and automatic action by the teacher, and, secondly, repair – in which a thoughtful teacher makes decisions to alter their behaviour in response to students' cues.

In practice it can be difficult to differentiate between the two. In the heat of a PRU situation, what may seem rapid and therefore immediate and automatic may indeed be immediate but informed by thought processes forged over considerable time, that align values with responses to potential crises. During the focus groups it became clear that, time and time again, the leaders changed direction after using rapid reflection in response to surprises or sometimes merely indications of particular interests that were coming from the participants in each session:

The thing is, if everything is set in stone, you stick your plan and wouldn't do anything else and it wouldn't work, the session just would not work. Actually I don't necessarily set in stone in mainstream either cause I think there's some questioning coming from children but going in a really good creative direction that they're actually asking me because I want to learn something and the kids are really interested - yes let's go with it. We won't forget what I was going to plan. We would just have a look at that bit next week. (Community musician, 2012)

This need to reflect on what is happening in the moment and to be open to follow the interests of the children aligned with the researcher's own approach during the participant observation.

Working with what the children present in the moment implies a real-time circularity to the work, flowing back and forth between the group and leader, the leader and the group, with the leader subtly adjusting their own response to the individual in a form of dynamic reciprocity¹⁴ (Schulz et al, 2011), an acknowledgement of the child's contribution and at the same time an invitation to change, to go beyond.

This immersion in what is happening in the present moment and acting almost as a central spoke in a rapidly turning wheel may be more pronounced in PRUs than in mainstream. This could be because of the flow of energy and the need to keep it moving in a positive direction (see chapter seven on energy and focus). The practitioner's reflection-during-action often needs to be put at the service of flow. It could also be because in those present moment situations children offer opportunities for the leader to support changes in their behaviour and self-

¹⁴ A term from the world of medicine and specifically wound healing defined in Schultz et al as "an ongoing, bidirectional interaction amongst cells and their surrounding microenvironment." For the purposes of this chapter the relevant terms are ongoing, bidirectional, interaction.

perceptions. These opportunities may be tiny and fleeting and the leader needs to be very aware of what is happening in the room to take advantage of them:

It could well be the inclusion of a particular child that has maybe not engaged before. They suddenly do something - it might just be a noise and then you might say wow that's a great noise, let's just go with that. So you do something around that and say to others can you do a noise to match with that and you just take it off. (Community musician, 2012)

The following interview extract shows how a music leader is working on different levels at the same time, reflecting on every choice they make, and it shows the environment that is continually being created by them and the group, so as to ensure it remains open for the children to engage at all times while trying to maintain a sense of both inclusion and equality:

Yeah, going with the child and keeping your eye on the whole group so your eye is always on the big picture and even though this child never takes part, I haven't taken my eye off him for one second and the minute he flickers I enable whatever he is offering to become part of what we've got, even if that's, even if he's just itching to take control or anything but at the same time thinking is that a wise decision for the group then or I'm just feeling sorry for that poor child who's not been involved in the session? I think on two levels all the time, one is about quick reflex and I always think about the bigger picture, the longer picture. (Community musician, 2012)

This skill of continually reading what the group have to offer, reflecting each moment on what is happening and can happen in terms of values and goals, and changing direction in response to all this while still in the heat of the session, places a responsibility on the music leader to manage the mood and the direction of the session, to keep it positive, bounded and open to creative development for the individuals and the whole group. For this to happen, the music leader must be clear in their communication style, and about their values, and their intentions. They must also be comfortable with continually reflecting critically on what occurs in the session.

One community musician in interview outlined the relationship in her work between planning and reflectively responding in the moment:

- Have a clear plan
- At the start of the session follow the plan
- Assess the mood and energy (and keep doing this constantly)
- Move from the plan if less than 70% are engaged
- Always go to security first before creativity, i.e. go through what they learned before to see if any of it has caught fire.
- Take what they give you and incorporate it (very quickly). (Community musician, 2012)

The following exchange from one of the focus groups goes some way to illustrate the reasons these community musicians would change their course and develop a new response. What is implicit is the fact that when they notice something in the children they very quickly interpret it in relation to their

understanding of the dynamics of the situation and their intentions for the session:

R – (I would respond to) I suppose the energy of the group; if they need to be calmer, need more stillness or in fact the need to express themselves, move around a lot
D - or if they start asking questions, say, about the material if you're singing a song. They are actually moved to ask a question or it may be a small thing as you say, you notice this child was actually tapping their body
R - it might be a practical or behavioral thing, for instance say a child trying to sit on my lap, a little girl trying to do that and straight away my response would be well that's very nice but you don't know me that well, let's high-five instead. Let's all high-five and move around.
(Focus group, 2012)

In summary, community music workshops are full of opportunities to change direction and to allow the participants the chance to expand themselves and extend their creative engagement. A practitioner can use reflection-in-action, with its two strands of immediate reflection and repair, to continually create optimal conditions for personal, musical and social growth for all the participants.

5.3 Reflection-after-action

Reflection-after-action or reflection-on-action (Schon, 1987) involves finding time to think about an experience after it has happened. This can be by oneself or with others. It involves an exploration of the understandings and feelings that occurred at the time and re-examining these retrospectively (Marks-Maran and Rose, 1997). The goal is to 'understand what happened in the light of the outcome' (Reece Jones, 1995). This reflection-on-action can be structured or unstructured, can range from informal thinking on the way home from a session through to reflective journals. It can be the material for debriefing reports, action learning sets and academic papers. It can be non-verbal or take verbal and/or written form:

We do lots of talking after school. We do lots and lots of reflections afterwards, what went well in this session and how are we going to move it on to the next session. What can we learn and what do we need to change in order to allow the children to feel successful?
(Senior PRU teacher, 2012)

In interviews and focus groups with community musicians it was clear that, while all of them reflect after their practice in informal ways, few had developed or were involved in mechanisms for more structured reflection. Within the total field of community music Deane et al (2015: 105) note the limitations of the informal approach and make a recommendation for systematic change in this regard:

Reflective practice is a central feature of inclusive working. It needs to be systematic, with reflections documented and carried through into actions. Greater use of collective reflective practice in organisations would provide a firmer basis for quality practice and workforce development. (Deane et al, 2015: 134)

In summary, reflection-after-action is a skill that can be utilized in many ways, both written and verbal. Community music workers could perhaps make greater use of this skill to improve the quality of their practice.

6. Methods and models; the process of reflection

Dallos and Stedmon (2009:16) suggest that reflection should occur not only when there are surprises or 'aha' moments but also that when we are complacent about our practice we should reflect on our taken for granted practices. They also favour 'recalibrating our attention' towards different aspects of our experience (Dallos and Stedmon, 2009). Cooney (1999: 1534) stresses the importance of reflecting on the contexts we are in and not just on our own part in it.

Atkins and Murphy (1993) stress the importance of self-awareness in reflection as it enables the individual to understand their influence on a situation and to have consciousness of their own values within a situation. In PRU based work the researcher found himself conflicted on occasion between the values expressed by staff and his own set of values that were based on community music practice. The researcher believes that community musicians, as outsiders working towards a broad set of goals, need to develop a reflective self-awareness in PRUs so as to be able to influence both the young people and the PRU staff towards the values and goals that are important in community music practice. Self-awareness in reflection will also help certain community musicians understand where they are working towards their own biases. This can then be corrected to make the work fairer and more inclusive.

Morrow (2011: 17) suggests that:

Personal beliefs, relationships, concepts, language, methods, culture and politics permeate all professional activity; and that critically reflecting on these, and other influences is part of critical reflection.

Morrow identifies four domains of reflection:

1. Personal -Thoughts and actions
2. Interpersonal - Interactions with others
3. Contextual - Concepts, theory and methods
4. Critical - Political, ethical and social contexts. (Morrow, 2011: 18)

These domains can be of use for community music practice. Reflecting on our own selves and what we bring in terms of skills, values, attitudes, ambitions, and communication style will no doubt deepen practice and make it more efficient and also more accepted outside the community music sector. Looking back on a day's work and seeing to what extent we interacted warmly, found opportunities to build trust, accepted ideas from all participants equally, should be at the heart

of all community music practice. In addition, by reflecting on our interactions with others, community musicians can locate areas of agreement and disagreement with other workers and, over time, establish ways to bridge at least some of the differences. Practice wisdom suggests that community musicians are increasingly cognizant of theory from both within and without community music and some are using more conceptualizations in their work than before. Reflecting in a structured way on the application of theory to their practice can be helpful in building a vocabulary with which to have dialogue with professionals in other sectors. It can also help us understand our work and in certain cases give us guidance strategies. Reflecting on the political, ethical and social aspects of our work and in particular ways that we may unconsciously collude with exclusionary behaviour may be crucial for a field concerned with equality of opportunity and inclusive music practice. All of these approaches, analyses and models may have something to offer to reflective practice in a community music context, which is still at an early stage of development.

One model of reflection that has become popular within the field of nursing and may have applications for the field of community music is Gibbs' Reflective Cycle (1988) (Figure 7).



Figure 7 - The reflective cycle (Gibbs 1988) ¹⁵

¹⁵ <https://www.brookes.ac.uk/students/upgrade/study-skills/reflective-writing/gibbs/?sa=x&ved=0ahukewibnibc6npkahnxcuqkhdxyctiq9qeihaa> Accessed 29/1/16

This allows understanding of the facts of a given situation, the affective impact on the leader and also allows the development of a change strategy.

In summary, at this early stage of using reflective practice, community musicians may want to use models of reflection that have been developed for other fields and then adapt these for the field of community music. Reflecting on how their actions can collude with exclusionary behaviour can help community musicians deepen the equality of opportunity they aspire to create. In addition, using reflective practice may, in time, allow community musicians to develop a vocabulary that furthers dialogue both within the field and with other fields that work with young people in challenging circumstances.

