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Access to primary music education in Aotearoa New Zealand

A thesis

submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

at

The University of Waikato

by

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

2024

Abstract

Music is a compulsory subject in the New Zealand Curriculum, intended for every child. Despite this, the literature illustrates inconsistent provision and enactment of music education in Aotearoa New Zealand, suggesting that some children are unable to access the full curriculum. While this situation has been attributed to a range of factors, there are significant gaps in the literature, making it difficult to determine how children's access to music education is enabled and constrained by these factors.

To understand the provision and enactment of music education, case studies were conducted in three different primary and intermediate schools in New Zealand. Informed by critical realism, a range of data collection methods were used, including semi-structured interviews, surveys, focus groups, observations, documents, and field notes. Participants were principals, members of senior leadership teams, generalist, specialist, and itinerant teachers, in addition to private contractors, children and their parents. Data were thematically analysed, revealing the intricacies of how the policy technologies of neoliberalism operate in schools. To understand generative mechanisms that impact children's access to music education, a deeper layer of analysis was undertaken using Pierre Bourdieu's (2018) theoretical concepts of capital and habitus. These analytical tools provided the opportunity to carefully examine the intersectionality of neoliberalism and social class.

The findings of this study demonstrate how neoliberalism has reinforced a hierarchy of subjects in the curriculum, which positions music as an extracurricular activity that is either omitted, sidelined, or enacted for social objectives. Participation and success in music education are also informed by social class, with the subject being used as a tool by some parents to advantage their children and develop cultural capital. Nevertheless, this study also revealed that music education is not universally valued by the middle class, thus challenging widely held assumptions about the relationship between music and social class.

These findings highlight the importance of context, in particular the role of school structure, teacher agency, and the pressures of managerialism and marketisation. This contributes to a broader understanding of policy enactment, and how the enactment of music education is influenced by the neoliberal policy regime. The study concludes that children are not given equal access to music education and that substantive change needs to occur. Implications are discussed at national and local levels, examining the role of policy alongside the roles of

principals, teachers, and parents, all of whom have the agency to make change. Implications for international contexts are also considered, reinforcing the complexity of policy enactment and how children's access to the full curriculum cannot be solved through policy alone.

Acknowledgements

I never thought that I would ever attend university, let alone pursue postgraduate study or write a doctoral thesis. My sincere gratitude first and foremost goes to the wonderful team of supervisors that have guided me through this journey. Firstly, to Associate Professor Michael Williams who started this journey with me, overseeing my undergraduate study and supervising both of my postgraduate degrees: thank you for your wisdom and humour, and most importantly, for believing that I had something of value to say. It is safe to say that I would have never considered pursuing a doctoral degree without your encouragement and support. Secondly, my thanks goes to Dr Donella Cobb, who, without any hesitation, continued to go above and beyond. Thank you for your kindness and grace, helping shape this study and guiding the data collection process. But most importantly, thank you for advocating for me, creating opportunities for growth and continuing to believe in me, even when I struggled to believe in myself. This journey would not have been possible without you.

It is with great gratitude but also tremendous sadness that I acknowledge Professor Martin Thrupp, who sadly passed away during the final stages of writing. Martin joined my supervision panel prior to confirmation and worked closely with me for a number of years in the role of chief supervisor. I am eternally grateful for his insight, kindness, and generosity. Thank you Martin for always having high expectations of me, nurturing criticality and helping shape my identity as a researcher. While you were never able to read this final document, I hope it honours your legacy and continues your passion for championing social justice and giving a voice to those who are disadvantaged.

Amidst these challenges, I am incredibly grateful to my current supervisors, Dr Pablo Del Monte and Dr Laura Gurney. Firstly, to my chief supervisor, Dr Pablo Del Monte, thank you for always making time for me, sharing your expertise, guiding the analysis process, and helping me make sense of what emerged. Your words of encouragement and innate belief in me as a scholar kept me going on more than one occasion. The completion of this thesis is a testament to your kindness, guidance, and wisdom. Secondly, to Dr Laura Gurney, thank you for so willingly stepping in during what felt like the final hour. I was struck by the compassion, grace, and patience you showed while I was still grieving. Although it has been a short amount of time, I am very grateful for your intellect, humour, and honesty. It has been

a privilege working with you, and I am confident that this thesis is stronger because of your input.

To the University of Waikato, thank you for providing a scholarship that allowed me to take a break from full-time employment and write the findings of this study. To my past and present colleagues and all of the doctoral students I have met along the way, thank you for the support you have given and the many philosophical discussions that continue to drive my passion for research. While there are far too many people to acknowledge by name, I would be remiss if I did not mention Dr Claire Coleman, Dr Melissa Chin Lee Lee, Dr Raella Kahuroa, Dr Megan Smith, and soon-to-be doctors Megan Flint and Priya Gain. A special mention also goes to my wonderful proofreader Dr Caroline Blyth. Thank you Caroline for taking such care with my work and providing detailed feedback. Your knowledge and understanding of the English language and the many conventions of APA referencing continues to astound me!

To the incredible wāhine toa who enrich my life: thank you, Nicole, Kathy, Hilary, Lauren, and Elena for providing respite and continuing to prove that the blood of the covenant is thicker than the water of the womb. To my whānau: thank you to my mother for instilling a love of music and going to lengthy efforts to ensure that I had access to music education. To my grandparents, thank you for making this dream a possibility and funding private tuition all of those years ago. It is because of you both that this study exists. To my loving husband, Tristan, and our two fur babies, Xena and Lily. Thank you for being my eternal kaitiaki, for feeding me copious amounts of cheese and for always finding a way to make me smile. You continue to remind me that anything is possible with you by my side.

Lastly and most importantly, thank you to my dear participants, for trusting me to share your voices.

<i>“E koekoe te tūī,</i>	<i>“The tūī squawks,</i>
<i>e ketekete te kākā,</i>	<i>the kākā chatters,</i>
<i>kūkū te kereū”</i>	<i>the kererū coos”</i>

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the children of Aotearoa New Zealand, who deserve equal opportunities and access to a full and rich education.

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Abbreviations

COVID-19: Coronavirus Disease 2019

CRT: Classroom Release Time

CV: Curriculum Vita

ERO: Education Review Office

ITE: Initial Teacher Education

LAT: Limited Authority to Teach

LSC: Learning Support Coordinator

NCEA: National Certificate in Educational Achievement

OECD: Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development

OOHMA: Out of Hours Music and Arts

OTJ: Overall Teacher Judgement

PB4L: Positive Behaviour for Learning

PISA: Programme for International Student Assessment

PLD: Professional Learning Development

WALT: We Are Learning To

Glossary of words in te reo Māori¹

Aotearoa: the Māori name that is commonly used for New Zealand (Moorfield, 2001).

Haka: “posture dance – vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words. A general term for several types of such dances” (Moorfield, 2004, pp. 65-69).

Iwi: “extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race – often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory” (Moorfield, 2023a).

Ka Hikitia: a national strategy to improve educational achievement for Māori students (Ministry of Education, 2014).

Kāhui Ako: “a group of education and training providers that form around children and young people’s learning pathways” (Ministry of Education, 2024a).

Kaitiaki: “trustee, minder, guard, custodian, guardian, caregiver, keeper, steward” (Moorfield, 2023b).

Kapa haka: a group that performs traditional Māori songs and movements (Ministry of Education, 2018). In the context of this study, kapa haka refers to an extracurricular activity, where a group of children explore Māori performing arts.

Karakia: “chant, charm, incantation, prayer, spell; pray, recite a spell” (Bruce, 2016, pp. 99-100). The word karakia is used in this study to refer to traditional Māori prayers. These prayers are often recited at the start of the school day or before food is eaten.

Kaupapa: “topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, purpose, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, programme, theme, issue, initiative.” (Moorfield, 2023c). In the context of this study, kaupapa is used to describe the values and culture of a school.

Kura hourua: partnership schools, otherwise known as charter schools (Martin, Jenkins & Associates, 2015).

¹ Note that while translations have been provided, there are many Māori concepts that do not have an English equivalent. When further clarification is needed, a supporting statement is given to illustrate how terms are used in the context of this study.

Kura kaupapa: a type of state school where children are fully immersed in te reo Māori. These schools adhere to the traditional values and principles of te ao Māori (Ministry of Education, 2024b).

Māori: the indigenous people of New Zealand (Biggs, 2012).

Mātauranga Māori: Māori knowledge or wisdom (Biggs, 2012).

Mihi: “speech of greeting, acknowledgement, tribute” (Moorfield, 2023a).

Mihi whakatau: “speech acknowledging those present at a gathering” (Moorfield, 2024).

Noho: “to sit, stay, remain, settle, dwell, live, inhabit, reside, occupy, located” (Moorfield, 2023b). The word noho is used in this study to describe an overnight stay.

Oranga Tamariki: a government department in New Zealand otherwise known as the Ministry for Children (Ministry for Children, n.d).

Pākehā: New Zealander of European descent (Moorfield, 2004).

Poi: “a light ball on a string of varying length which is swung or twirled rhythmically to sung accompaniment” (Moorfield, 2023d).

Pounamu: greenstone (Biggs, 2012).

Pōwhiri: a welcome ceremony (Moorfield, 2001). In the context of this study, a pōwhiri refers to a formal ceremony that follows cultural protocols to welcome visitors to a school.

Rākau: stick, plant, tree, wood, timber; weapon” (Biggs, 2012, p. 127). The word rākau is used in this study to describe a piece of wood that is hit to make a percussive sound, otherwise known as claves.

Rōpū: “group, company of people, team” (Ministry of Education, 2018, p. 55).

Taonga: “treasure, anything prized – applied to anything considered to be of value including socially or culturally valuable objects, resources, phenomenon, ideas and techniques.” (Moorfield, 2023e).

Taonga pūoro: “musical instrument” (Ministry of Education, 2018, p. 61). The word taonga pūoro is used in this study to refer to traditional Māori instruments, such as poi and rākau.

Te ao Māori: the Māori world (Moorfield, 2004).

Te Kotahitanga: “a project that seeks to improve the educational achievement of Māori students in mainstream schools” (Bishop & Berryman, 2009, p. 28).

Te Matatini: regional and national kapa haka festivals (Te Matatini Society, 2023).

Te reo Māori: the Māori language (Higgins & Keane, 2015).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi: the Treaty of Waitangi, commonly referred to as the founding document of New Zealand (Orange, 2023).

Te Whāriki: New Zealand’s early childhood curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2017).

Tohunga: “expert, skilled person” (Ministry of Education, 2018, p. 67).

Wāhine toa: bold, brave and courageous women (Biggs, 2012).

Waiata: “song, sing” (Ministry of Education, 2018, p. 74).

Whaikōrero: formal speech (Moorfield, 2004).

Whānau: family (Biggs, 2012).

Chapter 1: Introduction

I was born into a working-class family, along with my other siblings. We were a family of five, living in a small two-bedroom cottage that had previously been condemned. Aspiring for a better life, my parents returned to education and completed their school certificates via correspondence before pursuing undergraduate degrees at the University of Auckland. During this time, my father was involved in a horrific car accident, which left him incapacitated for several years. To be closer to the hospital, we moved to Hamilton, finding ourselves in a cold, damp, and overcrowded state house. While education was valued and encouraged, we were often absent from school, being victim to the condensation and black mould that had taken permanent residence in our home. As money was tight, nutritious food was a rarity, as was participation in any type of school activity that required money. This included field trips, camps, sports, and even days that were formerly known as “mufti,” where we were not required to wear our uniforms to school in exchange for a small donation. While I was clearly disadvantaged by my upbringing, I was also privileged in the sense that my mother had grown up in a musical family and did everything within her power to ensure that my siblings and I received an adequate music education. This included my mother volunteering at our primary school, leading syndicate singing, and even directing our annual school production. Our home was additionally filled with singing and music, as we were taught to play various instruments, depending on what could be salvaged from second-hand and recycling stores.

Despite my mother’s best efforts, my music education was not the same as my peers, many of whom had been receiving private tuition from a young age. By secondary school, it became evident that I would not be able to succeed on my own merits. This led my grandparents to personally fund private tuition for the rest of my secondary schooling, thus ensuring that I passed NCEA (National Certificate in Educational Achievement) and met the entry requirements for tertiary education, something for which I will be forever grateful. After secondary school, I auditioned for a Bachelor of Music in performance, only to discover that my application was declined due to fierce competition and inadequate instrumental technique. Despite this, the lecturer indicated that, if I completed private tuition at the university over the summer, I could reaudition and would very likely be accepted. This was problematic, however, as I was still borrowing an instrument from my secondary school, which would need to be returned. And despite working part-time as a waitress, I could barely afford lessons with my current teacher, let alone with a university lecturer. I consequently amended

my major from performance to musicology and composition and was immediately accepted. After several years of study, I graduated with a Master of Music with First Class Honours and began a successful teaching career, travelling between schools initially as an itinerant teacher and, later, as a specialist music teacher.

My experiences over the next decade shaped my identity as an educator and researcher. I saw children come to school without any shoes or breakfast. There were parents who never attended school events simply because they were working multiple jobs to make ends meet. I had students who had never touched an instrument yet could play Beethoven by ear. When I took these students to orchestral concerts, members of the audience would outright ask why they were there, before commenting on the colour of the students' skin and asking whether they were in attendance because they were related to the composer, who also happened to be Māori. I even had one generalist teacher question why I cared so deeply about these children and why I bothered developing a rigorous curriculum, given that the children would only end up working at McDonalds. Truthfully, I saw myself in these children; they were simply trying to navigate an education system that was not designed for them to succeed. These experiences redefined my understanding of success and challenged my previously held beliefs that success is a result of hard work and perseverance. Despite my background, it was the first time I truly began to consider the other factors that impact teaching and learning. While some of these factors were more overt, I struggled to make sense of what I had seen and heard within the classroom, in addition to my own experiences as a child. I began to question New Zealand's publicly funded education system and whether education can be a tool for social mobility when it is only accessible to some children. These questions and experiences are what led me back to university, and what prompted this study of how music education is accessed and enacted in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Setting the scene

Education in Aotearoa New Zealand is guided by a national curriculum that features eight compulsory learning areas. These learning areas include English, health and physical education, learning languages, mathematics and statistics, science, social sciences, technology, and the arts (Ministry of Education, 2007). Encompassed within the arts are four separate subjects of dance, drama, visual arts, and music, all of which are considered

“essential for a comprehensive education in the arts” (Ministry of Education, 2000, p. 7). Through these subjects, a range of skills are developed, including critical thinking, creativity, collaboration, problem-solving, communication, innovation, and analysis (A. Collins, 2012; Hallam, 2010; Hyde et al., 2009; Kraus & White-Schwoch, 2014; Levitin, 2006; National Association for Music Education, 2000; Sacks, 2008). The acquisition of these skills enables emotional growth and cultural, social, and spiritual understanding, thereby encouraging students to question, challenge and critique the world around them (Ministry of Education, 2000). This is vital for lifelong learning and full participation in a democratic society like New Zealand (P. O’Connor, 2014).

While limited research has been conducted specifically in music education, the few studies available provide immense value. At the turn of the century, the literature indicated that not all children were given access to the entire curriculum, with little opportunity for music-making in primary classrooms (Buckton, 1998). When music-making did occur, the frequency and duration of tuition were found to be inconsistent between schools, sometimes only equating to 10 minutes per week (Thwaites, 2003). The achievement of learning outcomes was also found to be inconsistent between schools, with one study indicating that half of New Zealand’s children are musically illiterate, being unable to read, write, or understand various forms of written notation (Nyce, 2012), despite requirements in the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007). Research funded by the Ministry of Education similarly found that only half of the children in Year 4 were achieving the expected levels for music (Ministry of Education, 2016). In my previous work (Browne, 2017), educators also felt that music was not taught consistently throughout the country, with some suggesting that very little music was occurring in primary schools. While these studies neither reflect the current educational climate nor provide a comprehensive account of music education over the last two decades, collectively, they suggest that children, through no fault of their own, have not been given equal opportunities for success.

As concerns have grown about children’s inequitable access to music education, several contributing factors have been identified. Firstly, policy is complex, and it cannot be simply implemented. Policy is instead enacted, taking on new meaning as it is interpreted in different ways depending on the context (Ball, 1994). In education, this makes it difficult to ensure children are given equitable experiences, because policy documents, such as a country’s curriculum, may be enacted in various ways. Secondly, music can be an expensive and

resource-heavy subject, which requires numerous instruments and a large space (Barack, 2018). This could make the subject difficult to enact if schools do not have the budget, resources, or space required. Thirdly, to enact the music curriculum, teachers also require some level of specialist expertise. The problem is that this expertise is not consistently developed through initial teacher education (ITE), with graduates often lacking the knowledge and skills needed to teach music (McGee et al., 2004; Rickson & Legg, 2018; Russell-Bowie, 2009; Thwaites, 2011; Webb, 2016). With generalist teachers lacking the skills required to enact the full curriculum, some schools choose to employ specialist teachers – teachers who are highly skilled and qualified in a specific subject. Employing a specialist music teacher, however, is not always a viable option, usually being dependent on a school's structure.