7. Developing reflective participants

Community music work is often concerned with creating space for potential transformation (Deane et al, 2015: 81). This is heightened in PRUs where the children's likely life outcomes without intervention for transformation are poor. According to Steinaker and Bell "a reflective process is believed to be of value in any situation in which change of behaviour is the objective" (Steinaker and Bell quoted in Brockbank and McGill, 2006: 27). It follows that reflective practice should be a tool of not just the music leaders but the young people also.

This may be difficult if the group is what Bion calls a basic assumption group (Bion cited in Rioch, 1975). Although Bion was working with groups in therapeutic situations, this researcher feels that the use of internal defence mechanisms to avoid exposing their vulnerability by many of the children in this study provides a clear link with the types of groups and situations Bion referred to. According to Bion the basic assumption group will be:

Anti-intellectual and inimical to the idea of self-study; self-knowledge may be called introspective nonsense. In a group whose avowed purpose or work task is self-study, the leader will find when the group is operating in basic assumption fight or flight that his attempts will be obstructed either by expressions of hatred against all things psychological and introspective, or by various other methods of avoidance. The group may chitchat, tell stories, come late, be absent, or engage in innumerable activities to circumvent the task. (Rioch, 1975: 26-27)

Most groups of children in PRUs are likely to have had little opportunity for self-reflection and for sharing their reflections with others. It is not a skill that most of them are likely to have developed, and, given both their age and their position as children excluded because of their behaviour, this is unsurprising. There may be resistance to a reflective approach and initially it may be wise to

open up dialogue about other things such as the sound of the music rather than trying to focus on the feelings that come from the music or even how they feel the group is working and why. In addition, in the early stages the leader may not have had time to develop a sufficiently safe, calm and trusting environment to enable an atmosphere of group reflection:

There is evidence that the capacity to be reflective, over time, is facilitated by a background state of calm and safety. (Dallos and Stedman, 2009: 16)

To build an environment where reflection can develop, the leader needs to create spaces for reflection and dialogue. Initially this could begin with short group verbal feedbacks at the end of a section of work or at the close of a session. This could mirror some of the models for reflection such as Gibbs', through asking reflective questions. These could include the following questions. How did you feel about what we did? What did you like or dislike and why? What would you like to do that is different and why would that be good for you?

Questions asked will be a mix of evaluation questions and questions used to promote the beginnings of a structured reflective approach. While these questions will bring out factual, affective and developmental responses, they will focus mostly on the music and will not raise awkward questions about 'positionality' (personal) or the interactions within the group (social). It must be remembered that, as noted earlier in this study:

After all, the group is *only* focusing on a musical/artistic outcome. (Abrams, 2013: 63)

Over time, as trust develops, it may be possible to add questions which uncover social and personal development issues such as those that follow. What was it in the way the group worked that made this a good session (if it was a good session)? What did you like best about your contribution today and why? How can you as a group support each other better? Are there things you might change to improve the group's way of working?

In this way and over time, if the group members are having musical successes (on their terms), then they may begin to become open to more dialogue and deeper reflection:

(Bion) thinks that in groups met to study their own behaviour, consistent interpretation of the basic assumption tendencies will gradually bring them into consciousness and cause them to lose their threatening quality. (Rioch, 1975: 31)

During this study the programmes were never long enough to allow for the type of change that Bion envisaged. Some sessions with groups only lasted part of a day and change like that above could certainly take up to a year if not longer. If

PRUs begin to accept that community music programmes have the potential to create reflective environments where significant behavioural change could be an outcome then longer programmes will be necessary.

In addition to short verbal feedbacks, other opportunities can arise through the music programme to structure reflection. Any performance will be such a big event for these children that they will want to talk about it afterwards and this can allow the leader to introduce new lines of thoughtful questioning that can enable a deeper understanding of what is going on and their part in it. For its own part, the recording and editing process is a deeply reflective experience with the young people listening to everything that is going on as it happens and making judgements about it. More to the point, as soon as a piece is over, the young people want to listen back and they have an opinion or critical reflection on what they hear and what they did:

By beginning to edit sounds in these ways, young people are starting to listen critically, making decisions about what they do and don't like. Thus, editing sounds is not just a craft, but also a context for learning reflective practice. Through editing it is possible to begin to develop a critical faculty and practice positive self-criticism and the development of a creative vision. (Hewitt, 2013: 108)

In summary, creating opportunities for reflective discussion among the participants can be a significant part of a community music programme in terms of developing a change in attitudes and awareness. While this may be difficult at first, the music leader can seek opportunities, particularly after performances and recordings, to develop this thoughtful discussion.

8. Example from practice

This section looks at an extract from the reflective journal about a session in a primary PRU at Key Stage Two. While the journal extract is quite factual it highlights issues of power and control in both the PRU staff approach and the researcher's input to the children's work. The extract will be followed by a short updated reflection, which will refer to the importance of some of the six elements in the session:

Afternoon session was in playground – beautiful day in October – tried to get them to focus by listening to sounds outside – working well when one girl said “I can hear the man in the moon”. Teacher told her off for being silly saying we don't want silly answers. From the teacher's point of view I understand this in other lessons but in music making sometimes the sillier the better and isn't this a way to get those feelings of transgression and silliness out without being disruptive. The intent was not to disrupt. So I made up a song with that as the first line and asked for other lines on what they could hear. This led to:

“ Can you hear the man on the moon?
Can you hear a rocket flying in outer space?
Can you hear the UFO spinning like a ludo in outer space?
Can you hear the stars (a)jjingling?”

Can you hear a ball bouncing on the moon?
This has the chords CFGC and a whistled fourth verse. Then repeat the first verse over and over.
Some points - I had to be very careful about whose and how many ideas I took on board and this did help. I also added the a into a-jingling for scan. This was okay.
I mixed a few lines together as they came out. The kids were okay with this. The tricky bit was Ludo, which the kid (L) called Gludo. We negotiated and he was okay but I did change his idea to fit the group. (Reflective journal, 2012)

8.1 Comments

This session is interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly, the children were working outside their normal classroom space in the open air. This gave the opportunity for new approaches and for their ideas and feelings to be more influenced by the natural environment rather than follow usual patterns of learning and behaviour (see chapter five on organizing structures). The leader used listening as a way of focusing what was likely to be a more diffuse energy (see chapter seven on focus and energy) so there was evidence at this stage of the process of at least some of the six elements being brought into play. The child's response was clearly not an adult one (see chapter four on what the children bring) and was labeled as incorrect and silly by their teacher who wanted to filter their responses ('we don't want silly answers'). Silliness would be often associated with children's unwanted behaviour in the PRUs and was not a quality that the researcher ever saw praised or supported. It was associated with the world of children rather than with the idea of becoming more responsible and adult (again see chapter four on what the children bring).

The teacher's response clearly caused tension with the music leader and raised the dilemma of how to move forward. The question arises whether the music leader should assert their way of working more forcefully with the teacher (whose role in this case was to assist with behaviour and to shadow the music leader)? In the end, the leader reflected on their own intentions for the session and on the bigger picture of their own role within the context. The leader did not challenge the teacher directly but used the child's idea subversively as a starting point for a new song. In hindsight this may not have been the best approach as it was bound to leave the teacher feeling isolated and contradicted and the child had received only an indirect affirmation. It clearly raises issues (which have been raised in interviews and focus groups by community musicians) about the roles of the different professionals and the development of professional relationships especially when values, intentions and methods may differ radically between teaching staff and community musicians.

The music leader controlled the music side of the song by writing the chords and forming the structure but sharing ownership with the children by getting them to write the lyrics. The decision to only give part ownership was no doubt based on reflection-in-action, trying to balance the focus levels of the group in the new environment with the intention to give them as much creative control as possible, while still keeping them on board.

The researcher was concerned that the music leader changed (filtered) the children's lyrics himself, firstly to get them to scan and then to make them more 'sensible'. While this is acknowledged in the reflection at the time, in hindsight it raises deeper issues, again about adults' and children's different understandings and knowledge and who takes power over the other. These issues require longer reflection but may lead to a more open approach to group songwriting from the music leader.

9. Conclusion

As one of the six elements, reflection is used by many community musicians working in PRUs, although there is much scope for it to be deeper, more structured and systematic. It enhances our ability to align our work with our values, to evolve our practice in ethical ways and to come to grips with the everyday inequalities we experience and are, sometimes unknowingly, part of in PRU settings. In reflective practice we can become increasingly aware of our own selves, how we respond affectively and behaviourally to situations and individuals, and we can examine where our practice tends towards increasing exclusion as well as where it tends towards decreasing it. We can modify our attitudes and behaviours over time through regular, structured reflection. Through using reflective practice we can deepen the knowledge base of the field, find better ways to communicate across sectors and become secure that over time we can achieve better outcomes for children in PRUs.

Chapter 9. Intent

1. Introduction

This chapter is about the leader's intentions in a PRU music session; what they are intending for the individual, and the group. It will begin by arguing that intent in these settings is complex and give some reasons why it is complex. This will be followed by a section on different areas of intent in community music, namely intentions around musical, personal and social development. There will be a focus on how community musicians' intentions are sometimes to change the children's perceptions both of what they can achieve and of the world around them and their possible place in it. In addition some of the issues of intent for PRU staff and how they may differ from those of community musicians will be examined before moving on to power in PRU contexts.

2. Complexity

Intent as a topic in PRU music is complex for a number of reasons. A number of these reasons were evidenced in the interviews and participant observations. One thing that contributes to the complexity is that there can be many different intentions in the work – musical, personal or social. Community musicians, like any professional group, also have a set of professional intentions around the work such as 'do no harm'. These may be implicit as well as explicit. One session can have within it a number of different intentions, some for the whole group and others for particular individuals. In addition these intentions can change within a session, based on the group dynamic, the needs of an individual and other factors. Deepening the complexity is the issue that while intentions may sometimes be agreed in advance between host and provider or between funder and provider, it is often without taking into account the wishes of the children. Part of community music 'intention' is to share ownership (Deane et al, 2015), so ideally the children will have some say in deciding the intentions of the programme for themselves. This may not always be a fit with the PRU staff. Also, in PRU work, intentions are often not agreed between the different agents i.e. community musicians and PRU staff. This can become a cause of tension. Finally music Leaders can easily bring bias and subconscious secondary intentions to the work (the researcher found this within his own work, sometimes finding himself drawn towards favourite students at the expense of others). Community musicians often work on their own and unless they have opportunities for well-designed supervision and

structured reflection there are dangers that their own egos may at times obscure the real needs of a situation.