There are five different school structures for primary education in Aotearoa New Zealand. These structures include contributing primary schools (Year 0–6), full primary schools (Year 0–8), intermediate schools (Year 7–8), composite schools (Year 0–13), and area schools (Year 0–13), although composite and area schools are less common (Ministry of Education, 2020f). These different structures are significant, in that they not only dictate the year levels that attend but also the level of funding, resourcing, student-to-teacher ratios, and even staffing, including the employment of specialist teachers. This is the case in intermediate schools, where specialist teaching positions are funded on the basis that an advanced skillset is required for teaching at Year 7 and 8. Historically, specialist positions at intermediate schools were limited to manual and technical instruction (Mawson, 1998), although it is now common for intermediates to have specialist teachers in the arts, including music. The structure of school provision is of particular interest (see Chapter 10), as intermediate schools are unique to New Zealand, yet very little research has focused on this structure. It is therefore possible that school structure may influence children's access to music education.

Alongside school structure, the curriculum itself is another factor that may influence the provision and enactment of music education. As society has evolved, the curriculum has continued to expand, to ensure that children are equipped with skills required for the future (OECD, 2020). The number of hours in a school day, however, has remained static, threatening the depth and breadth of curricular enactment. This is problematised further when subjects such as reading, writing, and mathematics are prioritised at the expense of the broader curriculum (Carson & Rodgers, 2016; Irwin, 2018; Paul, 2016). While this is not a

new development, the prioritisation of numeracy and literacy has intensified as societies have embraced neoliberalism, a political ideology that promotes the deregulation of the state in favour of the free market. In a neoliberal society, autonomy, efficiency, and competition are fostered, as public services, such as education and healthcare, are positioned as private and profitable businesses. Through this lens, the purpose of schooling is to create employable citizens who will contribute to the economy. This has led to value being attributed to subjects based on their perceived economic outcome, with numeracy and literacy being highly esteemed (Wright, 2021), while the arts are labelled as “non-essential” and “extracurricular,” despite contributing to a billion dollar industry (Smith, 2015).

As neoliberal ideologies have become more entrenched, numeracy and literacy are increasingly given precedence in classroom timetables. This has resulted in reading, writing, and mathematics being scheduled in the morning when children are alert, while subjects such as music are pushed to the afternoon when children are tired and unfocused. The value attributed to numeracy and literacy is also evident through assessment, as achievement in reading, writing, and mathematics are commonly used to dictate the quality of teachers, schools, and even entire education systems. Subsequently, support mechanisms, such as resourcing and professional development, has also favoured numeracy and literacy, while support for other subjects has stagnated. This is particularly problematic when ITE programmes are failing to equip graduating teachers with the knowledge and skills to teach the arts. With an overcrowded curriculum, a well-established hierarchy of subjects, and an increasingly neoliberal society, it is plausible that children are receiving few opportunities for music-making in the classroom.

To secure access to music education, some parents choose to enrol their children in private one-on-one instrumental or theoretical tuition. This tuition usually occurs for thirty minutes per week with a highly trained and experienced specialist teacher, and it enables children to develop skills in performance and musical literacy (Lierse, 2009). While private tuition is more conducive for learning an instrument, given the student-to-teacher ratio (Carruthers, 2005; Wöllner & Ginsborg, 2011), it is prohibitively expensive, following a user pays model. In addition to the cost of tuition, children are also required to have an instrument, maintain a regular practice routine, and attend various rehearsals, events, and concerts. Access to private tuition is therefore dependent on not only financial resources but also time, space, and transport. As such, private tuition is closely linked to social class – the hierarchical grouping

of people based on their access to “wealth, prestige and power” (P. Adams & Hamer, 2005, p. 60). Nevertheless, in isolation, restricted access to private tuition is not the issue; rather, if children are unable to access music education through the curriculum, then they may be unable to succeed or even progress through the state system.

The role of social class was articulated through my personal story at the beginning of this chapter, which offered an example of how social class provided a very real set of disadvantages that influenced my likelihood to succeed. These barriers, however, are not just restricted to my own experiences, as over 250,000 children live in poverty in Aotearoa New Zealand (C. Cook & Hutton, 2019). Lacking access to clothing, nutritious meals, adequate heating, housing, and healthcare (Carpenter, 2014; Carpenter & Osborne, 2014; Mills & Gale, 2010; Statistics New Zealand, 2019; Wylie, 2013), these children experience inhibited growth and development, and their overall life outcomes are reduced (Atwool, 2013; Duchesne & McMaugh, 2015; Duncanson et al., 2019). Education is, to some extent, a means to counter the effects of poverty and inequality, facilitating movement between social classes (Brown et al., 2018; Wylie, 2013). Equitable access to education is therefore not only a fundamental human right (United Nations, 1948); it is also critical to creating a more just and equal society.

Research aims and questions

This thesis seeks to examine music education in different primary school settings in Aotearoa New Zealand. It does so by responding to the following research questions:

Main question

How is music education accessed and enacted in different school settings in Aotearoa New Zealand?

Secondary questions

How and by whom is the music curriculum enacted?

Who gets access to music education and to what extent?

What factors enable or constrain access to music education?

To answer these questions, a qualitative design was chosen (see Chapter 4), which provided the opportunity to carefully examine the provision and enactment of music education in three different primary and intermediate school settings. These cases were constructed to include the perspectives of members of the senior leadership team, generalist, specialist, and itinerant teachers, alongside private contractors, children and their parents. To understand these perspectives, a range of data collection methods were used, including semi-structured interviews, focus groups, observations, field notes, surveys, and document analysis. These data were collected between 2020 and 2021, with this thesis being written between 2022 and 2024. On the basis of this study, I give recommendations on how to address barriers to music education, as a means of achieving educational equality for all children in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Assumptions of the study

The following key assumptions underpin this study:

- Music is defined within the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) as “sound from natural, acoustic, and digital environments” (p. 21). This definition reflects a broad understanding of the subject; it is therefore a departure from the traditional notion that music only occurs through conventional instruments and is limited to the works of European composers, like Bach and Mozart. The broad definition of music in the New Zealand Curriculum has led to the recognition of indigenous knowledge and cultural music-making, with waiata and kapa haka commonly becoming part of a school’s culture. While music of all cultures, genres, and styles should be valued, there remain tensions around what “proper” music is and how it should be included in the classroom. Central to this tension is the history and tradition of the classical genre and its longstanding association with social class. As such, there remains an element of prestige in having skills in performance, an understanding of the classical genre, and an ability to read, write, and understand traditional notation. These skills are highly esteemed, as they enable future pathways within New Zealand’s current education system, being required for secondary qualifications in music and entrance to most universities for the study of music.

- An enabling curriculum, which adequately prepares students for subsequent learning at secondary and tertiary levels, should be able to be taught in state schools across the socioeconomic spectrum. This is a requirement of the Ministry of Education who state that “[all] New Zealanders have a right to an education in the arts as part of their schooling” (2000, p. 10), and that “[the] curriculum supports and empowers all students to learn and achieve personal excellence, regardless of their individual circumstances” (2007, p. 9). Therefore, children should not be required to seek private, one-on-one instrumental or theoretical tuition to meet the achievement objectives of the New Zealand Curriculum.
- All primary teachers in New Zealand have a professional and ethical responsibility to enact all eight learning areas of the New Zealand Curriculum. The learning area of the arts states that dance, drama, visual arts, and music are all compulsory subjects; therefore, these subjects should be consistently enacted in primary classrooms. While some schools may hire a music specialist, these specialists are not universally funded, and therefore cannot be solely responsible for the enactment of the music curriculum.

Significance of the study

Aotearoa New Zealand is a small country; there are therefore many areas of the country’s education system that are under-researched. As already indicated, limited research has been conducted in music education since the introduction of the 2007 iteration of the New Zealand Curriculum, and these studies do not reflect the current educational climate. Since the introduction of this curriculum, there have been significant changes in education, including the establishment of National Standards. This policy was introduced in 2009 by the National-led government, and it mandated all primary and intermediate schools to publicly report achievement in reading, writing, and mathematics. Despite being promoted as a way to raise student achievement (Thrupp, 2008a), this policy was nationally contested and criticised for contributing to a narrowed curriculum (Bonne, 2016), inequality, and increased teacher workload (Thrupp, 2017a, 2017b). While National Standards were removed in 2018 by the Labour-led government (Schwalger, 2018), it remains unknown whether the removal of this policy has impacted the provision or enactment of music education.

Another significant development was the establishment of charter schools through the confidence and supply agreement between the political parties of National and ACT in 2011 (Courtney, 2017). Charter schools introduced a new model of schooling to New Zealand's education system in that they received state funding while also being operated by private entities for profit (Wood et al., 2021). Alongside the establishment of charter schools, parental expenditure in education also grew. Parents were expected to pay for school activities and events, such as camps, school trips, "mufti" days, discos, and other extracurricular activities (Gasson et al., 2017). This led to concerns that the education system was becoming increasingly privatised and that the promotion of a "user pays" model had resulted in greater inequality, as children were excluded from activities when their family were unable to meet the associated cost (Mutch, 2019). When the Labour-led government was elected, charter schools were removed and an Education (School Donations) Amendment Bill was introduced, which removed parental expenditure on curriculum resources and activities for participating schools (Ministry of Education, 2021c). It is, however, unknown how these changes may have impacted the acquisition of resources or the enactment of the curriculum more broadly.

Alongside various consultancy activities undertaken by the Labour-led government, a taskforce was assembled to review the structure of New Zealand's education system (Wood et al., 2021). This taskforce found that the introduction of neoliberal ideologies had resulted in further inequality, thereby widening gaps in achievement, particularly for Māori and Pacific children. To ensure more equitable opportunities, several recommendations were made that have the potential to impact the provision and enactment of music education. These recommendations included changes to school governance, equity funding, and the disestablishment of intermediate schools in favour of a middle school structure (Year 7–10; see Tomorrow's Schools Independent Taskforce, 2018). While it is unclear how many of these recommendations will be embraced by the sector, this report signals an appetite for change and a rejection of neoliberal ideologies that have continued to dominate New Zealand's education system. Given these developments and the limitations of previous studies, it is evident that further research is required to highlight educational practices in the current climate.

Overview of chapters

This thesis consists of 11 chapters. This chapter has provided background to the study, introducing my positionality and ideas associated with the sociology of music education. Research questions and aims of the thesis are given, alongside a discussion of the significance of this topic. Following the introduction, Chapter 2 provides a review of relevant literature, introducing the New Zealand context and providing a brief history of the country's educational policy up until 2020. This includes the establishment of a public education system, the adaption of the American junior high model that led to the intermediate school structure, and the introduction of neoliberal ideologies. Other themes related to social class are explored through the work of Pierre Bourdieu to understand the relationship between social class and music education. These themes are central to this thesis, in that they provide an understanding of the relevant historical, social, and political contexts that have contributed to the current provision and enactment of music education in New Zealand. Chapters 3 and 4 outline the theoretical foundations of this study and the methodology that was used. Data collection methods are discussed, including semi-structured interviews, observations, surveys, and focus groups. Consideration is given to the methodological limitations of this study and the ethical considerations.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 present the findings of three case studies conducted between 2020 and 2021 in three different schools. These schools are referred to using the pseudonyms of Tuatara School, Kākāpō Intermediate, and Pūkeko Intermediate. These chapters introduce the context of each school and its community before detailing parental donations, curriculum expenditure, overarching budgets, resources, and professional development. The planning and enactment of the music curriculum is then examined to illustrate how music education is enacted in generalist and specialist classrooms and through school events such as assemblies and prize-giving. Music tuition and extracurricular activities are then considered to determine the type of music activities to which children are given access.

The findings of these three case studies are then discussed and thematically analysed in Chapters 8, 9, and 10. Emerging themes relate to social class, neoliberalism, and the structure of school provision. Dimensions of social class are explored in Chapter 8 and analysed using Bourdieu's concepts of capital and habitus. By detailing children's involvement in music education, this chapter reveals how music education is used as part of a broader class strategy to disproportionately advantage middle-class children. Class strategies, such as school choice,

are intricately linked to the role of neoliberalism, and this leads to Chapter 9, which examines the neoliberal policy technologies of managerialism, performativity, marketisation, and privatisation. In this chapter, I argue that the adoption of neoliberal ideologies has reinforced a hierarchy of subjects within the curriculum, which sidelines music and reduces children's overall access to the subject. Children's access to music education, however, is influenced by several factors, including the structure of school provision and whether children have access to specialist teachers and appropriate spaces, and resources. The structure of school provision is examined in Chapter 10, specifically the role of intermediate schools and ongoing funding allocated to technology programmes. By outlining how intermediate schools have reallocated technology funding to the arts, this chapter illustrates the various steps that intermediate schools take to offer a broad curriculum and compete for enrolments within the education market.

Chapter 11 draws together the ideas presented in the previous chapters to examine how music education is accessed and enacted in different settings and to consider the broader implications of this for music education. This chapter argues that, while neoliberal ideologies have clearly intensified the hierarchy of subjects within the curriculum, these ideologies are not all-consuming, nor do they solely dictate the provision and enactment of music education. Instead, education is complex and continues to be informed by a range of policies. Developments in educational policy since 2020 are then considered, with recommendations given for future policy. The chapter concludes by outlining the limitations of this study and opportunities for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature review

This literature review seeks to explore the provision and enactment of music education in Aotearoa New Zealand. It does so by providing a historic overview of the country's education system, focusing on English-medium schools. This overview includes the establishment of state schooling in 1877 and the introduction of music education through the first national curriculum. Inconsistent patterns of curricular enactment and educational opportunities in music are highlighted, alongside the limited literature in this field. The chapter continues with a discussion of the development of policy in education, specifically the development of intermediate schools, manual and technical instruction, and various policies introduced to support the enactment of music education up until 2020. The introduction of neoliberal ideologies are then explored through the Tomorrow's Schools policy, which continues to inform the governance, management, and operation of schools today. The chapter concludes by providing a contextual understanding of New Zealand's education system and the various issues that continue to restrict children's access to the curriculum.

Establishment of education in New Zealand

Education in New Zealand was established through the 1877 Education Act, which provided free and accessible education for children from Year 3 to 8 (Lauder, 1990). The intention of this Act was to create an egalitarian society, one that provided equal opportunities and firmly rejected divisions of class (Rata, 2008). To achieve this, a Department of Education was established alongside a national school system that would be overseen by a Minister of Education. Fees that were previously required to attend school were abolished, thus shifting the responsibility of primary education from the individual to the state (Cumming & Cumming, 1978). Despite these developments, an embedded class system remained, as only some children had access to secondary education. There also continued to be a separate school system for Māori known as Native Schools. The purpose of these schools were to assimilate Māori and prepare graduates for manual labour (Walker, 2016).

Following the 1877 Education Act, a national curriculum was introduced to English-medium schools in 1878, marking the beginning of music education in New Zealand. At this time,

music education consisted almost entirely of group singing and focused on the development of musical literacy skills, using either traditional notation or solfège (Baatvedt, 2002), a French system that assigns a different syllable to each pitch (Randel, 2003). Alongside music, a range of other subjects were also featured in this curriculum, including reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, and science. These subjects, however, were divided into two different categories, pass subjects and class subjects. Pass subjects, such as reading and writing, required children to sit an annual examination, the results of which influenced a teacher's opportunity for promotion. In contrast, class subjects, such as music, did not require any type of examination, which often resulted in these subjects being sidelined or even omitted (Paul, 2016).

This categorisation established a hierarchy of subjects within the curriculum and fuelled ongoing debates about the position of music. For some, music was essential; it not only provided enjoyment but also enhanced children's skills and understanding, including both speaking and reading English (Baatvedt, 2002). Others, however, believed that music was simply "a regrettable distraction from the serious business of school" (Campbell, 1941, p. 89). There were also concerns that this national curriculum was too academic and did not equip children with the practical skills needed for everyday life (Mawson, 1998). In response to these concerns, the Manual and Technical Instruction Act (1900) was created, which introduced to the national curriculum metalwork and woodwork for boys, and cooking, sewing, and laundry for girls (Mawson, 1998). Yet these subjects were purposefully restricted to children in Year 7 and 8, thereby targeting those who would not pursue secondary education, as this was not yet state funded (Compton, 2001).