These complexities are compounded by the potential importance of music in the lives and outcomes of children in PRUs:

As a microcosm of general education, music education provides a window into what happens in education generally. It also can be an agent for change not only in education but also in the wider society. The arts are important ingredients of cultural life, and education fundamentally involves the transmission and transformation of culture. (Jorgensen, 2003: xiii)

If music can be a powerful force in terms of skills, personal and social development (Hallam, 2015), and if the context of community music work in PRUs is complex and multi-layered, then it is important that care is taken to understand what our intentions are and how best to achieve them:

It is not enough that certain materials and methods have proved effective with other individuals at other times. There must be a reason for thinking that they will function in generating an experience that has educative quality with particular individuals at a particular time. (Dewey, 1938/1963: 44)

The seriousness of community musicians' responsibilities is compounded by the fact that schooling almost inevitably seeks to change the child fundamentally and inculcate them into the prevailing value system while finding their place within it:

Through our power, we attempt to get children to accept certain values, to aspire to certain futures for themselves and to accept and understand their own strengths and limitations. (Furlong, 2014: 11)

This may be more pronounced in PRUs where part of the remit is to enable children with challenging behaviour to be prepared to re-enter mainstream school, with the implication that they must change their behaviour to do so. Children entering school (and essentially PRUs are a form of school) are changed by school and schooling attempts to define how and towards what they are changed:

Once they have gone through school young people are different, they have been constructed by the school and they are also expected to construct themselves, both objectively and subjectively, in ways made available through school. (Furlong, 2014: 11)

In PRUs it can be difficult to understand the changes intended for the young person by the institution. During interviews for this research PRU staff put at least three different versions of intent forward. Firstly, a number of staff emphasized that modifying behaviour was of primary importance in PRUs so that young people could re-enter mainstream education from which they had been excluded for their behaviour. Secondly, one head teacher emphasized the low academic outcomes for children in PRUs and stated that the focus in her school was

strongly tied into improving academic performance. Finally, one teacher noted the tough life outcomes for most PRU children (homelessness, prison etc) and emphasized as intent the importance of understanding social nuance and the ability to be with other people in social situations in ways that made life work for them.

All these interviewees emphasised their favoured intention strongly and did not speak of other intentions. This would suggest that community musicians working in PRUs could get different messages as to the institutions intent, depending on which PRU they worked in. It may be difficult for the community musician's intentions for the work to align with the PRUs intentions if these are different from PRU to PRU and, in the researcher's experience, not always articulated.

The complexity intensifies for the community musician when issues of power are considered:

The school is an institution in which dominance and control serve an important function, since one of the mandates of public education is to foster the growth and development of pupils into well-adjusted citizens. With respect to music education, questions of democracy and epistemology become central in this context. (Lindgren and Ericsson, 2010: 36)

Community musicians are sensitive to issues of power within their work with some even having an aversion to the role of leader (Mullen, 2008). Also, as most community musicians work without following the national curriculum, questions of what knowledge and what music is promoted in the work are important parts of community music thinking. Robin Alexander argues that:

Pedagogy connects the apparently self-contained act of teaching with culture, structure and mechanisms of social control. (Alexander, 2001: 540)

Allard & Santoro (2006: 117) argue that the positionality of many teachers inside the dominant culture may blind them to exclusionary forces acting within three of mainstream education's instruments of implementation: curriculum, pedagogy and assessment practices. Practice wisdom suggest that community music practice in England, while acknowledging an emerging pedagogy for working with children in challenging circumstances including those in PRUs (Deane et al, 2015: 10), is not concerned with either pre-written curricula or formal assessment of children. Hinchey (1995) argues that not only are many educators unaware of their taken for granted assumptions about intent and knowledge but examining unconscious assumptions critically is a slow and difficult process.

A dilemma for community musicians, working in a school but not of the school,

is the phenomenon noted by Wright (1993: 4), whereby the more closely teachers identify with the authority and power of a school the more their relations with the students become allied to a one-sided respect of control and fear. Community musicians understand that if they are seen to take a contradictory stance in terms of values and ethos, their position will be untenable. Yet in the interviews they frequently mentioned occasions where their values, intentions and methods were at odds with those of the staff present. With music not yet valued as a force for demonstrable change there is a tension for community musicians between wanting to remain engaged and involved with PRUs and at the same time working with their own value / intention system.

Reflection-on-action (Schon, 1983) (see chapter eight on reflection and reflexivity) offers a way to unpick the complex maze of intention. It allows the community musician to clarify and critically reflect on what they do and why they do it. Other tools, such as quality frameworks, which are discussed later in this chapter, may also act as loose road maps for music leaders' intentions.

In summary, intention in PRUs can be complex for many reasons. Two reasons that stand out are the holistic nature of the work with the multiple emphasis on musical, personal and social outcomes, and secondly, the complexity of community musicians working in and trying to adapt to school environments, which are generally more formal in nature than most of the other working environments of the community musician.

3. Intention in community music

Researchers have argued that there are three broad areas of intent in community music: music development, personal development and social development (Deane et al, 2014; Lonie, 2013). Based on the researcher's experiences of the context of PRUs and also the interviews and focus groups done for this study, this researcher believes there is another, 'overarching', area of intent. This would include the things that a community musician or indeed many other working professionals would bring to any context. They come from values held about the work but are intentions in the sense that they lead to actions that the community musician will put in place to secure a value-led environment. They would include: do no harm, work ethically, and, be an appropriate role model, among others. Below are listed a number of intentions relevant to community music work in PRUs, listed in four domains (Overarching, Musical, Personal,

Social). These all were evidenced from interviews or from the participant observations, in most cases from both.

- Overarching intentions: to work ethically, work inclusively, develop a relational working environment, create conditions of emotional safety, be an appropriate role model, do no harm
- Musical intentions: create new work with the children, develop children's performances and performing skills, teach appropriate skills, encourage creativity, improvisation and innovation, develop student reflection and the ability to improve work, use a diagnostic approach to enable differentiation, challenge musical preconceptions and expand participants concepts
- Personal intentions: build confidence, enable participant to have a voice, identify goals with individuals and work towards those goals, celebrate achievement, develop an environment for reflection, challenge things that are taken for granted and challenge some childrens' negative sense of identity, enable the development of resilience and other positive aspects of the self, create opportunities for flow
- Social intentions: promote respect among the group, work towards equality, create space for interaction, encourage shared ownership, encourage collective reflection

Youth Music's Quality Framework, *Do, Review, Improve* (2014), lists twenty-three criteria for quality, some of which overlap with the above table. Table 6 shows the correlation between parts of the PRU intentions list, the Quality Framework, and also the Sound Sense Code of Practice. As the research occurred before the development of the quality framework, it shows that in several areas, such as the need for appropriate musical skills and the use of reflective practice, the vision of the funders (Youth Music) is congruent with those working at what might be called the 'sharp end' in PRUs.

There is a need for more research into where the intentions of funders and support organizations such as Sound Sense both converge and diverge with the practice on the ground, what informs those intentions and how, if seen to be appropriate to the field, these intentions can be best realized.

Table 6 – Correlation of intentions

Intentions in PRUs	Sound Sense Code of practice	Youth Music Quality framework
Work ethically		No participant is discriminated against
Create conditions of safety	Being safe and responsible	
Develop reflection and the ability to improve work	Evaluating and reflecting on the work.	The music leader reflects on their practice: activities are reviewed and adapted over the course of the session according to how the young musicians respond, and the music leader takes time after the session for self-evaluation
Teach appropriate skills	Have appropriate musical skills	The music leader has demonstrable appropriate musical competence, and is both an able teacher/facilitator and an inspirational role model
Work towards equality Promote respect among the group	Work well with people	Young musicians experience equality of engagement
Encourage shared ownership Enable participant to have a voice		The young musician's views are integral to the session
Celebrate achievement		The young musician's performance and technique are monitored, and achievements are celebrated and valued
Identify goals with individuals and work towards those goals		Where possible the pathway for improvement is identified by the young musician and their peers. Young musicians are supported to progress their musical skills, and other skills through music

In summary, the researcher believes there is a fourth strand of intention for community musicians, as well as musical, personal and social development for the participants. This strand is an overarching professional strand, which includes ethical as well as professional dimensions. There is some overlap between the intentions outlined by musicians in this study and the quality framework *Do, Review, Improve* produced by Youth Music in 2014.

3.1 Musical development

All of the community musicians and music teachers interviewed showed a strongly student-centred orientation in their work. Some used creative approaches, some didactic and a number mixed the two but all had the intention to engage the students in terms of their own interests and desires. The music leaders, including those from a strongly classical background, did not try to put forward one genre or style as more deserving of the young people's time unless the majority of the group already preferred that style. The music leaders intentions for music in PRUs were mainly in the areas of getting and sustaining engagement, encouraging creativity, discovery and exploration, developing

creative ensembles and promoting music as a diversion from negative activity. Some, including the researcher, used certain musical approaches to promote particular social cohesion or personal development goals (such as playing a solo in front of the group as a milestone in confidence building).

Little emphasis was placed on technical instrumental or vocal learning (as opposed to repertoire) although this was somewhat different for those using music technology. There was little discussion of intentions to develop long-term musical progression routes for the young people involved. Most of the discussions were about opening up and offering opportunities for engagement rather than disciplined and longer term musical development. In the participant observations the researcher's intentions were much more around engagement, inclusion and collective creativity than on any systematic skills development. A music teacher described her approach to encouraging an openness to music like this:

My approach is to try and be as encouraging and demanding as possible without being threatening. I try and stay very calm – I want them to discover music – I don't want to force it on them – I want as many open ended choices and questions as possible, with them having autonomy over their music. (PRU music teacher, 2012)

Some musicians understood the limitations of time that they faced but believed that any way in could spark a longer-term interest:

I think they are all progressive levels. If you kept the rhythm, then you can move on to the chant. If you kept the chant you might just start to use your singing voice but that is really quite a long time, but that's absolutely fine. Maybe they won't sing now but maybe they'll sing in 6 months time or even in a years time and often unfortunately you haven't got that long. (Community musician, 2012)

One musician interviewed seemed strongly aware of the poor life outcomes faced by most children in PRUs and saw music as a form of rescue:

The goal for me is always to find something positive within music that can distract them from the destructive pathway, as I think sometimes that's the best thing you can hope for really, that they make it past 25 without being locked up or dead. (Community musician, 2012)

An aim echoed time and again was to develop a creative environment, a safe space for exploration. This is linked to Pamela Burnard's assertion that:

Children's willingness to improvise and compose is a function of creating an environment where children can express their creativity. By starting with activities that are not too far removed from the child's immediate experience, creativity becomes integrated within the child's existing musical experiences and skills. (Burnard, 2000: 21)

Only in one focus group did the musicians outline any sequential approach to music making. This was where some of them used the Garage Band App on a group of iPads to allow young people to become familiar with the sound and role of individual instruments in a creative ensemble i.e. the young people would play bass, drums, guitar and keyboard respectively in a virtual ensemble. This led to a

form of progression when some weeks later the young people were moved on to 'real' instruments and a garage rock group formed.

The rock band model has gained status as a pedagogic model, especially within non-formal music education (Westerlund, 2006; Green, 2006) and is sometimes used in PRUs. Green (2002) has researched garage rock band learning approaches and found that in contrast to formal learning they are more creative, collective and spontaneous. Green places an emphasis on:

the extent to which pupils can and should, or cannot and should not, be given more autonomy to decide on curriculum content and to direct their own learning strategies. (Green, 2008, 185)

However, while this model, which has the musician as facilitator rather than imparter of information (Higgins, 2012), was popular with a number of the interviewees it was hard to ascertain whether that was because of a real intent to enable the children to progress musically as well as creatively or whether this was merely a way of working that was popular with the children and which the music leaders were good at. Research from Swedish schools point out the developmental dangers of an approach where the leader abdicates their own capacity for teaching and skill sharing:

Downplaying the importance of skills in musical creation music remains current, but with a difference: pupils are meant to manage the tasks more independently or autonomously than before, sometimes without even the most basic of musical skills. Ideas about the drive to experiment, intuition, and harmony have been integrated with keywords like self-reflection, control, and rules. As a result, musical learning may fall by the wayside entirely. (Lindgren and Ericsson, 2010: 46)

It was clear from the interviews with community musicians working in PRUs that the community musicians were sensitive to individuals in the group and their intentions were very clearly to allow them to find their own way in and own place in the group and to support that journey. What was much less clear was how much the young people would be enabled to continue their music making without the musicians' support after the end of what were often short-term projects. Without the ability to follow up at home or without access to instruments it is hard to see how music can be anything more than a short-term intervention. A possible exception to this is the use of computer software and mobile phone and tablet apps and the music that is available through them. The research seemed to indicate that many of the young people in PRUs, at least at Key Stage Three level, had easy access to at least one of these devices. The apps for music writing and production, while containing increasing levels of complexity, are often easy to work with at beginner level with the possibility of a novice producing, and more

importantly knowing how to produce, satisfactory sounding music pieces within less than an hour. If the intent for music were to enable sustained engagement, it might be sensible to prioritise this technological form of music making as at least a significant part of entry-level music provision in PRUs.

In summary, community musicians interviewed for this study had strong intentions in the area of student centred sessions and in fostering the active engagement of the young people. This is very often done in the context of fostering a safe, creative environment. Less attention was given by the musicians to creating progression routes for the young people.

3.2 Personal development

In interviews and focus groups all the community musicians and music teachers identified cases where they were working on the personal development of young people in PRUs. In fact these individual mini case studies dominated much of the interview sessions. One music teacher put it like this:

My belief is that music is absolutely open to everyone to enjoy, be involved in and carries numerous benefits of working together, confidence building, listening, creativity, developing ideas. It has structure, freedom and if we can involve our children in that they will gain in everything they do. (Music teacher, 2012)

Some PRU staff recognized the links between what could happen in a music workshop and the broader development of the child:

Creativity is hugely important – because that is the way in with a lot. They may not have academic skills or respond to traditional academic expectations but are very creative; they respond to that better. We try and give them the opportunity to express themselves – play – skipping, singing, drumming, whatever. We work by playing to their strengths. If we have a child in Year Three (five or six years old) who cannot write their name but are very artistic, can build models, things like that, show perseverance, we try and use that as incentive really, recognising what they are good at and encouraging that. (Senior PRU teacher, 2012)

The researcher found no evidence of non-music specialist PRU staff and community musicians collaborating on young people's personal development. Musicians interviewed seemed to encourage personal development as a spontaneous thing that arose out of the context of the music in most cases. On a number of occasions musicians bemoaned the undermining attitude among some PRU staff. Even in supportive PRUs, most of the musicians seemed to take the initiative themselves without any shared pre-planning or any reference to the child's educational history. This lack of collaboration between the teaching staff, who were party to the child's educational (and often other) history, and the music leaders, may have in part contributed to a somewhat ad hoc approach to personal development. Music leaders spoke of what happened in the moment, what occurred to let an individual child cross a threshold or master a new challenge,

but nobody discussed systematic plans, developed for weeks or months with sub-goals or milestones, towards personal growth. No musician mentioned working with the child's IEP (individual education plan). It is not that the music leaders did not have intentions towards creating opportunities for personal growth. They did, but they rarely spoke of follow up or of any systematic approaches.

Personal growth as an intent seemed to be a function or by product of the environment created rather than something designed in advance by the musician. Gale & Densmore (2000) emphasise that keeping curricula, and ideas and materials, relevant to children's lives and interests is very important for personal growth.

As part of their general approaches, the music leaders affirmed the contribution of individuals and worked with each child to validate their own unique contribution, in terms of taste and expression, rather than seeking any form of uniformity:

Leadership development cannot take place where individual differences are not validated and encouraged. If people feel the need to fit into a mold (sic) or suppress their individuality in order to function, they cannot take an active part in creating their own selfhood or developing self-esteem—an important first step toward leadership. (Shieh, 2008: 47)

One issue with promoting personal growth is that the particular area of personal growth may be one that schools do not value as part of the educational experience. This is notable in the area of self-esteem where:

Efforts to foster self-esteem in the classroom, it is argued, conflict with the pursuit of other more important educational aims, such as academic achievement or character education. (Smith, 2002 cited in Ferkany, 2008: 119)

In addition, Kristiansson (2007) argued that self-esteem was not linked to the confidence, or the motivation, children need in order to be good learners or behave well. These arguments are rejected by Ferkany (2008) whose viewpoint may indicate the source of some of the differences between some teachers and community musicians in terms of their personal growth aims:

The social nature of self-esteem grounds a duty of justice to arrange social institutions in ways conducive to people acquiring and maintaining self-esteem. (Ferkany, 2008: 126)

Evidence from the interviews indicates that some (although not all) PRU staff focus on the concept of the PRU as a schooling environment where the transfer of knowledge is the primary goal. Community musicians, with their flexible areas of intention noted above, have the freedom to pursue other intentions such as fairness, helping children find their expressive voice, confidence building and so forth within their work whenever they feel these are pressing matters.

Ferkany goes on to suggest that for building self-esteem:

The best strategies may well be indirect - ones setting up a school and classroom environment minimising occasions for shame/humiliation and motivating children to work together collegially. (Ferkany, 2008: 127)

This is clearly congruent with the skeletal structures/creative environment building approach favoured by community musicians although this study indicates that building collegiality in PRUs can be a difficult task.

In summary, intentions towards personal development outcomes are part of community music work in PRUs but at time of writing they tend to be ad hoc and often unplanned. There may be tensions with some PRU staff over personal development goals such as fostering creative expression, where the staff may have a stronger emphasis on formal learning and knowledge construction.

3.3 Social skills and group development

In the participant observations and in interviews with community musicians there was much discussion of intentions for the group, for interaction, and for social development. The community musicians, particularly in the focus groups, were united on the values and skills they intended to develop in the group. These values were mostly around mutual respect, developing an inclusive group and continually working towards educational democracy. The skills included turn taking, listening and sharing, all relatively easy to promote in a community music session. In interview, musicians contrasted their own efforts at building group cohesion with many PRUs' more narrow focus on curriculum:

I think the social skills aspect of music is about sharing and passing, waiting, turn taking, sharing the space together with somebody. So that on your ride with somebody we are both equal and we see how long we can sustain that. Also giving children a role of taking charge and seeing if they can do that fairly honestly and clearly and giving everybody a chance to have that voice and the raising of self-esteem. I think very often PRUs that I have been in have been trying to do curriculum. (Community musician, 2012)

The education system is designed to track individual progress in learning. Only in very few subjects, notably PE and Drama is there a strong aspect of working with others to deliver tasks that the individual could not achieve. Even within PE there can be a strong competitive element of working against others. Resnick states:

The dominant form of school learning is individual. (Resnick, 1987: 13)

This contrasts with much of children's' experience outside school, where they live in a world of social cooperation. While it could be argued that children in PRUs may experience little social cooperation within their lives, there is a strong argument that experiencing the benefits of social cooperation might be beneficial for their development.

Within the PRUs visited, many of the young people found it hard to cooperate on tasks with each other and required much input from the leader to enable successful group task achievement. In order to get the music to sound good it was necessary to build groups that listened to each other and worked closely together. This often meant working to develop basic levels of social skills in the areas of respect and interaction.