As more children participated in primary education, illiteracy rates steadily declined. The value of the public education system had become increasingly recognised, leading to the Secondary Education Act in 1903. Through this Act, state funding was extended to secondary schools, thereby giving children access to secondary education, regardless of their family's financial resources (Harwood & Compton, 2007). Although entrance to secondary education was still dependent on a proficiency examination, this was a significant development; it provided opportunities for social mobility, as secondary education was required to gain entrance to university and obtain employment in semi-professional jobs (Olssen, 1992).

During this time, children's overall access to education had clearly improved; however, access to music education remained inconsistent. As teachers were often young and

inexperienced, many lacked content knowledge in music (Dick, 1881). To support these teachers, a more detailed curriculum was released in 1913, but ironically, most teachers lacked the skills to enact it. This sparked an ongoing debate regarding generalist and specialist teachers, specifically, whether it is reasonable to expect generalist teachers to teach music – a subject that requires a specialist skillset (Ewing, 1970). Despite this, over the next few decades, music was clearly positioned as the responsibility of generalist teachers, with various support services being introduced. In 1921, the first issue of the *Education Gazette* was published, which provided support and resources for subjects across the curriculum, including music. Subsidy schemes were introduced in 1925, which assisted schools in purchasing musical instruments and other resources, such as records and gramophones. In 1926, a supervisor of music was appointed to the Department of Education with the sole purpose of improving the provision and enactment of music education in New Zealand primary schools. Music lecturers were also appointed to teacher training colleges to ensure that generalist teachers were equipped with skills and knowledge in music (Braatvedt, 2002; Tait, 1970).

While these support systems did improve children's access to music education, the benefits were short-lived. In response to the Great Depression, government expenditure was reduced. Subsidy schemes were discontinued, teacher training colleges were closed, and various roles were disestablished, including that of the supervisor of music (Braatvedt, 2002). While teacher training colleges were eventually reopened, music education at this time mostly occurred through the Broadcasts to Schools programme. Following the success of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and its broadcasts to schools, New Zealand established its own broadcasting corporation in 1925 (Braatvedt, 2002). In 1932, weekly broadcasts were made for New Zealand schools, providing tuition in social studies, science, and music. Broadcasts in music focused specifically on musical appreciation and singing, thus ensuring children developed a wide repertoire that could be performed alongside their peers (Johnston, 2017). These broadcasts were supported by the Department of Education, with notated scores being published initially in the *Education Gazette* (Braatvedt, 2002) and later in song booklets (Johnston, 2017). While the broadcasts were immensely successful and continued until the early 1980s, they were not universally accessible, being restricted to schools with the required resources (Braatvedt, 2002).

Another significant development occurred in 1922, with a new school structure known as junior high schools being introduced to New Zealand's education system. Adopted from the American education system, junior high schools provided 3 years of vocationally focused tuition for children between Year 7 and 9 (Strachan et al., 1996). In 1932, however, this 3-year structure was reduced to 2 years, and the term "intermediate" was adopted (Lee & Lee, 2021). While no official justification was ever provided for why the 3-year programme was truncated to 2 years (Nolan & Brown, 2002), there have been various speculations, including the need for prudent spending in response to the Great Depression and the desire to appease secondary schools whose funding may have otherwise been impacted (Hinchco, 2004). As schooling at the time was only compulsory up until the age of 14, some additionally thought that the 2-year intermediate programme would encourage children to pursue further education, rather than dropping out after 3 years of intermediate schooling. With no clear government directive, however, the existence and function of junior high schools and intermediates were widely debated. As a result, philosophies differed between intermediates throughout the country. For some, the role of intermediates was preparatory, giving children access to specialist teachers and a wider range of subjects in preparation for secondary school. For others, the role of intermediates was exploratory, as it gave children the opportunity to try a wider range of subjects before specialisation in secondary school. There were also a portion of people who believed that intermediates served "non-academic" children who would not proceed to secondary school (Beeby, 1938).

In terms of operation, intermediate schools were essentially an amalgamation of primary and secondary structures. Like the primary school structure, children were organised in classrooms led by a generalist teacher; at the same time, children also worked with specialist teachers and moved between purpose-built spaces (Ward, 2000). Specialist subjects occurred through manual and technical instruction, which, as already discussed, provided girls with opportunities for cooking, sewing and laundry, and boys with opportunities for woodwork and metalwork (Watson, 1964). While this programme was initially used to determine whether children were better suited to academic or practical study (Beeby, 1938), manual and technical instruction enabled a broader curriculum to be enacted. A broader curriculum was additionally more feasible at intermediate schools; their slightly longer school days enabled each subject to be given an allocated timeslot, ensuring specialist teachers were fully utilised. The specialist teachers and purpose-built spaces available onsite also meant that children were not having to travel to and from external sites for manual instruction, as children at

primary schools were required to do (Watson, 1964). Alongside broader opportunities within the curriculum, intermediate schools also offered a wider range of extracurricular activities (Beeby, 1938), particularly in music and sport (New Zealand Intermediate School Principals Association, 1984), due to having a larger number of children of a similar age (Crouse & McGee, 1989). In terms of music, musicals and productions were often promoted, in addition to choir, orchestra, and small instrumental groups (Crouse & McGee, 1989, p. 17; Milburn et al., 1977).

While the intermediate model introduced specialist teachers, music continued to be taught by generalist teachers. Then, between 1944 and 1946, the Department of Education appointed eight specialist teachers in music. These specialists taught in several different schools throughout Auckland, Taranaki, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin. The intention behind these appointments was twofold. Firstly, children would be provided with specialist tuition in music. Secondly, generalist teachers would be provided with ongoing opportunities for professional development, which would allow them to improve their own musical skills through observation. Nevertheless, generalist teachers were unable to develop musical skills through observation, and the majority also chose to disregard follow-up activities given by the specialist teacher. Therefore, while specialist teachers were successful in enacting the music curriculum, it was concluded that the provision and enactment of music education would revert almost immediately if these specialist roles were discontinued. There seemed to be two remaining options: either to equip all generalist teachers with skills required for music or to appoint enough specialist teachers to ensure that every school could offer the music curriculum as it was intended. Representatives from the Department of Education were quick to acknowledge that it would not be possible to appoint this number of specialist teachers, presumably due to the associated cost and the limited number of teachers available. The remaining option was therefore to support generalist teachers in their efforts to enact music (Braatvedt, 2002).

To address this, music advisors were appointed throughout the country between 1961 and 1964 to provide ongoing support and training for generalist teachers (Paul, 2016). While these music advisors did offer a range of professional development opportunities (Braatvedt, 2002), by the end of the decade, they had not yet visited the majority of primary schools (Tait, 1970). As a result, the provision of music education at this time continued to be dictated by the skillset of each generalist teacher. Generalist teachers who were skilled in music were

found to provide rich opportunities for music-making in the classroom, which allowed their students to develop a wide range of musical skills, including musical literacy. In contrast, teachers with little skill in music focused on student enjoyment and musical appreciation (Tait, 1970). As the more affluent schools were often staffed by more qualified and experienced teachers (Watson, 1964), a relationship was also established between children's access to music education and the socioeconomic status of the school that they attended. Several other developments occurred throughout the 1970s, including the placement of composers and musicians in schools. Having specialist expertise in music, composers and musicians were able to work directly with children, lead various musical ensembles, and assist generalist teachers in both planning and enacting music in the classroom. While both of these initiatives were deemed successful, they were limited to select schools and were eventually abolished due to financial constraints (Paul, 2016).

During the 1990s, music education continued to be enacted differentially due to the lack of teacher training, the diversity of teachers' skills, and the expanding curriculum, which featured over fifteen different subjects and resulted in the arts often being sidelined (Russell-Bowie, 1999). As a result, students only received a small amount of music education, often without any instrumental opportunities (Buckton, 1998). Inequitable provision was highlighted in a report produced by the Education Review Office (ERO):

[An] emphasis on “window-dressing” can occur in music. Schools with an excellent music programme often present public performances of a high standard. There are also some schools which put emphasis on singing at prizegiving, or the annual presentation of an operetta, or performances of the school choir, and this is the only music the student participates in at school. The high quality of these public performances can be the result of carefully selecting who will take part, or of thorough training of performers. All students do not have the opportunity to develop through the planned delivery of the national music syllabus. (Education Review Office, 1995, pp. 13–14)

The 2000s saw a similar trend, with the majority of schools offering music through short periods of group singing, with little instruction being given (Thwaites, 2003). Musical opportunities continued to vary between schools, with only 58.8% of primary and intermediate schools offering any type of ensemble (Nyce, 2009). Generalist teachers continued to indicate a lack of confidence, often having little exposure to music education

beyond their own primary school experience. Teachers shared their frustrations about the lack of support, knowledge, and resources available, with many advocating that music should be solely taught by specialists (McGee et al., 2004). In 2002, a new secondary school qualification was introduced, known as the National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA). This replaced the previous National Certificate and became a prerequisite for university entrance. Interestingly, music was initially excluded from the list of subjects needed for university entrance (Thwaites, 2009).

In 2012, research indicated that half of the students at primary and intermediate levels were musically illiterate, having received no form of musical literacy despite requirements in the curriculum (Nyce, 2012). This may explain why only half of the students in Year 4 met the achievement objectives for music (Ministry of Education, 2016). Some have argued that the decline of resources and limited time allocated for music during ITE had resulted in “music education at primary schools [being] a privilege for a few, rather than a right for all” (Carson & Rodgers, 2016). These sentiments are indicated in my previous research (Browne, 2017), where music educators pointed out that students from low socioeconomic backgrounds are often excluded from a quality music education, with enactment being “non-existent” and inconsistent between each level. One participant shared the following:

Many schools have no programs from Y9 that will actually take a student through to a level by the end of Y13 that will enable them to begin a university undergraduate music degree. This doesn't seem to be true for subjects such as chemistry or maths. (Browne, 2017, p. 155)

While this literature provides a brief historical account of music education in New Zealand, it remains unclear who has access to music education and what factors enable or constrain this access. There have additionally been several policy developments over the last few decades that have significantly influenced the provision of education. To give a contextual understanding of these policies, the next section explores the introduction of neoliberal ideologies. After an initial discussion of the Tomorrow's Schools policy, school choice is then considered, followed by the National Standards policy and various other policies that have promoted privatisation within the public system.

Neoliberalism and education

Prior to Tomorrow's Schools, education in New Zealand was based on a centralised system, which was managed through the Department of Education and twelve district educational boards. These boards were responsible for managing staff, resources, and the property of each school within their region. While this system ensured that all schools received the same level of resourcing, it was criticised for failing to meet the needs of each individual school. There were also concerns about inefficiency, as decisions were often delayed by bureaucratic procedures. Principals additionally disliked being removed from the decision-making process, particularly when it came to staffing (Wylie, 2012).

To address these concerns and foster community engagement, this centralised system was dismantled through the Tomorrow's Schools policy. As such, the Department of Education was abolished, alongside the twelve district boards (Barry, 2006). Under this new policy, each school would be governed by a locally elected board of trustees, made up of parents whose children attended the school. These boards were to be responsible for all operational aspects of a school, including financial management, the employment of staff, property and building maintenance, and the school's overall strategic direction (Wylie, 2012). With schools and parents working in partnership, it was thought that each school would be better equipped to respond to the needs of their community. However, problems arose as not all parents had knowledge or experience in management, with these skills being strongly linked to social class. Further inequality ensued, particularly at low socioeconomic schools (Carpenter, 2008; Codd et al., 1990), but the government was no longer accountable, as this responsibility had been transferred to individual boards of trustees and therefore, the staff and community of each school (Court & O'Neill, 2011). Principals were consequently positioned as chief executive officers (CEOs) who were responsible for managing staff and ensuring that performance targets were met (Grummell & Lynch, 2016). Teaching staff, on the other hand, were positioned as "skilled technicians" who were motivated by individual employment agreements and performance indicators rather than the traditional values of the profession (Codd, 2010).

The Tomorrow's Schools policy has since been described as "radical" (Wylie, 2012, p. 88), marking the introduction of neoliberalism to New Zealand's education system. As discussed in Chapter 1, neoliberalism is a political ideology that promotes choice, competition, and efficiency. While neoliberalism has been theorised in different ways, it is commonly

understood through the policy technologies of managerialism, marketisation, performativity, and privatisation (Ball, 2003b). A brief description of these policy technologies are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Policy technologies of neoliberalism

Managerialism	Marketisation	Performativity	Privatisation
A management culture, where the role of the government is reduced in favour of self-managing entities.	The promotion of a market like environment to foster competition and choice.	A performance culture, focused on measurement, and accountability.	The adoption of strategies from the private sector or outsourcing directly to the private sector.

The policy technology of managerialism refers to a management culture, where practices of the private sector are adopted to reduce expenditure and improve efficiency (Shepherd, 2017; Thrupp & Archer, 2003). Central to this culture, is the notion that bureaucratic procedures should be removed and the role of the government reduced, in favour of creating independent and self-managing entities (Deem & Brehony, 2005; Court & O’Neill, 2011). Managerialism became particularly evident through the Tomorrow’s Schools policy, as the responsibilities of the state were outsourced to the boards of trustees at each school. As discussed above, this management culture led to the promotion of business values (Bottery, 2001), as boards of trustees became more focused on management, rather than teaching and learning (Wylie, 2012).

Following managerialism, is the policy technology of marketisation. Marketisation refers to the creation of a market-like environment, where choice and competition are fostered to improve overall outcomes (Perry & Lubienski, 2020). After Tomorrow’s Schools, changes were made to zoning policies, which allowed parents to choose which school their child attended. As parents were positioned as consumers who were free to “shop” for the best school for their child, schools were positioned as private businesses with a product to sell. In theory, this should have improved the quality of education as it forced schools to compete for enrolments and the subsequent funding that they bring (Ball, 2007; Burch, 2009). Ironically, the opposite has been achieved, with attention being diverted from teaching and learning to different marketing strategies, all to improve a school’s reputation and thus its market

position (Dumay & Dupriez, 2014; Wylie, 2012). Marketing strategies have included schools investing in advertisements in the newspaper and on the radio (Thrupp, 2015) and publicising their specialist facilities and the range of extracurricular activities on offer (Gorard, 2018). Other strategies have included large investments to update classrooms and administration blocks, purely to improve the aesthetic appeal of a school (Gordon, 2015). There is even evidence of schools investing in transportation with the sole purpose of recruiting children from other suburbs (Fiske & Ladd, 2000). Of particular interest, however, is the relationship between marketisation and music education, as musical performances are often included during open evenings, assemblies, and prize-giving events to demonstrate the status and prestige of a school (Utting, 2022). While this is clearly a strategy to attract prospective parents, it is also a strategy designed to attract middle-class parents in particular, as music education is typically valued by this social group.

For schools to compete successfully within a market environment, success in education needs to be measured and compared (Codd, 2010). In the business sector, success is dictated by performance and managed through efficiency, that is, the ability of an individual or business to meet strategic goals and pre-set targets with minimal inputs (time, energy) and maximal outputs (money; Ball, 2003b). In this context, decisions, actions, or activities are viewed in terms of investment, with value being attributed based on financial returns (Ball, 2015). When this ideology was applied to education, the pursuit of knowledge was abandoned in favour of obtaining measurable skills, specifically ones perceived as contributing to the economy (Locke, 2015). As discussed in Chapter 1, this led to the prioritisation of subjects such as reading, writing, and mathematics, with student achievement in these subjects being used to dictate the success and quality of a school and therefore its position in the education market (Holloway & Brass, 2018).

This culture of performance and accountability is referred to as performativity. Ball (2023b) explained,

Performativity is a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation that employs judgements, comparisons and displays as means of incentive, control, attrition and change – based on rewards and sanctions (both material and symbolic). The performances (of individual subjects or organizations) serve as measures of productivity or output, or displays of “quality”, or “moments” of promotion or

inspection. As such they stand for, encapsulate or represent the worth, quality or value of an individual or organization within a field of judgement. (p. 216)

The role of performativity became particularly apparent through the introduction of the National Standards policy in 2008. This policy required all primary schools to publicly report student achievement in reading, writing, and mathematics. Achievement was determined by generalist teachers, who made an overall teacher judgement (OTJ) as to whether children were achieving “above,” “at,” “below,” or “well below” the expected standard. Data were then collated across classrooms, thus providing an indication of how an entire school measured against this 4-point scale. This created an environment where the performance of each school could be measured, compared, and ultimately ranked (Thrupp, 2018a). While achievement was dictated by a range of factors, including socioeconomic status (Thrupp, 2018b), these rankings were believed to indicate the “quality” of education that a school offered; they therefore influenced the reputation of each school in the community. As parents continued to seek the best educational experiences for their children, these rankings had significant implications for student enrolment, thus dictating the level of funding that a school received (McMaster, 2013). This created a high-stakes environment where schools were pressured to improve achievement in numeracy and literacy, not only to secure funding but also to maintain it.