In one PRU the researcher found it very difficult to get the group to function well as a group. This contrasted with good achievements in one to one sessions with the same young people and prompted the researcher to wonder if it is necessary always to have the intention of group building or whether it is better in some cases to focus on developing the individual.

Implications of working with the young people on their group skills impact on everything from the seating arrangements, the nature of the leader-group relationship, through to the sort of musical ideas developed with the group:

Groups whose aim is to promote social learning provide, in a sense, a mini-society wherein social skills may be developed and tried, in the hope that they may become generalised and give rise to more mature and satisfying behaviour in the wider society outside the group. Activities are chosen which afford members maximum possible opportunity to take decisions together, to practice bearing shared responsibility, to experience and solve conflicts of interest, and to achieve pleasure and satisfaction through successful co-operation. (Heap, 1979: 88)

In order to create an authentic environment of group development it is necessary that the leader is no longer central to group communication, that they can interact with each other relatively freely and that intervention and mediation is, at least to an extent, minimised:

Responses are elicited – not from supercool therapist exemplars and not from punitive control personnel – but from the members' own immediate reference group, which in many cases is the only possible source of influence to change. (Heap, 1979: 88)

While Heap (1988) may be referring more to those who are incarcerated, the following statement reveals parallels with the plight of children in PRUs whose inability to function well in their social groups may well be, at least in part, the reason for their poor life outcomes:

It is a curious and tragic irony that precisely those groups most likely to benefit from shared peer-group activities and the processes of indigenous group control are also those which are most subjugated to authoritarian external control, to enforced subjugation to rules made by others, to maximum deprivation of opportunities for responsibility and decision. (Heap, 1979: 88)

On raising individual self esteem in a group setting, Heap is clear that the activity needs to be meaningful to the members, in other words they need to be

engaged in ways that are rarely seen in regular PRU classroom activity but that are evidenced throughout community music practice:

Ideally it would also challenge the members in some area where their common problems effect (sic) their functioning, but where with group support they should be capable of success. Thus, individual achievement in the group may be witnessed and applauded by others present, and joint achievement increases both cohesion and feelings of worth and competence by the group-as-a-whole. (Heap, 1979: 93)

Working in this way, rather than with the majority of communications mediated by the teacher, the group, over time, could influence both their own personal and collective sense of self-identity towards a more positive view. In the participant observations, small acts, such as the children being encouraged to give each other high fives at the end of a piece that was well performed, helped build this sense of collegiality:

I gave them all praise for their guitar work and think I did high fives. This is quite a significant thing to do in terms of establishing trust – getting them in a musician style positive feedback loop and upping the energy slightly. However after the first high five the others “caught on” and tried to slap my hand hard instead of a straight high five (Reflective journal, 2011).

One possible criticism of community music practice in relation to intentions is that, by having multiple areas of intentions (musical, personal etc.) and by moving from one to the other so frequently, no intention gets the follow through it deserves. Community musicians do not stay with the musical goals long enough to achieve real excellence. Their commitment to individuals is often compromised by the needs of the group and perhaps also an upcoming performance. Any attempt to create a mini-society in order to promote reflection on group processes and subsequent change is at the mercy of whatever musical ideas the group develops and how the leader responds to this.

In addition, the role of the leader, with the ability to change the intent and direction of a session or whole programme for any reason they choose, seems to give significant power to the leader without any checks or balances. Mainstream teachers must at least follow a curriculum whereas community musicians can follow their own intuition or even simply their own musical preferences.

In summary many PRUs are not set up to successfully promote the development of group skills. Good group functioning and cooperative work with peers may be a significant force in turning around these young people toward a better future.

3.4 Changing perceptions

A number of community musicians saw themselves as presenting a different type of role model, someone whose behaviour and values were mature but not

aligned with those of the PRU. In large part their intent in this was to counter the perception of school/PRUs as sites of 'disjunction and dislocation' (Comber & Hill, 2000: 88). One musician outlined their position as follows:

I think PRUs I have been in, they value a discipline thing and the focus and concentration that should follow from that so that is one of the things I emphasized that music can give them. Then I do what I wanted to do anyway, something creative and a bit barmy, to help them have their own ideas and express themselves but in a way that is still acceptable to the school ethos. (Community musician, 2012)

Another musician was concerned at how the young (mostly) men in PRUs were inculcated into a macho gang oriented culture with little positive role modeling to act as a counterbalance:

One of the things as a man in this context that we haven't discussed at all is the role of the role model, things like consistency, the importance of showing other sides to masculinity than the sort of sides that the kids may have seen. I always say that all of the kids that we see in PRUs have been let down by adults. Most of that letting down by adults has been done by fathers, fathers who are absent, fathers who beat them, fathers who have been shot, gone to jail, all that kind of stuff. I think as a male going in it is really important that you are consistent, that you're clear, that you are honest but also that you don't mind showing you don't have to be completely macho to show that you're a man and that there are different ways of being manly and that could be being silly, getting on the floor playing role games or something, and that doesn't make you, you're not less of a man in their eyes so they're seeing something, some possibilities for different routes to masculinity. It is whether they think, particularly in primary, it is important, trying to stop this route - primary PRU, secondary PRU, youth offending team, secure training unit, prison and death by the age of 25 and I think that the more we can show alternatives by our own behavior the better. (Community musician, 2012)

The same musician was the only one who presented what might be called a consistent, structured and strategic set of intentions:

I always go in with a kind of pattern where the first session, which is always the most important session, is about engagement and I think about proving yourself; that you are someone worth listening to and learning from. I always think about engagement, inspiration, and then achievements in a way because you got to engage people get them in, then you've got to inspire them to do something, and then the rest is process around achieving and what you can get. But then at the end you have got to have an exit strategy because the thing is it's about these people who always had things built up and then dragged away from them. (Community musician, 2012)

The intentions of these and the other community musicians interviewed was clearly to create change among the young people - doing something 'barmy', creating new understandings of gender, being a source of inspiration. The musicians all seem concerned to counter the taken for granted pathway of the young people. It is noteworthy that the musicians are deciding for themselves what they should do and why, with seemingly no reference to the other workers in the PRU situation. Is this a blinkered selfishness on their part or are the values and work methods too divergent for close partnership to be fruitful?

Lindgren and Ericsson (2010: 45) argue that there is a mutual antagonism between control and goal oriented school culture and the more autonomy

oriented rock band (or non-formal) pedagogy. They contest that when these two antagonistic discourses try to find reconciliation the outcome is hegemonization. In other words the rock band's work is forced to find accommodation with school and loses its transformative power as a result of this standardization. There may be a danger that this same process could happen with community music practice in PRUs.

In summary, acting as a positive role model for these young people may be an important if virtually unexplored part of community music practice in PRUs. Initiatives to present positive but different role models are coming from the musicians themselves. There may be a clash of values with the staff in certain PRUs around the concept of role models.

4. Intentions among non-music specialist PRU staff and the focus on behaviour change

As indicated above, various teaching and senior management team staff in PRUs gave diverse responses as regards intent. Many were united in wanting the children to be able to fit in, to re-enter mainstream education, and through this fitting in to make a success of their lives. This required above all behaviour modification. As discussed elsewhere in this study many of the PRU staff were very focused on the children changing who they were, or at least how they presented themselves, towards an accepted norm. This contrasts very much with community musicians who wanted the children to discover who they could be through developing their own unique creative expressions.

The following quote outlines the process by which the PRU staff try to turn around the excluded child so they can re-enter mainstream:

Generally our main aim for those going back is to give them confidence and strategies to be able to cope with mainstream classroom; give them learning skills to help them progress, to move them on with their learning. They come in well below national average for attainment but the progress generally they make when they are with us is very, very good.

Once they are able to manage their behaviour they are able to learn, that is the crux of it – that's the golden ticket – once they are in a place where they are managing themselves and being managed well then the ability of our children to learn is (generally) no different than any other. But some children, where they have additional needs or where their behaviour is extreme, they move on to special school.

When they come first that we have to spend a lot of time on the behaviour management. It could be half a term just getting expectations and boundaries. Sometimes there is a child who never does. They move on to special. They are the exception. As a mainstream teacher I would spend half a term on routines, boundaries, expectations. (Senior teacher PRU, 2012)

Another non-music specialist teacher notes the freedom PRUs have as institutions (similar in a way to that of community musicians) to devise their own intentions based on their own set of values:

We also have a freer curriculum, a freer timetable. We are not pushed so much by government targets, by Sats and things, because we are a behaviour unit. And that's what we concentrate on. (Senior teacher EBD unit, 2012)

In the final example below the teacher is explicit about the importance of developing compliance in these children as an intention for PRU staff. This was never hinted at as of any importance by any community musicians nor was it raised in terms of a pedagogical approach. Musicians allowed students to engage or not as they wished and were much more concerned about ways to foster engagement than about coercion or compliance. Also, in this final example, the teacher is clear on the way culture, in this case vocabulary and tone, can act as dividers in society and can block opportunities for these young people to succeed within certain contexts. Rightly or wrongly she feels it is within her job description to alter the children's usage of language in order to help them 'better' themselves. Clearly this could involve them speaking in a different way to their peers, neighbours and family and raises issue of class, social mobility and power within society. Without judging the teacher's actions, it needs to be noted that, like the community musicians, her intentions and her subsequent action come without an external mandate from the curriculum or elsewhere. As voiced, her viewpoint of the issues raises complex political issues about culture and identity:

In my opinion I think the thing that we work on here that is most important is following adult instructions. Most of my children have following adult instructions as a target because that's what they need to do in the school since doing what they are told when they are told is the real issue at school. If you can just tackle that, that in my opinion works for most children. We can also pick up on really tiny nitty gritty things, but in mainstream school when you have a class of 30 children that is more difficult.

I've got a real thing about the children's language and their grammar and how they speak because you are judged on how you speak. I don't correct them; we just try to model really carefully. Words like ain't, innit and gonna, in my classroom aren't part of how we would speak to each other.

Tone of voice is very important, whereas when you've got a class of 30 children in mainstream or a playground of 200 kids, you can't necessarily pick up on that sort of thing. (Senior PRU teacher, 2012)

In summary, behaviour modification is a key intention from PRU staff towards the young people. It was not mentioned in the same way by the community musicians. This may point to a significant difference of intent between the two cohorts of workers.

5. Power

Any discussion of intention for children in PRUs must take a look at the dimension of power. Community musicians are either affirming the status quo through their actions (or acceptance of others' actions) or challenging those taken for granted parts of the ways PRUs operate that reinforce the likely outcomes for

these children. Bourdieu shows how the 'social order is progressively inscribed in people's minds' through various means including education and shared values (1984: 471). This can cause people to accept their own self-exclusion and the pathways mapped out for them. In the case of children in PRUs they are too young to fully understand the systems of power in which they are enmeshed, whereas all those around them know that their likely futures are at the lowest level of society and that this is determined in part by the school environment. The dilemma for the community musician is how to act in such a circumstance, to be part of a well-intentioned group of professionals who, year on year, fail to divert the negative pathways of the young people in their charge or to critically reflect on all aspects of the environment and come up with radical solutions for change. There have been interventions with these young people for over two hundred years in England and yet the majority still fail in academia and many have poor life outcomes. In interview all the community musicians understood the likely pathways and current circumstances of the children. All believed music was an important dimension for change. Yet many felt constrained and expressed a form of powerlessness in relation to the regime of the PRU, its restrictions on time and resources and the value system inherent within the environment. Navarro argues that:

Self-critical knowledge that discloses the 'sources of power' and reveals 'the reasons that explain social asymmetries and hierarchies' can itself become 'a powerful tool to enhance social emancipation'. (Navarro, 2006: 15-16)

It may be that the context of a PRU is too constraining for community musicians to really enable the growth of creative environments that sustainably promote group cohesion and personal growth:

Mechanisms of power – boundaries that, by my view, include but are not limited to institutional rules, norms and procedures – define and delimit fields of action. They do so, not only for those who seem powerless, like students, but also for teachers, principals, and other apparently 'powerful' agents. Power's mechanisms influence what these actors want to do in the school and the classroom, what they believe they need to do, and should do. And they delimit options for realizing pedagogic aims and ends. (Hayward, 2000: 5)

In summary, the question remains whether community musicians can do effective and transformative work within a PRU environment. Given the life outcomes for these children and the context of PRU teaching, it may be important for community musicians to advocate for their work to be within the right environment and valued for what it can achieve.

6. Conclusion

Community music approaches may never be accepted enough and supported enough in PRUs to allow musicians and children to collaborate in ways that can shift the boundaries of what is possible for these children's futures. Children who, in many cases, may come from generations of poverty or have experienced forms of abuse are unlikely to identify the hidden strengths within themselves that can alter the trajectory of their lives, unless they receive appropriate support:

When those who have the power to name and to socially construct reality choose not to see you or hear you ... when someone with the authority of a teacher, say, describes the world and you are not in it, there is a moment of psychic disequilibrium, as if you looked in the mirror and saw nothing. It takes some strength of soul — and not just individual strength but collective understanding — to resist this void, this non-being, into which you are thrust, and to stand up, demanding to be seen and heard. (Rich, 1986: 199 also cited in Hinson and Healey: 2003: 3)

But if community musicians can make a strong enough case to enable appropriate access to resources and time with children in PRUs, and if the work can be extended over a period of years, then community music approaches might yet prove to be a lever for altering the downward spiral of these young people's lives to one of engagement, inspiration and achievement.

Chapter 10 - Findings of this study, implications for further research, and conclusion

1. Introduction

This final chapter in the study will look at what have been the findings of the study and what they imply for the field and particularly for the training of community musicians. The chapter will also look at any implications for future research. Where these future research needs are associated with a specific area of the findings, such as one of the six elements identified as significantly influencing community music delivery with children with behavioural challenges, then those research needs will be dealt with in that section of the text. Otherwise future research needs will be dealt with later on in the chapter. The chapter and the study will end with a short conclusion on the importance of this work and its possible significance for the field.

1.2 Future Research and dissemination

For future research there are great possibilities for collaboration, particularly with those outside music education who are interested in promoting children's ability to examine and change their self-concept, to move from a conferred identity towards a constructed identity. This would include people working in the fields of sociology, social psychology and education. The research itself can be disseminated across the different fields and feedback can be sought from people with very different understandings of the world. The danger for the researcher here is how language and concepts can translate across the field boundaries. There may not only be different vocabularies but also different understandings of goals and methodologies.

2. Initial findings on PRUs and the potential of music within them

This research study shows PRUs as complex places with a diverse set of children with challenging behaviour (among others). Children with challenging behaviour in PRUs have complex lives and diverse needs and interests. This presents significant challenges to community musicians wanting to work successfully with them. Working in these environments is a difficult endeavour

with a range of areas requiring the focused attention of the leader. It needs music leaders with an appropriate and extensive range of skills.

Because of the challenges these children face and the effects these challenges have on their behaviour, there is a need for music work to focus on the whole child, to work towards musical, personal and social outcomes at the same time. Without establishing in the young people both confidence and the desire to engage, and also without creating an environment where group activity can flourish, any work on music will be hampered by the behaviour patterns engrained within these children while they are in the institution. This need to work with the whole child, i.e. working on musical, personal and social development simultaneously, coupled with the complex nature of the work, makes a strong case for a community music approach rather than the type of music pedagogy currently used in mainstream education.

The main area of innovation in this research is the bringing together of the often separated fields of community music and music education in a particular context that may enrich other contexts. Further projects may find that the two are both enriched by bringing them together. The emergent theories in this study can contribute not only to the relatively new community music field but also to the wider field of music education and indeed to education as a whole. In particular the power structures in PRUs, how they can currently inhibit children's journey towards self-actualisation, and how community music approaches can offer an alternative, based on encouraging the child to find and follow their own interests through music, are areas that may be of interest to scholars across the broader field of education. In addition, practice wisdom suggests that many peripatetic music teachers throughout England are struggling with more integrated classrooms and the demands of whole class teaching in inclusive mainstream schools. The researcher has given training to many instrumental music teachers in this situation, adapting parts of the study, particularly the focus on the six elements. To date the feedback on this training has been positive and it has been suggested that it fulfils a need hitherto unmet within musicians' training. A recent example of this has been with the Cornwall Music Service in January 2017 where the researcher trained over seventy musicians in working with children with challenging behaviour. The training focuses on groupwork, emotional intelligence, flexibility and creative musical play.

There are several areas of future research where these emerging theories could be used, notably any concerned with children outside or on the fringes of mainstream education.

The study notes the popularity and motivating force of music for almost all of the young people in the participant observations. This was echoed in all the interviews and focus groups with community musicians. By far the majority of young people worked with in PRUs found music engaging and took an active part. This included a strong interest from the young people in creating their own music.

Young people's interest in music in PRUs covered a wide variety of genres, such as show music, hip-hop, rock, Gospel, West African hi-life and reggae. There was a positive response from most of the young people to a number of different ways of making music, including rhythm work, singing, songwriting, instrumental work, recording and performing.

2.1 Implications for the field and for training

The above implies that any community music programmes in PRUs should employ musicians who are cognisant of and comfortable with the complexities of PRU working. These musicians should be comfortable working across a range of genres and in a number of ways, including developing performance and recording. Practice wisdom indicates that there are very few musicians across England who currently have a skill set as broad and as deep as that required for successful working in PRUs. Therefore there is a need for training programmes to develop those skills that will increase both the breadth and depth of community music practice. These training programmes may need to focus not only on musicianship but also on the specific needs for musical leadership within a PRU context. In the training of community musicians, trainees can build on the fact (see p32) that community music work is a relational encounter based on the principles of creative exploration and shared ownership.

A community musician's training needs to encompass:

- appropriate musical and workshop skills
- grasp of context
- personality flexibility and leadership skills appropriate to context
- an understanding of organizational structures.

Although community music has moved from its oppositional position in terms of mainstream education and schooling (see Price on p36) there are community musicians who will have no experience of working in the context of educational

structures. These community musicians need careful introduction into the systems and power relations that necessarily characterize schools without losing sight of the fact that the intent of community music practice is not always congruent with the intent of mainstream education.

In terms of the training needs of community musicians working in PRUs, practitioners may need to be aware of a number of the concepts outlined in this study and may benefit from adopting some of the practices mentioned.

Working in an environment as complex as PRUs and where there is such a high level of vulnerability among the children, practitioners will benefit from being reflective practitioners. This will enable them to look critically at their own role or position within situations, and to understand how they cause and influence actions. It will allow them to examine the values that underpin their actions and the actions of those they are aligned with. Thus they can see where they need to make changes in their work and to monitor those changes as they occur. The researcher's experience with community music organizations in England suggest that workers are becoming more reflexive, although more knowledge of how to structure reflection may be required. Deane et al (2015, 11) argue that in music work with vulnerable children:

Reflective practice is a central feature of inclusive working. It needs to be systematic, with reflections documented and carried through into actions.

Based on the issues of power and ownership raised in this study, it is appropriate for community musicians wishing to work in these contexts to have considered the nature of power and their own positionality within PRU contexts. Two ways of conceptualizing power that are important to be aware of in PRU education are 'power to', the ability to do things, and 'power over', the ability to dominate people and situations through use of power. It is an important point that having a role in enabling young people to have 'power to' do things does not necessarily give someone 'power over' those young people. Taylor and Boser (2006) reflect on how the operations of power in institutes of education can neutralise or undermine the hoped for transformation in students' understanding and practice that participatory pedagogy aspires for in the classroom. Positionality enables us to look at our position within a setting in relation to issues of power. By examining this positionality we can begin to move towards changing it. It is important for community musicians, working in a context where the children have such poor life outcomes, to not work in an exclusionary way, consciously or unconsciously.