Although National Standards focused specifically on numeracy and literacy, this policy impacted the provision and enactment of the entire curriculum. Schools were found to allocate “uninterrupted” class time to reading, writing, and mathematics, often in the morning when children were alert and engaged (Thrupp, 2013). However, other subjects, such as music, were either omitted or pushed to the afternoon, when children were tired and struggling to focus (P. O’Connor, 2020b; Thrupp & White, 2013). This reinforced a hierarchy of subjects within the curriculum, which positioned some subjects as more valuable than others and ultimately resulted in a narrower curriculum being enacted (Bonne, 2016; Irwin, 2018; Webb, 2016). The prioritisation of numeracy and literacy also impacted resourcing and professional development. Resourcing stagnated for almost a decade, with no new resources being produced in music during the regime of National Standards (Browne, 2022). Resources that were previously available, such as the Kiwi Kid Song Collection, were discontinued (Carson & Rodgers, 2016), alongside other support mechanisms such as the Artists in

Schools programme (T. Martin et al., 2017), district music advisors (L. Freeman, 2020), and funding that was previously available for professional development in the arts (Irwin, 2018).

Privatisation is another aspect of neoliberalism that has infiltrated education and shaped how it is accessed and enacted (Powell, 2014). Ball and Youdell (2007) explained that privatisation exists in two forms: endogenous and exogenous. The endogenous form refers to privatisation “in” education, where the values and strategies of the private sector are adopted; the exogenous form refers to the privatisation “of” education, where responsibilities such as transport, food, and cleaning are contracted out to the private sector. Encompassed by both forms of privatisation is outsourcing, where private contractors, businesses, and even charities are used to enact parts of the curriculum, thus promoting business ideals of choice and efficiency (Powell, 2015). Outsourcing has become increasingly popular and is promoted in the United Kingdom, the United States, Colombia, and the Philippines as providing higher-quality educational experiences (Ball & Youdell, 2007).

In New Zealand, outsourcing has become common in primary schools (Powell, 2014), particularly for learning areas such as health and physical education, as well as the arts (Thrupp et al., 2020). For instance, Jellybeans Music is a business that offers music programmes to primary schools throughout New Zealand and Australia. For approximately \$40.00 per child, this business will provide an entire term of music classes enacted by a specialist teacher. This fee also includes the provision of any required resources such as instruments (Jellybeans Music, n.d). As generalist teachers may lack the skills and confidence to enact the full curriculum, outsourcing provides one possible solution (Spittle et al., 2022). The problem is that external providers may be inexperienced and lack an understanding of education or the New Zealand Curriculum (Powell, 2019). These providers may also introduce ideologies that do not align with the values of the school (Macdonald, 2011), and they may even contradict pedagogy and classroom practice (Powell, 2019). This has created an environment where generalist teachers, regardless of their level of confidence, may be unable to teach parts of the curriculum (Randall, 2023), thus losing opportunities to teach and further develop their skills (Powell, 2019). As teachers have become de-professionalised, the public sector has become overly dependent on private actors (Macdonald, 2011). Outsourcing is consequently seen as more efficient than investing in the resources required to support generalist teachers to enact the entire curriculum (Thrupp et al., 2020).

Another example of outsourcing in New Zealand is evident through the Creatives in Schools programme. Funded by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture and Heritage, this programme was introduced in 2019 and created partnerships between artists and schools (Ministry of Education, 2021b). Artists were contracted for up to 20 weeks to deliver an arts project at a specific school (Ministry of Education, 2023d). While this programme was described as “a powerful example of how to deliver to the school arts curriculum in the 21st century” (Oakden & Spee, 2023, p. 10), it was not promoted as a way to enact the arts curriculum. Instead, the Creatives in Schools programme was publicised as a means of enhancing well-being and improving transferable skills such as communication, collaboration, and creative thinking, while also fostering employment pathways in the arts (Ministry of Education, 2022b). Although additional funding for the arts was welcomed by the sector, the programme was criticised for outsourcing the arts curriculum, rather than equipping generalist teachers with the skills to enact it (G. O’Connor & Rush, 2020; Schwalger, 2021).

The most overt form of privatisation in music education occurs through private tuition with a specialist teacher. Private tuition usually occurs through individual lessons, although some contractors also offer group lessons for a reduced fee, both of which children need to come out of class to attend. While private tuition operated long before the introduction of neoliberal ideologies, it has become increasingly common for private contractors to operate in schools. This is interesting, given that the Ministry of Education currently funds two different programmes to ensure that children can access specialist tuition. The first programme is known as Out of Hours Music and Arts (OOHMA), and it was introduced in the 1950s to provide specialist tuition in the arts to primary and intermediate schools throughout New Zealand (Braatvedt, 2002). However, this programme is not available to every school but instead operates through one host school in each area. As tuition occurs outside of the school day, children from the area can access tuition by travelling to their host school. While 56,000 hours of tuition are funded overall, hours allocated to each school differ significantly, as do the types of tuition and even instruments offered (Ministry of Education, 2023g). As a result, some schools have chosen to use these funded hours to subsidise the cost of lessons, with parents having to pay the remainder of the fee (Chumko, 2021b). According to the Ministry of Education (2023g), fees may range between \$60.00 and \$150.00 per year; however, anecdotal evidence suggests that they may be as high as \$240.00 per year. While these fees are at the discretion of each board of trustees, the Ministry of Education indicates that children from low socioeconomic schools should be prioritised and that lessons should be

offered to these children at no cost. It is important to note, though, that even if lessons are offered free of charge, the cost of hiring or purchasing an instrument is still prohibitively expensive.

A programme similar to OOHMA was established at secondary level; initially known as the *Orchestral Music in Schools* programme, and now known as the *itinerant programme* (New Zealand Post Primary Teachers' Association, 2023). Through this programme, positions were created for specialist music teachers to travel between schools and offer group tuition during the school day. Initially, tuition was restricted to classical instruments, such as violin, cello, flute, and clarinet. It has since evolved to include tuition in voice, drums, guitar, and even music technology (Camilleri et al., 2009), although choice of instruments are ultimately up to the discretion of the specialist music teacher who is the head of department (Utting, 2022). As performance has become a core component of the New Zealand Curriculum, the itinerant programme is essential to enacting the curriculum (Tait, 1970), particularly for NCEA. At the time of writing, students are required to perform both individually and within a group. By Year 11, students are expected to perform at a level equivalent to having 3 years of itinerant tuition for NCEA Level 1. The problem is that the number of itinerant teaching hours that schools are allocated is dictated by the size of its roll, regardless of how many students choose to enrol in tuition. As a result, students typically receive 20 minutes of group tuition per week, which is unlikely to develop the level of skills required for NCEA (Swindells, 2017; Utting, 2022).

In response, some schools charge parents for itinerant tuition, either to provide opportunities for more students to access tuition, have smaller groups, or even to supplement the amount of tuition time that students receive (Donaldson, 2012). K. Carter (2003) provided an example of this, where a student was receiving 20 minutes of group tuition through the itinerant music programme. To secure 30 minutes of tuition, their parents paid for 10 minutes of private tuition to be added to the end of the group lesson, ensuring that the student had one-on-one time with the itinerant teacher after the group lesson. While this may seem a logical solution, state schools in New Zealand are prohibited from charging fees to enact the curriculum. As the itinerant programme is a core component of the music curriculum, it is illegal for schools to charge for itinerant tuition (Ministry of Education, 2020c). If children are unable to succeed in music education from itinerant tuition alone, this model is clearly not fit for

purpose, and the notion that private tuition is required to progress in music is thereby reinforced.

Education in New Zealand

In New Zealand, it is compulsory for children aged between 6 and 16 years old to either attend school or be homeschooled. There are three different types of schools – state, state-integrated, and private – all of which receive different sources of funding. State schools are funded by the government and are considered free, excluding additional costs such as stationery, uniforms, or extracurricular expenses. State-integrated schools are also government funded, but they charge fees to include a special character element, such as a particular religion or educational methodology. Private schools are not government funded and consequently charge quarterly or annual fees (New Zealand Immigration, 2019). State and state-integrated schools are funded through three different streams of governmental funding, known as operational funding, property funding, and salary funding (Ministry of Education, 2022e). When this study was conducted, operational funding was determined by a school's decile – a rating between 1 and 10 that indicates the socioeconomic status of the geographical community according to the census (Codd & P. Adams, 2005). This resulted in low-decile schools being allocated a larger proportion of government funding (Thrupp, 2008b) to compensate for student needs and the inability of the community to contribute financially through donations and fundraisers (Cobb, 2019). Despite this, high-decile schools have substantially more funding per student (Carpenter, 2008; Wylie, 2013).

The use of the decile system has been highly contested, as these ratings merely represent the socioeconomic makeup of the community rather than the school population; they therefore often inaccurately represent the needs of each school (McLeod, 2015; Thrupp & Alcorn, 2011). The public has also misinterpreted these ratings as indicating the quality and social status of the school (Gordon, 2015; Thrupp, 2008b), resulting in parents relocating their children to schools with higher decile ratings (Wylie, 2012). This has led to the development of an “equity index,” which is intended to replace the decile system in 2023. This index will take into account a number of factors (student ethnicity, history with governmental organisations such as Oranga Tamariki and Work and Income, the age of the mother, and the criminal history of the father) in order to ascertain the support and resources required by each

school (S. Collins, 2019; Cooke, 2019; Ministry of Education, 2019a). It is unknown whether current disparities in funding actively contribute to differential access to music education, as schools may be financially unable to enact an enabling curriculum. This study aims to address this gap by examining how the curriculum is enacted to determine factors which enable or constrain access to the music curriculum.

Another factor that influences children's access to music education, may be who enacts the curriculum or the structure of the school itself. In New Zealand, there are several different school structures, which can be categorised as contributing primary, full primary, composite, or intermediate. Contributing primary schools offer education to students up to Year 6, while full primary schools offer education to students up to Year 8. Intermediate schools solely provide education to Year 7 and 8 students, and composite schools offer education from Year 0 to Year 13 (Ministry of Education, 2020f). At these levels, the curriculum is taught by generalist or specialist teachers. Generalist teachers are required to hold a current practising certificate, be registered with the Education Council of Aotearoa New Zealand, and have a qualification in initial teacher education; these requirements are intended to ensure "quality teaching and ethical and professional behaviour in New Zealand" (Cobb, 2019, p. 3). Specialist teachers are usually highly trained and qualified in a specific subject; however, they may not have completed ITE and therefore cannot be a registered teacher. In these situations, a Limited Authority to Teach (LAT) may be granted, ensuring the Education and Training Act (2020) is followed and professional standards are upheld (Ministry of Education, 2019b). In the context of music education, differing levels of confidence and competence are evident between generalist and specialist teachers, which leads to different musical opportunities being available for students depending on their teacher's skill set (Ministry of Education, 2016). For this reason, it is important to gain a clearer understanding of how teacher confidence and competence inhibits access to music education.

Music in the arts curriculum

Through the New Zealand music curriculum, students are intended to develop the skills to "sing, play instruments, create and improvise, read symbols and notations, record sound and music works and analyse and appreciate music" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 21). This is realised through four interrelated strands, defined as key areas of learning (Ministry of Education, 2000, p. 14). These strands include the following:

- **Developing practical knowledge in music (PK):** Developing skills to compose, transpose, transcribe, improvise, read and write music using notation and respond to sound through listening, moving, singing and playing.
- **Developing ideas in music (DI):** Developing aural skills, and using styles, genres and previous experiences to inform compositions, arrangements and improvisations.
- **Communicating and interpreting in music (CI):** Ability to prepare, perform, record and reflect on performances both individually and within an ensemble setting.
- **Understanding music in context (UC):** Understanding the purpose of music in society and throughout history.

These strands are realised through eight levels of achievement objectives. By the end of Year 8, students are expected to be achieving between Levels 3 and 5, unless they have special learning needs or English is their second language (Ministry of Education, 2007). Achievement objectives for Levels 1–5 are outlined in Table 2 (Ministry of Education, 2007, pp. 56–60).

Table 2: Achievement objectives from the New Zealand Curriculum²

	Understanding music in context	Developing practical knowledge	Developing ideas	Communicating and interpreting
Level 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will explore and share ideas about music from a range of sound environments and recognise that music serves a variety of purposes and functions in their lives and in their communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will explore how sound is made, as they listen and respond to the elements of music: beat, rhythm, pitch, tempo, dynamics, and tone colour. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will explore and express sounds and musical ideas, drawing on personal experience, listening, and imagination. Students will explore ways to represent sound and musical ideas. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will share music making with others. Students will respond to live and recorded music.
Level 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will explore and share ideas about music from a range of sound environments and recognise that music serves a variety of purposes and functions in their lives and in their communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will explore how sound is made and changed, as they listen and respond to the elements of music and structural devices. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will improvise, explore, and express musical ideas, drawing on personal experience, listening, and imagination. Students will explore ways to represent sound and musical ideas. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will share music making with others, using basic performance skills and techniques. Students will respond to live and recorded music.
Level 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will identify and describe the characteristics of music associated with a range of sound environments, in relation to historical, social, and cultural contexts. Students will explore ideas about how music serves a variety of purposes and functions in their lives and in their communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will explore and identify how sound is made and changed, as they listen and respond to music and apply knowledge of the elements of music, structural devices, and technologies. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will express and shape musical ideas, using musical elements, instruments, and technologies in response to sources of motivation. Students will represent sound and musical ideas in a variety of ways. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will prepare and present brief performances of music, using performance skills and techniques. Students will respond to and reflect on live and recorded music.

² Adapted from *The New Zealand Curriculum*, by the Ministry of Education, 2007. Learning Media. Copyright 2007 by the Ministry of Education.

	Understanding music in context	Developing practical knowledge	Developing ideas	Communicating and interpreting
Level 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will identify and describe the characteristics of music associated with a range of sound environments, in relation to historical, social, and cultural contexts. Students will explore ideas about how music serves a variety of purposes and functions in their lives and in their communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will apply knowledge of the elements of music, structural devices, and technologies through, integrating aural, practical, and theoretical skills. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will express, develop, and refine musical ideas, using the elements of music, instruments, and technologies in response to sources of motivation. Students will represent sound and musical ideas in a variety of ways. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will prepare, rehearse, and present performances of music, using performance skills and techniques. Students will reflect on the expressive equalities of their own and others' music, both live and recorded.
Level 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will compare and contrast the characteristics of music associated with a range of sound environments, in relation to historical, social and cultural contexts. Students will investigate how music serves a variety of purposes and functions in their lives and in their communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will apply knowledge of the elements of music, structural devices, stylistic conventions, and technologies through integrating aural, practical and theoretical skills. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will use musical elements, instruments, technologies, and conventions to express, develop, and refine structured compositions and improvisations. Students will represent compositions and improvisation frameworks, using appropriate conventions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Students will prepare, rehearse, and present performances of music, using a range of performance skills and techniques. Students will reflect on the expressive qualities of their own and others' music, both live and recorded.

The New Zealand Curriculum provides a non-prescriptive framework, which gives “a sense of national direction for local decision making rather than specifying what must be learned” (Hipkins, 2011, p. 1). This gives each school the flexibility to create a curriculum in response to the context and culture of the school and its community (Doig, 2007; Mutch, 2009). This has been praised by some for focusing on the child rather than content, while it has been criticised by others for only responding to students’ interests and being difficult to implement for beginning teachers who may not have enough curricular knowledge (Cowie et al., 2009). The enactment of the music curriculum can be additionally challenging to generalist teachers, who often lack confidence and the skills required (Ministry of Education, 2016). The literature suggests this is due to the limited time allocated to music in ITE (Heinrich, 2012), with some tertiary institutions only allocating 6 to 8 hours over a 3-year period (Carson & Rodgers, 2016; Mansfield, 2010). Trinick and Joseph (2017) noted that many students completing ITE have no prior musical knowledge, often being unable to sing solo or in a group setting. It is suggested that limited skills paired with the minimal time allocated has resulted in teachers lacking the skills, knowledge, and understanding required to teach music.

At a secondary level, students are expected to complete NCEA (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2020a). This is offered at three different levels, with Level 2 being a requirement for most jobs (Bruce, 2016) and Level 3 providing entrance into tertiary education (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2020b). In the context of music education, this is a significant barrier, as the achievement standard for Level 3 solo performance is equivalent to Grade 6 performance (New Zealand Music Examinations Board, 2020), which students are unlikely to achieve without private tuition (Wenden, 2018). Despite this, the framework of NCEA is flexible, enabling teachers to choose standards for students to complete. In practice, however, this has resulted in some schools entirely omitting music theory (Wenden, 2018).

To pursue music education at a tertiary level, students are additionally required to have extensive knowledge and performance skills prior to admission (Carruthers, 2005). This is described as “good musical literacy and notational skills” (University of Canterbury, 2020, p. 47) and a familiarity with all major and minor keys and treble, alto, tenor, and bass clefs (New Zealand School of Music, 2020), equating to Grade 5 theory (New Zealand School of Music, 2020; University of Waikato, 2020). It is interesting to note that this knowledge is not required in the secondary school curriculum. Additionally, other subjects at tertiary level do not seem to require students to have such extensive prerequisite knowledge.

School context and inequality

When discussing the provision and enactment of the curriculum, it is important to acknowledge the role of context. While state schools all adhere to the same overarching policies, each school is unique, with its own culture, values and practices. These practices are influenced by a range of contextual factors, all of which have significant implications for teaching and learning (Thrupp & Alcorn, 2011).

Context, however, has been understood and theorised in different ways. Braun et al. (2011) theorised that there are four different contextual factors to consider, including, situated, professional, material, and external. They defined situated contexts as the geographical location of a school, its history and student cohort. The values and experiences of teachers were referred to as the professional context, and the physical aspects of a school, such as the number of classrooms, the state of each building and the furniture and resources in each, were described as the material contexts. The legal requirements and responsibilities of a school were lastly detailed as the external context. These four contextual factors are thought to be constantly changing, as additional resources may be purchased, or new classrooms may be built. Braun et al. (2011) additionally argued that these contextual dimensions are often interlinked. For example, the geographical location of a school may influence the student cohort, as enrolments are partially restricted to families who are zoned for the school.

To the contrary, Thrupp (2018b) has a different understanding of context, as he regarded contextual factors as “those that are clearly not created by existing staff or reflective of their agency because they cannot be easily changed.” (p. 93). He therefore categorised contextual factors as history, area, and roll. History is defined as the historic leadership, staffing, resourcing and reputation of a school, while area describes the geographical location of a school and its relationship with surrounding schools. Roll was used to refer to the cohort of children that are enrolled at a school, specifically, their social class, ethnicity, and the proportion of children with physical or intellectual disabilities, or from refugee backgrounds. Roll however, also encapsulates the number of students enrolled, and whether the number of enrolments are consistent between years.

While these definitions of context vary, it is evident that different contextual factors exist. Contextual factors that are of interest to this study, include geographical location, decile

rating, and student cohort, as these factors influence class sizes, extracurricular activities, resources available, and the duration of lessons (Thrupp & Lupton, 2006). In particular, socioeconomic status still influences student achievement (Mills & Gale, 2011; Thrupp, 2018b), with children from low socioeconomic backgrounds being less likely to reach their academic potential (Carpenter, 2008; Duchesne & McMaugh, 2015; Gasson et al., 2017; Snook & O’Neil, 2014; Wylie, 2013). This is worrying, as increasing levels of poverty and inequality in New Zealand have resulted in families being unable to provide necessities, such as footwear, clothing, nutritious meals, healthcare, housing, and adequate heating (Carpenter, 2014; Carpenter & Osborne, 2014; Mills & Gale, 2010; Statistics New Zealand, 2019; Wylie, 2013). The lack of these resources directly inhibits growth and development (Duchesne & McMaugh, 2015; Duncanson et al., 2019), leading to poorer educational outcomes (Atwool, 2013).

Issues of poverty and inequality directly impact low decile schools, which feature high levels of transience, as families are forced to move houses when rents are increased (Wylie, 2013). An inadequate income often results in both parents working long hours at multiple jobs and therefore being unable to engage in their child’s education or provide rich educational experiences outside of the school curriculum (Duchesne & McMaugh, 2015; Wylie, 2013). At impoverished schools, teachers continue to invest time and resources in response to student behaviour, well-being, absences, punctuality, inappropriate clothing, or lack of learning materials, which in turn restricts teaching time (Alcorn & Thrupp, 2012; Thrupp & Lupton, 2006). In terms of curriculum, P. O’Connor (2014) noted that private schools often promote critical thinking through the incorporation of art subjects, like music, while public schools promote student compliance, often omitting the arts to focus on literacy and numeracy. These are some of the numerous reasons why low socioeconomic schools struggle to hire and retain experienced teachers (Wylie, 2013). It is unknown how these contextual factors may affect access to music education.

There also continues to be racial inequalities in New Zealand’s education system, particularly for Māori children. To understand this inequality, it is important to acknowledge Te Tiriti o Waitangi, also known as the Treaty of Waitangi, which is often referred to as the founding documents of New Zealand. Signed in 1840, this document intended to create an “equal” partnership between Māori and Pākehā, granting both parties the same rights and privileges as British citizens (Hill, 2006). Despite this, there remained notions of racial superiority, with

numerous policies being introduced to suppress and assimilate Māori (Walker, 2016). For instance, children were prohibited from speaking their native language from 1897 and were physically punished for speaking te reo Māori at school (Walker, 2016). It was not until 1987 when te reo Māori was recognised as an official language of New Zealand (Lourie, 2016). While there is now a general acceptance of te reo Māori, there continues to be some resistance, as some citizens deliberately mispronounce Māori names and places (Alves, 2019), or even heckle those that use simple greetings in te reo Māori (Molyneux, 2021).

In terms of education, Māori continue to be disadvantaged. Statistically, Māori are less likely to participate in early childhood education and have lower levels of school attendance and achievement (Ministry of Education, n.d.-a). Māori are additionally less likely to leave secondary school with an NCEA qualification (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2022). These statistics, however, have become somewhat of a self-fulfilling prophecy, stereotyping Māori children as underachievers. As a result, teachers have been found to have lower expectations for Māori children (Milne, 2014). There have also been more overt forms of racism towards Māori, with teachers making inappropriate remarks, mispronouncing children's names, and even prohibiting children from wearing carved pounamu (greenstone) or bone, both of which are considered a taonga (treasure) and hold cultural significance (Bishop & Berryman, 2006). In response to these findings, a programme known as Te Kotahitanga was developed, with the intention of improving Māori achievement in education (Bishop & Berryman, 2009). Alongside this programme, a national strategy for Māori education was developed, known as Ka Hikitia (Ministry of Education, 2014). The purpose of this strategy was to ensure that “Māori students [are] enjoying and achieving education success as Māori” (p. 2). To accomplish this, the strategy outlines a need for all Māori to “have their identity, language and culture valued and included in teaching and learning in ways that support them to engage and achieve success” (p. 2).

Through these developments and other education policies, New Zealand schools are now required to include te ao Māori (the Māori world) in their curriculum, and ensure that teachers honour their obligations under Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Eley & Berryman, 2020). This may be part of the reason why cultural music-making has become increasingly more common in New Zealand primary schools, with waiata and haka (traditional songs and movements) becoming part of a school's culture (Trinick & Dale, 2015). These forms of music-making not only provide an opportunity to celebrate culture, but also create a culturally responsive

learning environment where Māori identity is affirmed (Whitinui, 2007). Despite this, the extent of cultural music-making in New Zealand classrooms is relatively unknown.

Gaps in the literature

From this chapter, several gaps in the literature have been highlighted. With limited research being conducted on music education, particularly at a primary level, it is unclear how music education is accessed and enacted in New Zealand. The research that has been conducted suggests that children are not given equitable opportunities in music education, however, it is unknown who is given access and to what extent. There have additionally been several significant changes in education that may have influenced the enactment of the subject, including the removal of the National Standards policy. While international literature illustrates several factors that may restrict children's access to music-making, there are many aspects of the New Zealand education system that are unique and therefore require further investigation. To address these gaps in the literature, this study seeks to understand how music education is accessed and enacted in different school settings in Aotearoa New Zealand. It does so by examining how and by whom is the music curriculum enacted, who gets access to music education and to what extent, and the factors that enable or constrain access to music education.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a foundational understanding of the education system in Aotearoa New Zealand by outlining the establishment and development of state schooling. The chapter began by providing a historic overview of the curriculum, which illustrated the provision and enactment of music education based on the literature available up until 2020. This overview highlighted various developments in policy, including the evolution of manual and technical instruction, intermediate schooling, and other policies that either enabled or constrained children's access to music education. Of particular interest was the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools policy, which redefined not only the purpose of education but also the role of the state and the operation of each school. Consequences of this policy were then explored, demonstrating how ideals of competition, choice, and efficiency have caused

further inequality, reinforcing a hierarchy of subjects in the curriculum and positioning music as an “extracurricular activity,” available only to those who can afford it. The chapter concluded by discussing various inequalities and how these may influence children’s access to music education. To understand the relationship between social class and children’s access to the curriculum, the following chapter introduces the theoretical framework that underpins this study.

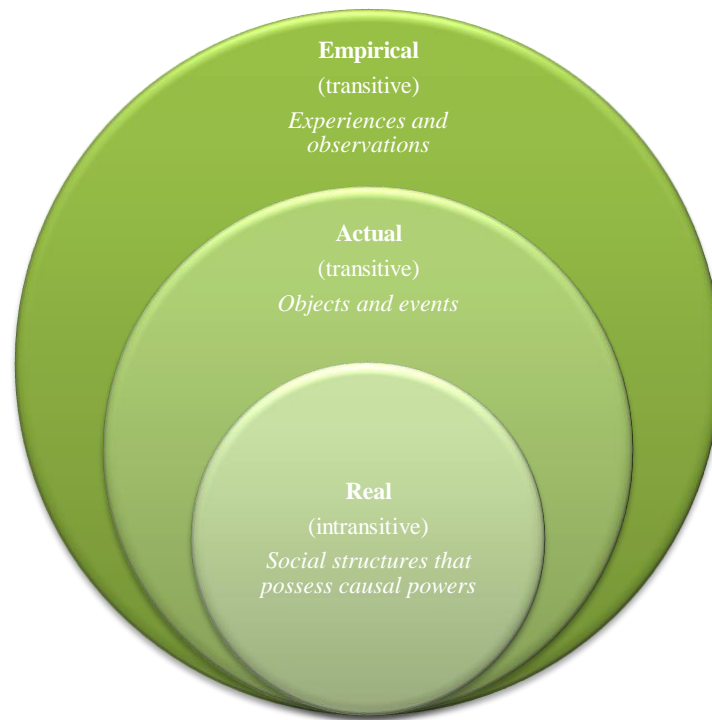
Chapter 3: Theoretical foundations

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the theoretical foundations that underpin this study. The chapter begins by introducing critical realism, discussing the nature of reality and how knowledge is created and understood. Critical realism is then discussed in the context of this study to highlight the potential to understand the various structures that impact children's access to music education. These structures are understood through Pierre Bourdieu's conceptual framework of capital, habitus, and field, which provides the means to identify and carefully examine these various structures.

Critical realism

Critical realism is a philosophical framework that provides a bridge between positivist and interpretivist paradigms (Kurki, 2009; Mingers, 2014). It does so by examining the relationship between social structures and human agency in order to understand and explain the occurrence of social events (Houston, 2010). Central to critical realism is the belief in a stratified reality that consists of three different layers or domains (Bhaskar & Lawson, 1998), known as *empirical*, *actual*, and *real* (O'Mahoney & Vincent, 2014). The first layer of this stratified reality is the empirical layer, which is framed around human experiences and observations (Houston, 2010). Through this layer, reality is open to the interpretation of each individual and is therefore subjective (A. J. Fletcher, 2017). The second layer is the actual layer, which refers to objects and events that occur independently of human experience (Bhaskar, 1998). This layer of reality suggests that events occur regardless of how we experience, perceive, or interpret them (A. J. Fletcher, 2017; Houston, 2010). The final layer is the real layer, and it is the deepest and most complex. Within this layer exist invisible social structures that possess "causal powers" or "generative mechanisms" (Bhaskar, 2008; Danermark et al., 2001), which either enable or constrain human experiences within the empirical and actual layers of reality (A. J. Fletcher, 2017; Houston, 2010). These three layers of reality are shown in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1. Three layers of reality adapted by Bhaskar



For critical realists, structures in the real domain are socially constructed and therefore intangible (Anderson, 2020). Despite this, the impact of these structures can be observed in the actual and empirical layers of reality, where they dictate the distribution of power and resources (Marks & O'Mahoney, 2014). For example, the economy is a structure that distributes resources to those from high socioeconomic backgrounds, giving these individuals more power and opportunities than those from a lower socioeconomic background (Bhaskar, 2010). These structures may therefore be either advantageous or disadvantageous to different social groups, either enabling or constraining actions that individuals can take (Anderson, 2020). Other social structures may be political, social, cultural, environmental, or even historical (Bhaskar, 2010; Marks & O'Mahoney, 2014). In an educational context, political and economic structures in the real layer dictate teaching and learning in the classroom in the actual and empirical layers of reality (Parra et al., 2021; Tikly, 2015).

Alongside constraining or enabling structures, critical realism recognises the role of human agency. Agency can be defined as an individual's decisions and actions that are made in response to social structures (Houston, 2010). Agency can be influenced, however, by various factors, including how individuals choose to identify themselves. For instance, when individuals choose to identify with their profession, they often adopt the values and perspectives associated with the role (Archer, 1996). This means that if an individual

identifies with being a teacher, they will likely adopt the values and perspectives of a teacher; this will then influence their agency and therefore the decisions and actions that they make. Agency is additionally influenced by existing structures of power, as individuals are defined by the sociocultural system into which they are born (Archer, 2017; Wynn & Williams, 2012). Therefore, “people choose what they do, but they make their choices from a structurally and culturally generated range of options – which they do *not* choose” (B. Carter & New, 2004, p. 3). As context informs both structure and agency, critical realists have argued that context must be taken into consideration to understand the world around us (Archer, 1996; Bhaskar, 2010). Critical realism has consequently been used as a framework to examine the role of context and how policy is enacted in different settings (Parra et al., 2021).

As critical realism acknowledges the role of underlying social structures and their generative mechanisms, this framework provides an opportunity to examine how music education is accessed and enacted in different school settings. Yet the challenge of employing a critical realist lens is that social structures are not apparent through the empirical and actual layers of reality (Bhaskar, 2008). These structures and mechanisms can therefore only be identified through theoretical investigation (Bhaskar, 2008). As access to music education is strongly tied to social class, this study uses the theories of Pierre Bourdieu to identify, examine, and understand how these structures operate.

Pierre Bourdieu

Pierre Bourdieu was a French sociologist, renowned for his theoretical understanding of social class (Medvetz & Sallaz, 2018). This understanding is framed by theoretical concepts of capital, habitus, and field. These concepts are discussed below in relation to music education, thus providing a rich theoretical framework to understand children’s access to music education.

Capital

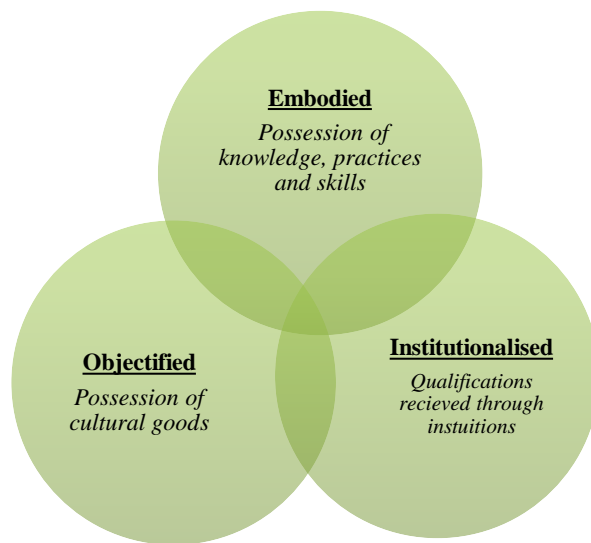
Bourdieu (2010) theorised that social class is dictated by capital, specifically the “usable resources and powers” that an individual possesses (p. 108). There are three different types of capital: economic, cultural, and social (Bourdieu, 1986). Economic capital can be defined as access to resources that can be directly converted into money (Bourdieu, 1986). These resources can be personally generated through employment or inherited in the form of money

or tangible assets, such as a house, boat, or luxury car (Bourdieu, 2010; Reay, 2004). Economic capital is highly sought after, as it provides access to resources and opportunities that may improve one's social standing. This is particularly true in education, as economic capital provides access to elite schools, which are believed to offer better educational opportunities. Alongside entry to elite schools, economic capital can enable participation in school events and extracurricular activities (Magnúsdóttir, 2015). In the context of music, economic capital is often considered a prerequisite of learning to play an instrument. This is due to the cost of purchasing or hiring an instrument, in addition to the ongoing expense of tuition and the provision of a space required to practice (Kong, 2021; Philpott, 2001). As a result, instrumental music-making is associated with the middle class (Bourdieu, 1986) and is therefore considered a more valuable form of cultural capital in comparison to other music-making (Pollard & Alexander, 2019).