Two concepts that may be important for community music workers to understand when working in PRUs are false consciousness and hegemony. These concepts both come from a Marxist root but need to be interpreted within this particular context.

False consciousness comes from a dominance of ruling class ideas and values and a manipulation of ideas in society. Engels worried that 'false consciousness' would keep the working class from recognising and rejecting their oppression (Heywood, 1994: 85). It is important when seeking to create opportunities for change and transformation that workers recognize the sometimes hidden factors and beliefs within the school environment that mitigate against children in PRUs reaching their true potential.

Hegemony is the domination in society of a particular set of values and ideas (specifically bourgeois) which are reproduced in cultural life through the media, schools and universities and religious institutions to 'manufacture consent' and legitimacy (Heywood 1994: 100-101). In English music education this raises questions about what music is chosen, by whom and why. Robert Legg (2013, 89) states:

It is even more important to recognise that just as individual learners' tastes can be of great consequence, the decisions that educators make about the musical repertoire studied and performed within formal curricula can play an important role, albeit an often-unacknowledged one, in promoting or preventing fair access.

Perhaps what is most important in the context of PRUs is the idea of flexibility expressed in terms of the emergent curricula:

In conventional (progressive) education, emergent curricula refers to a flexible and dynamic process in which a teacher continually modifies and develops a curriculum based on the expressed interests of their students.¹⁶

3. Community music

The study shows that there is a lack of an internationally agreed definition of community music and confusion about what are the key characteristics of community music practice. Much of previous research into community music has not been grounded in practice and has been done by professionals from the field of music education rather than those professionally involved in the field. When trying to develop the work into institutions such as PRUs, where staff are most likely unaware of the existence of the field, the lack of clarity in terms of what

¹⁶ <http://main.gaiainiversity.org/glossary-0> Accessed on 12/12/2016

community music is and does cannot be helpful. However practice wisdom suggests that, in England at least, many practitioners clearly understand what they are doing, even if this is not always well articulated. The study also shows a clear line of connection between the pioneering work of musicians and educationalists such as John Stevens, Murray Schafer and Cornelius Cardew and the practices used by today's community musicians.

The research into the literature on community music highlights that there are different ways of looking at the fundamentals of community music intent, values and practice. Through the reading, participant observation and discussion with professionals, the researcher has identified a gap between the viewpoint of some published researchers and the viewpoint of practitioners in the field. It is hoped that this thesis, coming as it does from a practitioner researcher can do something to narrow this gap. The researcher's understanding is that community music workers will in many cases have a set of values that inform their work. These, being their own, often unarticulated, values, may or may not align with what is in the literature. That said, their work, while informed by their values, will also take into account the pragmatic needs of context without reference to theories of community music.

3.1 Implications for the field and for research

If community music is to gain power and respect from institutions such as PRUs then the field needs to be able to clearly articulate what it is and what it can do in terms that outsiders to the field can fully understand. For this to happen community music research needs to be more clearly informed by practice, and researchers and practitioners need to work in closer collaboration, particularly in terms of articulating what community music is and does.

4. The six elements

The most important finding of the study was that six elements significantly influence community music delivery in statutory alternative education provision for children with behavioural challenges. These six elements emerged from the detailed research, notably from the participant observations, the interviews and the focus groups. These elements: what the children bring, organizing structures, ideas and material, focus and energy, reflective and reflexive practice and intent, form the core of the study. Being knowledgeable about these elements and

gaining mastery over them will enable the community musician to feel confident that their delivery is appropriate to context.

4.1 Implications for further research and training

While the researcher noted many occasions when one element impacted upon the other in the sessions, for example when what the children brought in terms of ability and focus impacted on the ideas and material used, this correlation was not studied in a systematic way for this study. Further research into the links between the different elements and their impact on each other would be valuable to the field.

In addition research into whether these or other elements also act as significant factors for developing work with other community groups such as looked after children would be also beneficial to the field. This work would have the added advantage of moving understandings of community music away from the purely generic theoretical models outlined in the literature to models more situated in specific areas of practice.

While these elements will no doubt be of interest to some PRU and EBD staff, and while some elements, for example, reflective practice, will be of interest to the children themselves, it is primarily the community musicians who will be interested in understanding and working with these elements, both in their initial training programmes and in further professional development work.

5. What the children bring

The study highlighted the fact that workers in PRUs may be likely to carry with them different learned conceptions of childhood. Some of these conceptions may idealise the child, others may see the child as to blame for their challenging behaviour. The workers may not always be aware of these conceptions and may not think critically about the nature of their relationships with the children, what informs those relationships and what they value or do not value in their encounter. These conceptions can have a significant impact on how they regard and work with the children and whether the work is orientated towards the adult retaining command and control or whether they encourage individual children's expression and voice. Community musicians will need to be sensitive to these conceptions of childhood both in themselves and in non-music specialist workers.

The study also pointed to a potential tension within music education / community music work with these children between accepting the children as

they are and trying to encourage their creative work as children and between seeing them as proto-adults whose primary musical need is around learning new skills and developing a more mature ability to engage in music. Community music practice recognizes the importance of children having agency, the power of their creativity and the need for them to be social actors within their own lives (Lonie, 2013).

The study also indicates that the socialization of the child within institutions such as school can be designed to initiate them into a form of compliance with the dominant voices in society. A community music approach might encourage questioning, critical reflection and a pride in their own voice as a creator.

The study also showed that participants brought with them different ways of learning and knowing which were respected within the community music programme. In addition, the children's own lives and interests were in many cases suitable raw materials from which to develop musical pieces. This commanded the children's interest and opened up creative possibilities.

Finally, on the topic of what the children bring, the study showed that children in PRUs are united only in their exclusion and treatment by the state. In order for them to have the chance of better life outcomes it may be important for them to shed their conferred identity of being excluded and construct a new, more positive identity and self-concept. Community music, with its capacity both for creating flow environments and space for participant reflection, may well be a suitable arena for such transformation. It can be used consciously as a tool for creating positive self-concept. This resignification (Cooper, 1993) may prove to be a significant use for community music in institutions such as PRUs but the short-term nature of this study did not allow for the creation of conditions for significant and sustained personal change.

5.1 Implications for further research

Research into the possible use of community music approaches as a tool for changes in self concept and resignification would seem to be of some significance following on from this study. Any such research would need to be rooted in practice and would need to extend across a considerable time period, most likely years, to be of any worth. There may also be learnings to be shared with and gleaned from the developing field of music and wellbeing. This may include sharing not just data and findings but information on methodology.

6. Organising structures

The study notes that, despite a two hundred year history of interventions with children such as those in this study, there is still a failure of current methods to produce positive outcomes for children in PRUs. This puts in some doubt the credibility of the methods used and the regimes that employ them. Common sense suggests that if the reasons these children were excluded from school are primarily about their relationship to the context, then putting them in a context similar to the one where they had problems in the first place means it is unlikely they will flourish. PRUs throughout this study were organized with the teacher in charge of what was to be learned and how it was to be learned, and with no clear indications of shared ownership or educational democracy. This presents community music practitioners with an opportunity to be agents of change, if they can successfully negotiate the school environment and create a safe space for creative learning.

The study noted emphasis from PRU staff on behaviour modification and to an extent conformity. The study recognized that children in PRUs can benefit from a calm structured environment and children's ability to regulate their behaviour can help build an atmosphere of calm. It was also noted that some PRUs prioritise children learning to modify their behaviour to the exclusion of other learnings. There was an emphasis from community musicians on affirming individual voices and journeys and these two contrasting approaches raised potential for conflict on working methods and desired outcomes. The study also noted that EBD is complex, with a web of influencing factors and that diagnoses may not be reliable or even at times helpful.

Finally under the topic of structures, the study noted that there is a history of under resourcing for these children that continues today in many PRUs. Combined with the above differences in working methods between many PRU staff and community musicians this raises the difficult question of whether PRUs are suitable environments for community music programmes to achieve significant musical, personal, and social outcomes. It is important to note that this question was not voiced by any of the community musicians interviewed who all felt that their work was a significant, sometimes the only significant, positive intervention in these young people's lives.

6.1 Implications for the field and further research

Community music organizations may want to run action research programmes with excluded children both in PRUs and also offsite, and then compare findings across musical, personal and social outcomes. This will help establish if PRUs are indeed suitable locations for significant community music work. In addition, community musicians and organizations need to work with PRUs to clearly explain the differences between PRU methodology and community music methods and the reasons behind this. From this clarity they can begin to build with PRU staff a mutually supportive environment within which community music programmes can grow and flourish.

7. Ideas and material

The study shows that the movement for educational (and musical) inclusion, the National Plan for Music Education (NAPME), and also the growing body of evidence for the power of music to affect personal and social change, all provide support for the case for community music delivery in PRUs. Many young people in PRUs are disengaged from learning and do not see themselves as learners. Community music programmes can provide an engaging and immersive way back into learning for many of these young people. In addition music, if used creatively, can be a vehicle for a deep, relational encounter between the child and the community musician. This is dependent on the musician allowing the child's voice to be fully heard and valued. Through such mechanisms as skeletal structures and the flexible role of the leader (teacher, coach, facilitator etc), community musicians strive to provide environments where participants feel safe to express themselves in creative ways and have their voices affirmed. The relationships built between the musicians and the children tend to be mutual rather than hierarchical. Shared ownership is an important part of acknowledging the children's agency.

In addition the study noted that certain issues in lyrics, such as family or violence, require sensitivity on the part of the community musician if they are not to trigger negative and unwanted reactions from the young people. Some times this will require a self-censorship from the music leader that will have a basis in common sense.

Finally on this topic of ideas and material, a model of different stages of young people's musical engagement in PRUs was trialed and found to be appropriate for the context.