Alongside economic capital, Bourdieu discussed the concept of social capital and how this also operates to reproduce society's inequalities. Social capital can be defined as connections to individuals or groups that possess economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2010). Consequently, social capital can be measured by the economic and cultural capital of an individual's network, in addition to the size of the network itself (Bourdieu, 1986). These networks can be advantageous, providing access to valuable resources either immediately or over a period of time (Bourdieu, 1986). For example, a network could grant "insider knowledge" that would not otherwise be publicly available (Rowe & Windle, 2012). This knowledge could then be used to gain access to specific schools, internships, or employment, all of which will lead to the development of economic and cultural capital (Ball, 2003a). As social capital is usually inherited from the family's name, class, or membership to a particular group, it can be difficult for the working class to develop this type of capital; as such, the middle class often maintains a social advantage (Bourdieu, 1986).

Lastly, Bourdieu discussed the concept of cultural capital. Cultural capital exists in three different forms known as *embodied*, *objectified*, and *institutionalised*. The embodied form of cultural capital refers to the possession of knowledge, practices, and skills deemed valuable by the dominant class. The objectified form of cultural capital refers to the possession of cultural goods, such as books, artwork, and musical instruments. Lastly, the institutionalised form refers to qualifications received through institutions (Bourdieu, 1986). Each form of cultural capital is shown in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2. Forms of cultural capital



These three forms of cultural capital can also be applied in the context of music education. Embodied cultural capital can refer to musical knowledge and skills, such as musical literacy, theory, history, analysis, performance, composition, improvisation, concert etiquette, musical taste, and familiarity with certain styles of music (DiMaggio & Useem, 2017; Green, 2010; Moore, 2014; Perkins, 2015; Trulsson, 2015). The objectified form of cultural capital can refer to musical instruments and other associated equipment, such as sheet music or music stands (Hall, 2018). Lastly, the institutionalised form of cultural capital can refer to musical qualifications, such as graded theoretical and practical examinations (Hall, 2018). Therefore, musical activities, such as playing the piano, are associated with high levels of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2010). This is due to the embodied knowledge and skills needed to play the instrument, alongside the objectified capital of owning a piano. Because of this, Bourdieu (1986) asserted that the ability to play an instrument is not the result of talent; rather, it is the result of cultural and economic capital being invested over a period of time. This may explain why the embodied form of cultural capital associated with music is unevenly distributed (Moore, 2012).

Like economic and social capital, cultural capital can be transmitted between generations; however, it can also be developed through education and cultural participation (O'Neill & Nash, 2005; Prieur & Savage, 2013). Cultural participation includes attending a concert, art gallery, or museum, or, in terms of education, participating in an extracurricular activity (Ball, 2003a). Given the cost associated with these activities, cultural participation is often dependent on economic capital and is therefore restricted to the middle class (Bourdieu,

2010). Despite this, Bourdieu (2010) argued that, even if the working class possessed sufficient economic capital, there are other entry requirements that inhibit participation. He explained that these requirements may include family tradition, early training, dress codes, or behaviour. These hidden entry requirements are another way that the working class are excluded from cultural participation (Bourdieu, 2010).

While economic, social, and cultural capital can be inherited or developed over time, they can also be invested in and converted. Different social classes tend to invest in different types of capital. For example, the middle class tend to economically invest in developing their children's cultural capital through education and cultural participation (Bourdieu, 2010). Through these experiences, children will likely develop embodied and objectified cultural capital, which will eventually lead to institutionalised capital through the obtainment of qualifications. These qualifications will grant access to higher-paying jobs, which then foster economic capital. Thus, economic capital is converted to cultural capital and then back to economic capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Codd et al., 1990). In contrast, working-class parents tend to invest in economic capital, resulting in a lower overall return (Bourdieu, 2010). Bourdieu (1986) noted that economic capital underpins these conversions and is therefore at the root of both cultural and social capital.

In the context of music education, economic capital is used to purchase musical instruments and acquire private one-on-one tuition with a specialist teacher. Through this tuition, both cultural and social capital are accrued, as students develop embodied skills and have access to a new social network (Kong, 2021). Capital gained through music education is highly valued, as it can provide entry to elite schools (Vincent & Ball, 2007), universities, or even programmes with limited enrolments (Gaztambide-Fernández et al., 2013; Pollard & Alexander, 2019). Consequently, music education is increasingly used as a tool by parents and schools to generate capital and improve social standing (Ball, 2003a; Crozier et al., 2011; Pollard & Alexander, 2019).

Habitus

Over time, embodied cultural capital develops into a personal habitus (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu (2010) defined habitus as a set of dispositions that are associated with each social class. He argued that these dispositions influence values, beliefs, and thoughts, thus informing an individual's tastes and behaviour, including posture, pronunciation, and speech (Bourdieu, 1998, 2010). In the context of music, Bourdieu (2010) stated that "nothing more

clearly affirms one's class, nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music" (p. 10). This is because certain types of music are associated with higher levels of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2010). For example, classical music is highly esteemed due to the complexity of the genre and its longstanding association with class, as it is typically consumed by those in the middle class (Bennett et al., 2008; Green, 2005; Wright & Finney, 2010). Popular music however is more commonly enjoyed across social classes, as it is relatively easy to access and understand. Popular music is therefore seen as less valuable in comparison (Green, 2011).

Alongside personal habitus, Bourdieu asserted that schools have an institutional habitus, which influences its ethos, structure, and practice (W. Atkinson, 2011; Mills, 2008). The problem is that not all forms of cultural capital are deemed legitimate, with educational institutions typically only recognising the cultural capital of the dominant class, namely, those who are already socially and economically advantaged. W. Atkinson (2011) explained that

some schools ... are focused entirely on academic achievement and preparation for university, whereas others offer more vocational and practical curricula and either prepare their pupils for the world of work or struggle as best they can with their limited capacities to them into the expanded, and distinctly stratified, post-compulsory sector. (p. 332).

The institutional habitus of each school can therefore influence lesson content, structure, and the educational opportunities for each student. It may also affect student engagement and achievement. This occurs when the habitus of the student and the institution are incompatible. For instance, a school that promotes academic achievement and tertiary pathways is compatible with those which define educational success through achievement (Wildhagen, 2010). Contrastingly, this type of school would be incompatible with those which define educational success through experiences or relationships. Alcorn and Thrupp (2012) suggested that an incompatible habitus can lead to schools with a high socioeconomic status focusing on achievement and low socioeconomic schools actively needing to convince students of the importance of achievement and qualifications. As a result, less time is typically spent on teaching and learning in low socioeconomic schools, thereby predisposing children at these schools to underachieve. For this reason, Bourdieu argued that education is a reproductive tool, typically reproducing society's inequities rather than addressing them (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

In music education this is also observed when the type of knowledge valued by the institution is different to that of the student. For instance, when classical music is privileged in the curriculum, children who already have an understanding of the genre are advantaged (Green, 2005). As discussed however, the problem is that familiarity with classical music is strongly tied to social class and is most likely a result of experiences outside of the classroom, such as private tuition (Green, 2011). Working class children are therefore less likely to succeed even when they are offered the same opportunities through the state system (Green, 2001). As a result, inequities continue to be reproduced as “the educational system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give.” (Bourdieu, 2018, p. 80).

Field

Bourdieu’s concept of the field is used to describe different social spaces. Likening this concept to a game, Bourdieu (1998) explained that each social space has its own set of rules or structures which value a specific type of capital. For example, in a business field, economic capital may be perceived to be more valuable; however, in an educational field, cultural capital may be preferred (Bourdieu, 2010). Each of these fields are characterised as having two opposing poles that correspond with the amount of capital that an individual possesses (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Therefore, an individual’s position on the field is determined by the volume of capital that they possess. The higher the volume of capital that an individual possesses, the higher position they will have on the field (Bourdieu, 1998). Just like a game, the actions available to each player on the field are dependent on their position (Bourdieu, 2010). Historically, this concept has been criticised as being structuralist because it presumes that behaviours are predetermined (Jenkins, 1982; Mills & Gale, 2007). Nevertheless, while possible actions are dependent on a player’s position on the field, the player has the agency to decide which action to take (Mills, 2008; Nash, 1993; Perkins, 2015). These actions will either advantage or disadvantage the player as they compete with others for the same resources (Söderman et al., 2015). Through these actions, it is possible for a player to accumulate enough capital to change their position on the field. This however is a rare occurrence, as players are more likely to move vertically from one field to another (Bourdieu, 2010).

Encapsulating these social spaces is a meta field known as the field of power. This field represents social class, with one’s position being dictated firstly by economic capital, and secondly by cultural capital. Like all other social spaces, the field of power is governed by a

unique set of rules that are assumed to be understood by all players. The problem is that not all players understand these rules or even know that they exist. This is because knowledge of these rules is dependent on the volume of capital possessed. Consequently, those who are already advantaged can strategically play the game to maintain their position of power, while those who are disadvantaged are unlikely to succeed, as they attempt to play the game without a rulebook (Bourdieu, 1977; 1990).

While the concept of field provides a theoretical tool to understand social mobility, these movements are complex and difficult to ascertain (Swartz, 1997). According to Green (2001), individuals may move between social classes or even belong to multiple classes simultaneously. For instance, someone may belong to a working-class family while also being employed in a middle-class profession. Furthermore, Green (2010) argued that cultural capital is not solely dictated by social class, but rather, the intersectionality of social class with various other factors such as ethnicity and gender. As these factors are beyond the scope of this study, field was not used as an analytical tool in the same way as capital and habitus. Instead, field was used to conceptualise social class and understand the decisions that parents made to positionally advantage their children.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the theoretical foundations that underpin this study. It began by presenting critical realism as an ontological framework, which argues that multiple layers of reality exist, some of which operate independent of human experience. To understand these layers of reality, theoretical concepts of capital, habitus, and field were discussed, which highlighted how the work of Pierre Bourdieu can be used in the context of music education. Building upon this theoretical foundation, the following chapter details the methodology that informed this study.

Chapter 4: Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the methodology, data collection methods, and forms of analysis that guided this study. The chapter begins by discussing case study research, highlighting the strengths and limitations of this framework before justifying why it was employed for this study. Each case is then introduced, along with an outline of the invitation process and how access was gained to each school. Following this, methods used for data collection are discussed, including the use of semi-structured interviews, surveys, focus groups, observations, documents, and field notes. This section also outlines the type and number of participants and discusses the differences between schools. The chapter concludes with a discussion of ethical considerations and how data were analysed to answer the research questions of “How is music education accessed and enacted in different school settings in Aotearoa New Zealand?” “How and by whom is the music curriculum enacted?” “Who gets access to music education and to what extent?” and “What factors enable or constrain access to music education?”

Case study research

Case study research provides researchers with the opportunity to gain “a holistic understanding of a problem, issue, or phenomenon within its social context” (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 256). It has become prominent in a variety of disciplines, particularly in the social sciences and education (Grauer, 2012; Short et al., 2017). As the name suggests, case study research is focused on a particular case, namely, a person, community, setting, organisation, or institution (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2016; Flick et al., 2004). In an educational context, this may extend to a specific student, classroom, school, or event (Stake, 2005). According to Stake (2005), there are three different types of case studies: intrinsic, instrumental, and multiple. Intrinsic case studies focus entirely on a particular case, while in an instrumental case study, the case is considered secondary to the phenomena or issues being explored. Multiple case studies refer to more than one case being conducted. Because the differences and similarities of each case can be compared and then contrasted, the chosen phenomena can be explored in greater detail (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Hennink et al., 2011; Short et al., 2017; Yin, 2014). For this reason, Stake (2005) explained that multiple case

studies are instrumental in design, as the focus remains on the underlying phenomena rather than on each individual case.

Within case study research, a range of data collection methods can be used (Matthews & Ross, 2010) to obtain either new or pre-existing data (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Data can be collected through documents, observations, interviews, and focus groups (Boblin et al., 2013). While methods can be either qualitative or quantitative in nature (Stake, 1995; Stake, 2005; Yin, 2004), case studies are more commonly associated with qualitative research, as they provide opportunities for rich and detailed research that carefully considers the historical, cultural, physical, social, economic, political, and ethical context of each case (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2013; Stake, 2005). Case study research is often used to enhance understandings of individuals and communities by exploring the relationship between the context and the case itself (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2013; Ramírez, 2016). As multiple data sources are used, multiple perspectives are represented, thereby giving participants a platform to share their thoughts and feelings in ways that help the researcher understand their actions (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2013; Ramírez, 2016; Simons, 2009). This subsequently allows readers of the research to experience what was observed and also promotes their understanding of complex issues (Grauer, 2012; Simons, 2009), including the cause and outcome of the chosen phenomena (Flyvbjerg, 2013).

Despite these strengths, case study research has also been criticised for being expensive to conduct due to the significant time involved, which is often outside the means of an individual researcher (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Stake, 2005). This time commitment can however be seen as an investment, as it enables rich and detailed data to be collected that is needed to fully understand the context of each case (Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier, 2013; Stake, 2005). In addition to being criticised as expensive and time-consuming, case study research has been critiqued for being difficult to replicate and susceptible to researcher bias, in that it tends to confirm the researcher's original thoughts (Flyvbjerg, 2013). Another critique of case study research is that it is unable to produce findings that can be generalised (Short et al., 2017) due to the small sample sizes used (Thomas, 2011). However, it is not the aim of case study research to provide generalisations or to understand the representation or occurrence of chosen phenomena in the wider population (Simons, 2009). Instead, the aim of case study research is to present rich data of a specific setting, which will inform practice or broader ideas (Flyvbjerg, 2013).

With these strengths and limitations in mind, I chose to use a multiple case study design. While this design meant that I was unable to provide generalised findings, it gave me the opportunity to gain a rich understanding of children's access to music education in different school contexts. This aligned with my theoretical framework of critical realism and enabled me to identify the different generative mechanisms and to understand how these operate in different school settings. Given the limited research conducted in music education, particularly in New Zealand, this design provided an opportunity to carefully consider the role of context, specifically, whether contextual factors, such as school structure, may influence children's access to the music curriculum. As case studies are well suited to answering "how" and "why" questions (Yin, 2014), this design additionally aligned with my research questions, which ask how music education is accessed and enacted in different school settings.

Introducing the cases

When conducting case study research, it is important to have a clear understanding of the scope of each case (Matthews & Ross, 2010), namely, what counts as the case and what counts as context (Flyvbjerg, 2013). Clear boundaries therefore need to be established in order to ensure the feasibility of the research (Baxter & Jack, 2008), particularly with regard to geographical location if travel is to be involved (Simons, 2009). I opted to limit this study to primary and intermediate schools in the Waikato region that were within a 60-kilometre radius of Hamilton city. To ensure that each case would provide the data needed to answer my research questions, it was important to consider schools with different contexts. As my interest is in state schools in the public system, other contexts, including private schools, state-integrated schools, and kura kaupapa, were excluded. Consideration was given, however, to decile ratings and school structure, as these contexts directly influence funding and resourcing. Schools associated with my employment at the time were additionally excluded due to potential researcher bias. This left 36 contributing and full primary schools and six intermediates to select from. Initially, I had intended to conduct four case studies as this would ensure that a range of contexts were explored, while still adhering to the scope of the doctoral degree. These four case studies were however reduced to three in response to the COVID-19 pandemic and the numerous lockdowns that the country experienced between 2020 and 2021. The selection criteria of these three cases are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Case study criteria

	Decile	Authority	Structure
School A	High (ideally 10)	Public	Contributing or full primary
School B	Any	Public	Intermediate
School C	Any	Public	Intermediate

School A: Tuatara School

Upon receiving ethics approval, I began searching for a contributing or full primary school of high socioeconomic status, which ranged between decile 8 and 10. From the 36 potential schools, 11 schools matched this criterion. These schools were placed on a list, with priority given to decile 10 schools. From this list, a school was randomly chosen and invited to participate via a formal letter in which I introduced myself and my research and outlined what would be required to participate (see Appendix C). This letter was emailed directly to the school’s administrator and principal. These email addresses were publicly available through both the Education Counts database and each school’s official website. From there, I was able to organise a meeting with the principal and begin the data collection process. A full description of Tuatara School is given in Chapter 5.

School B: Kākāpō Intermediate

Within the specified geographical location, six intermediate schools matched my criteria. Three of these intermediate schools were invited to participate via email (see Appendix C), all of which either declined participation or did not respond to my communication. When I was in the final stages of data collection for the first case study, I was approached by a sub-contractor who offered private instrumental tuition at Tuatara School. This teacher indicated that they were also teaching at one of the three remaining intermediates and that the specialist music teacher at this intermediate had heard of my research and was interested in participating. I then contacted the principal of the intermediate via email, inviting the school’s participation. After several weeks, I received an email from the intermediate’s specialist music teacher who indicated that the principal had given permission for the school to participate. After confirmation with the principal, this specialist music teacher volunteered to act as my point of contact and help facilitate data collection. A full description of Kākāpō Intermediate is given in Chapter 6.

School C: Pūkeko Intermediate

After conducting the first two case studies, I struggled to recruit a third school to participate. One of my supervisors shared that they had contacts within the senior leadership team of another potential intermediate school. I was fortunate that this supervisor was able to help facilitate a meeting with the deputy principal of the school. After this initial meeting, the deputy principal indicated that, while approval would still need to be sought from the school's principal, they would be happy to advocate on my behalf and anticipated that the principal would be in full support of this research. As predicted by the deputy principal, the principal gave consent for the school to participate, and I was able to begin the data collection process. A full description of Pūkeko Intermediate is given in Chapter 7.

Methods

To obtain rich data and fully explore how the music curriculum is accessed in different school contexts, qualitative data were collected through multiple methods between 2020 and 2021. These methods included semi-structured interviews, focus groups, surveys, observations, document analysis and field notes. Collectively, these methods were used to answer the research questions of “How is music education accessed and enacted in different school settings in Aotearoa New Zealand?” “How and by whom is the music curriculum enacted?” “Who gets access to music education and to what extent?” and “What factors enable or constrain access to music education?” From a critical realist perspective, the combination of these methods also provided the opportunity to access the actual and empirical domains of reality and understand how these domains may be impacted by generative mechanisms (Bhaskar, 2008; Bowen, 2009; Danermark et al., 2001; Flick, 2018; Liamputtong, 2012). Multiple methods also ensured that sufficient data were collected and that findings were corroborated between data sources, thus improving the validity of this research (Bowen, 2009; Flick, 2018; V. Wilson, 2014). A summary of the methods used are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Summary of methods and participants

Methods	Participants
Semi-structured interviews	Senior leadership team (principal, deputy principal) Teachers (generalist, specialist, itinerant, private contractors) Parents
Focus groups	Children
Surveys	Generalist and/or specialist teachers
Lesson planning	Generalist and/or specialist teachers
Observations	Teachers (generalist, specialist, itinerant, and private contractors)

Interviews

Interviews are a data collection method that occurs between the researcher, and the participant or group of participants. As one of the most common data collection methods in qualitative research (Flick, 2007), interviews can be conducted in a variety of ways, including face-to-face, via the telephone, or via the internet using applications such as Skype or Zoom (Matthews & Ross, 2010). During an interview, the researcher will use questions and dialogue to elicit information, thoughts, and feelings from the interviewee. Through this process, insight is given into the participants' lives (Lewis & Nicholls, 2014), allowing the researcher to better understand their perspective and the context in which the research is being conducted (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). From a critical realist perspective, this gives the researcher access to reality in the empirical domain as experienced by each participant. Despite these strengths, interviews also have several weaknesses; they are dependent on the participant's openness and honesty as well as the researcher's interpersonal skills. Marshall and Rossman (2016) asserted that rapport must be established within the first few minutes of the interview, otherwise participants may be unwilling or uncomfortable sharing their perspectives. Interviews have also been criticised as being inauthentic (Lewis & Nicholls, 2014), as they are difficult to replicate due to the impact of the researcher's presence (Marshall & Rossman, 2016).

The strengths and limitations of interviews were carefully considered when designing this research, including what structure the interviews should take. There are three different types of interview structures: structured, unstructured, and semi-structured. Structured interviews are conducted using a set of questions that are asked in the same order and manner for each interview (Matthews & Ross, 2010). These types of interviews are considered relatively simple to conduct (Thomas, 2011), as the role of the researcher is to guide conversation back to the list of set questions whenever conversation deviates from the intended topic. This approach additionally allows data to be more easily coded and compared, because participants' responses are already compartmentalised to some extent (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Despite these strengths, I decided against using structured interviews. As my research is focused on gaining a contextual understanding of children's access to music education, the scripted nature of these interviews would make it difficult to fully explore each context (C. Wilson, 2013). Unstructured interviews were also considered, as these are conducted conversationally and require no list of set questions (Thomas, 2011). This allows participants to direct the conversation, while the researcher listens (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011; Matthews & Ross, 2010). A criticism of unstructured interviews, however, is that, without guidance from the researcher, data may be irrelevant to the research questions (Rabionet, 2011). After taking this into account, semi-structured interviews were then considered. Semi-structured interviews are described as being both structured and flexible (Ahlin, 2019), as interviews are guided by a series of questions or topics, but the researcher is able to diverge from the script and ask follow-up questions (McIntosh & Morse, 2015). Galletta and Cross (2013) explained that this method is "sufficiently structured to address specific topics related to the phenomenon of study, while leaving space for participants to offer new meanings to the study focus" (p. 24). Participants are therefore able to discuss what is important or of interest to them, which may not have been thought of in advance by the researcher (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). As semi-structured interviews are commonly used to provide insight into different contexts (Thomas, 2011) and to understand participant's thoughts, feelings, experiences, and behaviours (Matthews & Ross, 2010), I felt that semi-structured interviews were best aligned with the aims of this research. Despite this, I was aware that the success of this method would be dependent on my own skills as a researcher, as I would need to give appropriate prompts and ask the right follow-up questions (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). Interview questions that were asked are presented in Appendices P–T.

Semi-structured interviews

To understand how the music curriculum is accessed and enacted, it was important to include a range of participants, as the empirical domain of reality could be perceived differently between each group of participants (Maykut & Morehouse, 2003). As a result, the principal, senior leadership team, generalist teachers, specialist teachers, itinerant teachers, private contractors, and parents were all invited to participate in a semi-structured interview. In total, 33 semi-structured interviews were conducted, as shown in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Number of semi-structured interviews

	Tuatara School	Kākāpō Intermediate	Pūkeko Intermediate	Total:
Principals	1	1	1	3
Deputy principal	0	0	1	1
Generalist teachers	3	3	2	8
Specialist teachers	0	1	3	4
Itinerant teachers / private contractors	2	4	4	10
Parents	2	2	3	7
Total:				33

While it was hoped that the number of semi-structured interviews conducted would be consistent between schools, this was not possible, being influenced by various factors. One factor included the structure of the school, as intermediate schools are provided with additional funding for specialist teachers. This meant that specialist music teachers were employed at both Kākāpō and Pūkeko Intermediate, whereas in comparison, Tuatara School was staffed solely by generalist teachers. As this study is focused on music education and, to some extent, the position of music in the curriculum, the specialist music teachers at Kākāpō and Pūkeko Intermediate were very supportive and even helped facilitate the data collection process. These teachers introduced me to different staff around the school and encouraged their colleagues to participate in semi-structured interviews. On reflection, I believe this is

why a higher number of semi-structured interviews were conducted at Kākāpō and Pūkeko Intermediate in comparison to Tuatara School. It is also important to note that the participation of generalist and specialist teachers was dependent on whether the teacher was responsible for enacting music in the classroom. This criterion was introduced in recognition that intermediate schools employ a range of specialist teachers, many of whom specialise in other areas of the curriculum, such as technology. If these specialist teachers were to participate, it was unlikely that data from these interviews would contribute to answering my research questions. This criterion meant that several specialist teachers at Pūkeko Intermediate were eligible to participate, as all specialist teachers in the arts were expected to teach music as part of the school's integrated curriculum. In comparison, the specialist music teacher at Kākāpō Intermediate was the only specialist teacher responsible for enacting music. The number of semi-structured interviews conducted with specialist teachers at Kākāpō and Pūkeko Intermediate differ for this reason.

Itinerant teachers and private contractors were initially excluded from semi-structured interviews, as this study remained focused on the provision and enactment of music education through the public system. Yet while I was collecting data from Tuatara School, it became apparent that music was being outsourced through private tuition. Additional data were therefore required to understand how children accessed music education and the relationship between public and private sectors. An amendment to my original ethics application (Appendix A) was consequently requested, which expanded the parameters of this study to include itinerant teachers and private contractors. While this amendment was approved (see Appendix B), it occurred during the final stages of data collection at Tuatara School. This may explain why participation was lower at Tuatara School compared to Kākāpō and Pūkeko Intermediate.

Conducting semi-structured interviews

These interviews were conducted at the preferred location of each participant. For teaching staff, the preferred location was often in various areas of each school, including classrooms, conference rooms, the staffroom, and individual offices. These interviews often occurred after school, in lunch breaks, or during teacher-only days. Other participants opted for these interviews to take place at local cafés or within their homes. Additionally, numerous interviews were conducted over Zoom or the telephone due to COVID-19 lockdowns that occurred at the time of data collection. While the use of Zoom was welcomed at these times,

conducting interviews online created additional challenges, particularly with the increased demand on the internet, which sometimes resulted in an unstable connection. With a lagging video and the audio cutting in and out, it was challenging at times to accurately understand and record the participant. In addition to an unreliable internet connection, background noise also became an issue, as neighbours mowed their lawns and my husband attended Zoom meetings in the other room. These interviews were also filled with guest appearances from participants' partners, children, pets, and even visitors at the door, which also disrupted the flow of the interview. With the ongoing implications of the pandemic, communication via phone was another method chosen by participants. In some ways, this worked better than Zoom as it was not dependent on a reliable internet connection. However, in order to record the phone conversation, the phone needed to be placed on speaker, which impacted the overall quality of the audio. This made it difficult to accurately understand the participant, particularly if we happened to speak at the same time. This method also incurred additional costs, as phone calls were made to both landlines and mobile devices.

With the consent of each participant, interviews were audio recorded on two different devices – an iPhone and an iPad mini. For interviews that occurred in person, I was able to place these devices in different areas of the room to ensure that the participant was clearly recorded. In noisy environments, such as staffrooms or cafés, this was particularly helpful when there were unexpected audio disturbances. During these interviews, recording devices could be stopped at any time if requested by the participant. However, this did not occur at any point during data collection. After conducting these interviews, recordings were transcribed, either manually in Microsoft Word or electronically through a subscription-based programme called Otter. While transcribing interviews electronically was much faster, transcripts were often inaccurate, as the programme struggled to understand the New Zealand accent or recognise any words in te reo Māori. Otter additionally required audio recordings to be of high quality and to have little background interference; this resulted in most interviews being transcribed manually. While this method ensured greater accuracy, it was a significantly time-consuming process. When transcripts were completed, they were sent to each participant via email. This ensured that each participant was given the opportunity to review and amend their transcript so that it reflected their intended meaning. Once the transcripts were approved, they were stored on a password-protected computer, and back-up copies were stored in a folder on Google Drive, which was also password protected.

Surveys

Surveys are a common form of data collection (Matthews & Ross, 2010), which are used to foster an “understanding of the phenomenon being studied” in both quantitative and qualitative research (Grauer, 2012, p. 70). Surveys can be designed in different ways, covering a range of topics and featuring a list of either open or closed questions (Thomas, 2011). As surveys can be self-completed by participants online, they can be conducted with a large sample at low cost (Cohen et al., 2018; Scott & Morrison, 2007). There are, however, several limitations, including low response rates and an inability to produce generalised data (Dainesi & Goldbaum, 2014). This method can additionally be time-consuming for both participants and researchers if open questions are included. Despite these limitations, surveys were chosen for several reasons. Firstly, a survey provided a way to gather simple statistical data that could be used to understand each school context. Secondly, qualitative data could also be gathered to provide a wider range of perspectives than what was possible through semi-structured interviews. Thirdly, by directing the survey at generalist teachers, this method could also be used to provide a selection criteria for semi-structured interviews and other methods that will be discussed later in this chapter.

When designing the survey, I chose to primarily include open questions (see Appendix U for a full list of survey questions). These questions focused on who was responsible for teaching music at each school and how the subject was enacted; this allowed me to determine the frequency and duration of lessons throughout the school and whether these occurred in generalist classrooms or through school-wide activities, such as assemblies. Two closed questions were also included using a Likert scale: “How confident are you teaching music?” and “To what extent did your initial teacher education prepare you to teach music?” By using a 5-point scale, participants were provided with set responses (Chyung et al., 2017; Cohen et al., 2018), ranging from “did not prepare me” to “effectively prepared me,” as shown in Figure 3 below.

While this was successful, the response rate at Kākāpō Intermediate was lower than the other two schools. In total, 34 teachers participated in the online survey, with an overall response rate of 55%. The participation at each school is shown in Table 6 below.

Table 6. Survey participation

Tuatara School	Kākāpō Intermediate	Pūkeko Intermediate
19 (100% response rate)	7 (28% response rate)	8 (38% response rate)

Focus groups

Focus groups provide the opportunity to understand the context of lived experiences through an interactive group discussion (Hennink, 2014). By mimicking everyday conversation, participants are able to reflect on their own experiences, while also exploring and challenging the experiences and opinions of others (Matthews & Ross, 2010). These discussions may be observed by the researcher (Fern, 2001) or recorded either via audio or video (Kidd & Parshall, 2000). Focus groups can be comprised of strangers, individuals of similar backgrounds (McHugh, 2014), or those with shared experiences (Kidd & Parshall, 2000); however, they are usually connected to the research topic in some way (Matthews & Ross, 2010). While there is no set number of participants per group, recommendations vary from as few as three participants to as many as 12; this ensures that groups are small enough to encourage participation yet large enough to gather diverse experiences (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999; T. Freeman, 2006). Overall, focus groups allow data to be collected in a more relaxed and natural setting compared to one-on-one interviews (Marshall & Rossman, 2016).

Despite these advantages, focus groups have several limitations. Confidentiality cannot be guaranteed, even with others in the focus group, as researchers cannot control whether participants will share the discussion outside of the focus group (Matthews & Ross, 2010). As it is conducted in a group setting, participants may additionally be reluctant to disclose information about themselves or to express their opinion, particularly if they disagree with other members of the group (Flick, 2007; Webster et al., 2014). Discussion could also be influenced by power dynamics or dominant personalities in the group. The success of focus groups is therefore highly dependent on the researcher’s interpersonal skills, as they will need to carefully manage group dynamics (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). This can be challenging for emerging researchers, who may have little to no experience conducting focus groups

(Marshall & Rossman, 2016). Data produced by focus groups can additionally be difficult to analyse, given that context is needed to understand the contribution of each participant (Marshall & Rossman, 2016).

With an understanding of the strengths and limitations of focus groups, I chose this method to gain the perspectives of children in each school. It was important to me that children's perspectives were included, as a school's provision of music education was somewhat redundant if children felt that they were unable to access it. I also wanted to explore a range of different perspectives in order to fully understand the various factors that could influence access to music education. Focus groups provided an opportunity for children to communicate in a group setting rather than through individual interviews, which could be intimidating and place children in a vulnerable position. I was also aware that other methods, such as a survey, could restrict participation to children who could confidently read and write. This was of concern for Tuatara School, which catered to much younger children than the other two schools. After choosing focus groups, I created a list of questions to facilitate discussion (see Appendix T). These questions focused on who was responsible for music education in the school, including questions such as, "Who teaches music at school?" and "Who decides when you get to do music at school?" Other questions focused on opportunities for music in the classroom and through extracurricular activities.

Focus groups with children

Previous research conducted with focus groups including children has suggested the importance of the researcher having experience with children and an understanding of child development, including the linguistic abilities of each age. These factors must be carefully considered to ensure that a focus group is a suitable data collection method (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). This literature has demonstrated that an integral part of working with children is the facilitation of trust and the promotion of a safe environment, where children feel comfortable about sharing their thoughts and experiences (Gibson, 2012). To promote this environment and build rapport, it is common for focus groups to begin with an icebreaker game or activity, followed by a discussion to establish boundaries and expectations (Sims, 2017). For example, the researcher may first explain to the children that they will all have the opportunity to talk and are not required to raise their hand (M. Morgan et al., 2002). Group dynamics have also been highlighted in the literature; children of a shy nature may be less likely to contribute, and discussion could be influenced by children seeking acceptance from

their peers (Gibson, 2012; M. Morgan et al., 2002; Sims, 2017). In addition to group dynamics, there is a clear power imbalance between the researcher and the children involved in the focus group, due to the disparity in age and status. This power imbalance may result in children being uncomfortable and thus unwilling to contribute to the discussion. Marshall and Rossman (2016) suggested that the researcher can mitigate this by presenting themselves as friendly and welcoming and by paying particular attention to the types of clothes they wear and how they speak and interact with the children. I considered these suggestions prior to conducting my focus groups and adopted age-appropriate procedures and language.