7.1 Implications for training and further research

There are implications for training community musicians both within England and across the globe. During the course of this study the researcher has been training groups of community musicians and music educators throughout England on how to work with children with challenging behaviour. Internationally, presentations and training on the topics raised in this research have been offered in Munich, Singapore, Australia, Brazil, Palestine and Canada. These events have attracted classroom teachers, peripatetic music educators and community musicians including those using the interventionist form of community music. Attendees in all these countries have engaged with and affirmed the relevance of the work to their own contexts, while adding their own experiences and insight. It would be interesting to see if training needs to be adapted in more collectivist societies such as China and Japan where the relationship between the individual and the group may be perceived differently.

In the training of community musicians, trainees can learn about the range of possible roles for the community musician and the function of each, as well as finding out about the importance of developing skeletal structures, or frameworks, so as to establish safe, creative environments.

In addition more research needs to be done on the stages of engagement model. This was trialed successfully as a model for securing young people's sustained engagement and for understanding a range of required leadership styles. However this trialing was only done over one two-term project and needs additional research.

Training materials and resources may, over time, be developed internationally, using the Internet. At time of writing there is little international dialogue on music with children with challenging behaviour and this presents an opportunity to the researcher to create fora for knowledge exchange.

Hallam (2010) has identified studies that outline a number of non-musical effects of music provision that occur within the child. This includes improved language acquisition and literacy skills. While the research has mostly been done within school music and not into specifically community music practices, Lonie notes that recent research into non-formal music provision (Dillon, 2010) has provided evidence of a wide range of positive effects ranging from developing skills in composition and music technology through increased trust and self-efficacy to increase in general motivation and attitudes to education (Lonie, 2013). Training materials developed as a result of this research are likely to focus

on whole child development, with the aforementioned intertwining of musical, personal and social development rather than music's role in promoting other subject learning. What will be important is the role community music practice can have in the fostering of ideas about the learner as a learner and in developing motivation. Self – determining children are more likely to have an interest in other areas of curriculum.

8. Focus and energy

The study shows that there is a need for the community musician to pay close attention to levels of both focus and energy in PRU working. This is partly because of the volatile nature of PRU life. This can at times constrict the creative expression of the group. Many of the children worked with had little or no internal locus of control. The structuring of activities observed in PRUs did little to provide opportunities for children to strengthen and test their own internal locus of control. That said many staff worked with children on a one to one basis to develop their emotional intelligence.

In addition, the study (particularly the literature review) indicates, that for community music programmes to have the chance to be effective in promoting personal change, the leaders need to create flow environments. These environments require the children to work in an immersed and uninhibited way and not to be subject to regular staff intervention about their behaviour. There may be implications in this, particularly in relation to creating flow environments, for subjects other than music, both in the arts and beyond.

8.1 Implications for further research

Further research needs to be undertaken on the impact of flow environments in music on the creation of positive self-image with children with challenging behaviour. This would need to be action research and would require an extended period of time, certainly no less than a year before results should be measured.

9. Reflective and reflexive practice

The study shows that reflective and reflexive practice are key skills for navigating the complex world of community music in PRUs. They include reflection-before-action, reflection-during-action and reflection-on-action. Practice wisdom suggests that while many community musicians are aware of reflective practice and use it to an extent, it is often informal, unstructured and lacking the depth and power that a more stringently structured approach could

provide. Given the poor outcomes of most children in PRUs, reflexive practice may be an important tool for the community musician to challenge their own attitudes to power and the status quo and from this to develop a more inclusive practice.

Reflection-during-action is part of the essence of community music practice in PRUs. This is based around the two strategies of 1) rapid reflection - immediate, ongoing and automatic action by the teacher and 2) repair – in which a thoughtful teacher makes decisions to alter their behaviour in response to students' cues (Zeichner and Liston, 1996).

Developing reflective participants may over time lead to changes in personal growth and group development, although this has not been proven by this study. In the context of PRUs there may be a number of challenges to this. This participant reflection may be best developed through looking back at performances and recordings, at least at the initial stage.

9.1 Implications for training and for the field

Community music organizations need to find ways to help their workers become reflective practitioners. This means training them in a range of methods and models of reflection as well as in reflexive practice. Community music training programmes may need to do the same, while emphasizing the difference between thinking about a session after it is over and structured reflective practice.

Community music managers need to make structured time available for team reflection and should follow through any key learnings from these reflective sessions with appropriate action.

10. Intent

The study shows that intent in community music programmes can be complex and can often shift from one focus of intent to another within a single session. Intent can be around musical, personal or social issues or overarching intentions such as do no harm. There was significant correlation between the evidenced intentions for community music work in PRUs and those outlined in Youth Music's *Do, Review, Improve* framework. As well as conscious intentions the music leader may also bring unconscious bias and intentions based more on their own ego than on any real need from the participants

PRUs have greater freedom than mainstream schools to pursue their own intentions for the children. They are not bound to deliver the full curriculum, for

example. Intentions of the community musicians may or may not be congruent with those of PRU staff. In order to achieve better outcomes for the young people it makes sense that all workers in a session share the same intentions. This may require significant work for community musicians to make their case.

The researcher found no evidence of non-music specialist PRU staff and community musicians collaborating on young people's personal development. In addition community musicians all seemed to have an ad hoc approach to intentions around young people's personal development with many (although not all) seeing it very much as a by-product of the musical achievements of the young people.

The personal growth values that were sought by the community musicians were often confidence, self-expression and the finding of an individual voice. These often contrasted with values of compliance and conformity sought by a number of PRU staff.

Within some of the PRUs visited, many of the young people found it hard to cooperate on tasks and required much input from the leader to enable successful group task achievement. In one PRU this was in direct contrast to their achievements in one to one sessions.

One of the intentions expressed by community musicians working in PRUs was to present alternative role models and alternative ways of looking at the world. This was all done on an individual and ad hoc basis without any support from their employing organizations. It included one musician presenting differing models of masculinity to what the young people may have been used to. Although there is no evidence of this role model work providing any influence on outcomes, it could be a fruitful area for further research.

10.1 Implications for further research and for the field

There is a need for further research to examine the areas of congruence and divergence in terms of intent for community musicians and PRU staff. From this, further research could pilot closer collaboration between staff and community musicians in achieving their shared intentions for these young people. This research could be extended to collaborations with community musicians and other professionals such as CAMHS (Child and Adolescent mental health service).

There is also a need for further research to examine the difference in outcomes between one to one work and group working in PRUs.

11. Areas for further research

There is need for further research into the long-term musical, personal and social outcomes for young people in PRUs who have experienced a long-term community music programme. For this programme to have a reasonable expectation of impact and for possible changes to be reasonably attributed to the programme it needs to be regular, for example weekly during term time, and of considerable length, i.e. three years in duration with at least a twelve month follow-up on what impact may have occurred as a result of the programme.

12. Conclusion

This research has been engaging, challenging and, for the researcher, a source of inspiration and fresh insights. The work has been broad ranging in terms of the sub-topics covered and it has utilized a variety of methods, each yielding different facets of the overall knowledge acquired. At the centre of it is the power of music to motivate and engage children with challenging behaviour and to offer them opportunities to find their creative voice and have it affirmed.

This work is important in so far as the plight of these young people is not alleviated through the educational system they currently find themselves in but seems to be, at least temporarily, addressed through their engagement in active music making.

The researcher's experience in talking with music educators in Singapore, Germany, Canada, Brazil and Australia leads him to believe that the issues for music educators and community musicians working with children with challenging behaviour are somewhat similar in each country. This research and its findings may well have international applications although of course local contexts will yield differences and new challenges.

For the field of community music the study is an attempt to move beyond generic models of community music and go in depth into practice, what benefits practice and what are the possible implications of practice. The study has had the benefit of an insightful and inspirational supervisory team and it is hoped that the learnings will be useful to the field of community music and the field of music education in its broadest sense.

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Glossary of terms and acronyms

AP – Alternative provision. Pupil Referral Units and other forms of educational provision for children who cannot be in mainstream schools.

BESD – Behavioural, emotional and social difficulties. The most comprehensive term for children with challenging behaviour. In the USA the term refers to Behavioural, emotional and social disorders. Sometimes called SEBD, often abbreviated to EBD as in EBD units (see below). All three terms are used in this study depending on the particular context.

CCC – Children in challenging circumstances. A term popularized by the charity Youth Music to describe children and young people who are marginalized, at risk and vulnerable. This includes children with challenging behaviour.

Community musician – Person who works to enable other people's music making through non-formal approaches. In this document the term is interchangeable with music leader.

CM - Community music or community musicians.

EBD units - Day or residential schools for children with severe and/or long term challenging behaviour. Strong similarities in terms of practice and clientele with PRUs (see below).

IJCM – International Journal of Community Music. A globally published, peer reviewed, academic journal on issues concerning community music.

ISME CMA – The International Society for Music Education's Commission for Community Music Activity. An international think tank on community music that meets every two years to present papers and discuss issues.

LA – Local authority.

LSA – Learning Support Assistant. Classroom based workers, who may not have a teaching qualification, often helping those with special educational needs.

Music Leader – Person who facilitates group music making. Interchangeable with community musician within the context of this document.

Non-formal music education – Non-formal music education is usually student centred and is not connected to exams or grades. Often used interchangeably in this study with the term community music.

PRUs – Pupil referral units, sometimes called short stay schools. Local authority run schools for students who cannot at that time be in mainstream school.

PRU staff (also staff members) – Teachers, Teaching Assistants, Learning Support Assistants, members of the senior management team including heads of school who work in PRUs.

Reflective journal – The journal kept by the researcher during the participant observations. This journal is quoted throughout the text of this document.

SEN – Special educational needs. Also SEND – Special educational needs and disabilities.

TA – Teaching assistant – see Learning Support Assistant.

YM or Youth Music – The National Foundation for Youth Music, a lottery funded charity that is the main funder for young people’s music making outside school in England. Youth Music has an emphasis on supporting music provision for children in challenging circumstances including those in PRUs and EBD units.