Conducting focus groups

Focus groups ran for approximately 30 minutes in a location dictated by each school's principal. Locations included a building used for afterschool care, a technology classroom, and a conference room. To gain a deeper understanding of how music was enacted in the classroom, participation was restricted to the classes of generalist teachers who participated in a semi-structured interview. Given the age of these children, letters were sent to children's parents to provide information about the study (see Appendix L). If parents wished for their child to participate, they were required to complete the consent form (see Appendix M). On this form, parents were asked to indicate any extracurricular activities in music in which their child participated, as I sought to select students with a range of experiences. This included those who were significantly involved in extracurricular activities, in addition to those with minimal involvement. Children were also required to give consent, providing written consent (see Appendix K), followed by verbal consent before each focus group began. As I had hoped that three generalist teachers from each school would participate, I planned to include 15 children from each school (five from each class). This was to ensure that students were familiar with each other, of a similar age, and had shared experiences in the classroom. This would also have provided some flexibility in terms of when focus groups could be conducted, as I could work with each generalist teacher to find a time that would cause the least disruption to their timetable and each child's learning. When it came to conducting focus groups, however, the number of participants and the procedures differed slightly between schools.

At Tuatara School, eligible generalist teachers were given information sheets and consent forms (Appendices K, L, and M) to give to each child in their classroom. Five children agreed to participate, returning their consent forms to the school office. These children were

from a mixture of the three classes and therefore of slightly different ages. While I tried to find a time that would suit each generalist teacher, I was unable to do so, as the space that I had been allocated was only available at a specific time. On the day that I was scheduled to conduct the focus groups, two of these students were absent. When I collected the remaining three students from their classrooms, I was approached by a student who was adamant that they were meant to participate and explained that their mother had returned her consent form. When I explained to the student that this form had not been returned to the school office, they were noticeably upset. This left me in quite a predicament, as I did not wish to harm the student by excluding them from this research; however, it would not be ethical for me to include them without consent from their parent or caregiver. To mitigate the situation, I took the student to the office and asked the administrator whether it would be possible to contact their parents. The administrator was glad to help, dialling the number and allowing me to speak to the child's mother on the school phone. The mother explained that she was more than happy for her child to participate and had simply forgotten to return the signed consent form. With verbal permission, this child joined the focus group with the three other students. In total, four children from Tuatara School participated in a focus group.

At Kākāpō Intermediate, the process was slightly different, as the principal requested that information sheets and consent forms pertaining to the focus groups were first approved by senior leadership before being printed and distributed to children at the school. The deputy principal then invited children from one class to participate and distributed information sheets and consent forms to them. This method gathered more participants than Tuatara School, but it meant that only one class could participate in the focus groups, rather than the three intended. As this class's generalist teacher had volunteered to participate in a semi-structured interview, these children were eligible to participate. However, they were all from an accelerant class, so it is likely that they had different experiences in the classroom than others at Kākāpō Intermediate. In total, 14 children returned consent forms to participate in this research, but on the day of data collection, one child was absent. Moreover, as the deputy principal had scheduled these focus groups based on room availability, I was unable to communicate with the generalist teacher to determine an appropriate time. This resulted in a timetable clash, as one child had a private music lesson scheduled. Consequently, this child was only able to participate for 10 minutes of the focus group before having to leave for their lesson. In total, 13 children from Kākāpō Intermediate participated in focus groups.

Given the small group of children who were willing to participate at Tuatara School, I decided to expand the size of my sample, inviting all children at Pūkeko Intermediate to participate. As this impacted my recruitment procedure, an amendment was made to my ethics application. Upon receiving approval of this amendment (see Appendix B), I printed approximately 500 information sheets and consent forms. As instructed by the school’s principal, these were delivered to the school office and given to each generalist teacher to distribute to their class. This process was successful in gaining more participants, with 37 consent forms being returned to the school office. Given the number of students who opted to participate in this research, it was not always possible to ensure that students were grouped with those from the same class. This was problematic at times, as Pūkeko Intermediate offers two different streams of education, one in English and the other using a mixture of English and te reo Māori. As Pūkeko Intermediate was the only school that featured a bilingual unit, I did not consider the implications that this may have for data collection; consequently, focus groups sometimes consisted of students from both the bilingual and main streams. This meant that some of these students were unfamiliar with their peers in the group, which may have impacted their willingness to add to the discussion. On the day of data collection, 10 children were either absent or unable to participate. In total, 27 children at Pūkeko Intermediate participated in the focus groups. The total number of children who participated in focus groups at each school is shown in Table 7 below.

Table 7. Number of children participants

	Tuatara School	Kākāpō Intermediate	Pūkeko Intermediate	Total:
Participating children	4	13	27	44
Absent children	2	1	10	13
Total:	6	14	37	57

Observations

Observations are common in qualitative research (Stake, 2010), often being used in the fields of sociology and education (Maykut & Morehouse, 2003). Marshall and Rossman (2016) described observations as “the systematic noting and recording of events, behaviors,

interactions, and artifacts (objects) in a social setting” (p. 143). This allows the researcher to observe phenomena in its natural environment, thus providing contextual details about the topic being studied (Gorman & Clayton, 2005; O’Leary, 2014). There are two different types of observations: structured and unstructured. Structured observations occur when the researcher is watching a particular event or behaviour, while unstructured observations occur when the researcher participates in the event. Observations can also be conducted in two different ways: overtly or covertly. When observations are conducted overtly, participants are aware that they are being observed, whereas when observations are conducted covertly, participants do not know they are being observed. Careful ethical consideration is needed if observations are covertly conducted (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). While observations are valuable for documenting events, large amounts of data can be produced in a relatively short amount of time. Consequently, it is essential to ensure that observations are sufficiently recorded, either by being written down or audio recorded (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). It is also important to note the limitations of this method, as observations may be influenced by the researcher. Firstly, it is possible for participants to act differently in the presence of the researcher, as they are aware that they are being watched (O’Leary, 2014). Data may therefore capture inaccurate representations of a specific event or behaviour. Secondly, data could be impacted by researcher bias (Cohen et al., 2018). This occurs as researchers may interrupt events in different ways, possibly fixating on particular details or misinterpreting cultural differences (Denscombe, 2010; Marshall & Rossman, 2016).

Observations were chosen for this study as they provided an opportunity to observe the enactment of music education at each school, and therefore access the actual domain of reality. These observations were used to supplement data obtained from semi-structured interviews by providing contextual information and uncovering details that participants may have omitted (Cohen et al., 2018). To develop a deeper understanding of music education at each school, observations were not restricted to the classroom. I instead decided to include any occurrence of music in each school, such as rehearsals, performances, and assemblies. Observations were overtly conducted and semi-structured in nature. As a researcher, I did not participate in any activities or events but instead took on a bystander role. I did, however, develop pre-established categories to ensure that data obtained from observations would actively contribute to my research questions (O’Leary, 2014). Categories focused on school context, resourcing, repertoire, lesson content, and learning objectives (see Appendix V). Data were recorded for each category using field notes, where I wrote a brief description of

what I was observing (Liamputtong, 2012). This was to ensure that I was focused on the observation, rather than on writing notes. More in-depth notes were completed immediately after, thus ensuring important details were not forgotten. (Taylor et al., 2015).

Conducting observations

Four observations were conducted at Tuatara School. Three of these observations occurred with generalist teachers who had previously participated in semi-structured interviews. These observations took place in each teachers' classroom when the music curriculum was being enacted. One of these observations occurred at the start of the school day, as group singing occurred every morning while the generalist teacher took the roll. To ensure I would have enough time to follow the school's visitor protocols, I arrived at the school 10 minutes early. After signing in, I made my way to the classroom where the observation would be taking place. I had, however, arrived before the generalist teacher, and as a result, I was alone with a classroom of children. Realising the danger of this situation, I physically distanced myself from the students and ensured that I was positioned by a window, thus creating a clear line of sight to safeguard these children. In addition to observing music-making in the classroom, I was also able to observe a dress rehearsal of the school's biannual production. This dress rehearsal was attended by the rest of the school and teaching staff, which included several undergraduate students who were visiting the school on practicum. As I had previously taught these undergraduate students, they recognised me and questioned me as to why I was at the school. To maintain confidentiality of Tuatara School and their involvement in my study, I explained that I was there to watch the production and redirected the conversation by asking about their studies.

Three observations were conducted at Kākāpō Intermediate. One of these observations occurred with the school's specialist music teacher, as I observed a music class as part of the school's technology and arts programme. As this was the first music class in the rotation, I was able to observe how foundational skills, such as musical literacy, were introduced. It also provided the opportunity to observe the skills and experience of children who had not yet participated in music education at Kākāpō Intermediate. The next observations were of rehearsals with the school's rock band and orchestra. This provided an opportunity to understand in more detail the different extracurricular activities available at the school, and it illustrated how these activities operated during the school day. During this time, I was also invited to observe full-school singing known as waiata. These sessions occurred every

fortnight; however, on the date I was invited to attend, a lockdown occurred for COVID-19, temporarily closing the school down. When the lockdown was lifted, new requirements were introduced in education to reduce the transmission of COVID-19. This resulted in all activities involving indoor singing being cancelled. I was therefore not able to observe waiata at the school.

Two observations were conducted at Pūkeko Intermediate. The first observation occurred with the specialist music teacher when I observed a music class as part of the school’s technology and arts programme. As at Kākāpō Intermediate, this was the first music class in the technology and arts rotation, meaning that I was able to observe how foundational skills were introduced. This also provided an understanding of the level of skills and experience in music that children had before attending music classes. The second observation occurred with the school’s orchestra, as I attended a rehearsal for the ensemble’s upcoming performance at prize-giving. This was a valuable experience, as I was able to gain a better understanding of the extracurricular activities that the school offered, alongside the prerequisite skills needed to participate. As Pūkeko Intermediate has a bilingual stream and incorporates Māori culture where possible, I had hoped to also observe the kapa haka group. I contacted the teachers involved with the ensemble; however, they did not wish to participate. Subsequent observations of music-making were planned, including an observation in the classroom and during an assembly. These observations were ultimately cancelled as the region entered another lockdown due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The total number of observations conducted at each school is shown in Table 8 below.

Table 8. Number of classroom observations

	Tuatara School	Kākāpō Intermediate	Pūkeko Intermediate	Total:
Classroom observations	3	1	1	5
Ensemble observations	1	2	1	4
Total:	4	3	2	9

Documents

Alongside other data collection methods, documents were used to obtain data and contribute to my contextual and historical understanding of each case study (Bowen, 2009; Merriam, 1988). While documents can be difficult to define (Tight, 2019), Matthews and Ross (2010) described them as “written records about people and things that are generated through the process of living” (p. 277). These documents may have existed prior to the study, or they may have been created after the study began (Lodico et al., 2010). In either case, documents are more than just “containers for words” (Prior, 2008, p. 822), as they are underpinned by hidden mechanisms and motives (Tight, 2019). As documents are created by organisations for a specific purpose, their contents are presented to meet this purpose. Consequently, material that does not suit this purpose will likely be omitted, particularly if it casts the organisation in an unfavourable light (McCulloch, 2011). For this reason, documents may provide an inaccurate description of an organisation or how it operates (P. Atkinson & Coffey, 2011). Furthermore, while documents present data that are fixed at the time that it was written (Yin, 2014), it is possible that a document’s meaning may develop over time (Tight, 2019). Prior (2008) explained that once a document is released to the public, it may be interpreted by readers in different ways, some of which may be unintended by the author. It is therefore important to consider the ethical implications of using documents for purposes that were not originally intended, particularly given that the authors have not given permission for their work to be used in third-party research (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Researchers additionally need to consider that the use of these documents may cause harm to individuals or organisations, damaging their reputation (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). Keeping these limitations in mind, documents were used in this study to compliment other research methods. This provided opportunities for triangulation in order to confirm data obtained through semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and observations. Collectively, these methods enabled the actual domain of reality to be accessed.

Categorisation of documents

To make sense of the documents used in this study, and the purpose and motivation of each, documents were categorised into five categories adapted from Bryman (2016). These categories include official documents from the state or from private sources, virtual documents, mass-media documents, and planning documents.

a. Official documents from the state

As the name suggests, official documents from the state refer to those produced by the government. This includes policy documents, such as the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007), and various educational reports. A list of official documents used in this study is shown in Table 9 below.

Table 9. Official documents from the state

Document	Description	Reference
New Zealand Curriculum	New Zealand's national curriculum.	Ministry of Education. (2007). <i>The New Zealand Curriculum</i> . Learning Media Limited.
ERO reports	The New Zealand government's agency for school evaluation. Reports for each school were accessed online.	Education Review Office. (n.d). <i>Home</i> . New Zealand Government. https://ero.govt.nz
New Zealand Gazette	Official newspaper of the New Zealand government.	New Zealand Government. (n.d). <i>New Zealand Gazette</i> . https://gazette.govt.nz

b. Official documents from private sources

Official documents were also used from private sources. In the context of this study, private sources refer to documents produced by schools and other organisations or businesses. These include strategic plans, annual reports, newsletters, and even individual student reports. These documents were created with a specific purpose: marketing the services that each school offered to attract prospective parents. These documents therefore provided valuable insights, not only by illustrating the opportunities each school offered in music education but also, and more importantly, by showing how music education was used as part of a broader marketing strategy (see Chapter 9). Most of these documents were publicly available and could be accessed through each school's website. Student reports, however, were accessed privately, as some parents volunteered to share these during semi-structured interviews. A list of official documents from private sources used in this study is shown in Table 10.

Table 10. Official documents from private sources

Document	Description
Mission statements	A statement articulating a school's purpose, aim or values.
Strategic plans	A plan outlining the strategic direction of a school. This usually includes overarching goals and specific steps of how these will be met.
Annual reports	An annual report outlining a school's financial statement. These reports are audited by external accounting agencies, and they illustrate a school's income, expenditure, and assets.
Prospectuses	A document used to market each school to prospective parents. These documents usually include an overview of the school, outlining specialist staff, resources, and facilities. Opportunities available through the curriculum and extracurricular activities are also commonly discussed.
Newsletters	Newsletters are used to communicate with parents, usually being distributed on a weekly basis. While the content of newsletters will vary between schools, these documents usually include updates, reminders, a list of achievements celebrated throughout the school, and a list of upcoming events.
Student reports	An individual report for each student, communicating their progress and level of achievement to parents.

c. Virtual documents

Virtual documents refer to websites, blogs, and social media platforms that can be accessed online. Given the popularity of and reliance on the internet, it was difficult to categorise virtual documents, as some documents could also be classified in other categories. For instance, the website Education Counts is produced by the state, while some of the websites used were created by each individual school and are therefore from private sources. A list of virtual documents used in this study is shown in Table 11.

Table 11. Virtual documents

Document	Description	Reference
Education Counts	A government website that provides a directory of schools in New Zealand.	Education Counts. (2024). <i>Home</i> . New Zealand Government. https://educationcounts.govt.nz/home
Te Kete Ipurangi (TKI)	A government website that provides guidance and resources for the New Zealand Curriculum. Note that this website was replaced by Tāhūrangi in 2024, however many resources have yet to be uploaded to the new website.	Ministry of Education. (n.d). <i>Te Kete Ipurangi</i> . New Zealand Government. https://tki.org.nz Ministry of Education. (2024). <i>Tāhūrangi</i> . New Zealand Government. https://tahurangi.education.govt.nz
School websites	A website created by each school. These websites provide contextual information about each school and house documents such as strategic plans and annual reports.	Links to each website are omitted to protect the identity of participating schools.
Social media	Profiles created by each school on the social media platform Facebook.	Links to each profile are omitted to protect the identity of participating schools.

d. Mass media documents

Documents produced by the mass media refer to newspaper articles, magazines, television shows, and documentaries. These documents were also difficult to categorise, as they were accessed online and therefore met the criteria for virtual documents. Despite this, I chose to classify these documents separately as they are produced by the mass media and therefore may be sensationalised to reach a larger audience. A list of mass media sources used in this study is shown in Table 12.

Table 12. Mass media documents

Document	Description	Reference
Stuff	National newspaper published online.	Stuff. (n.d). <i>Stuff: Latest breaking news</i> . Stuff Ltd. https://stuff.co.nz
New Zealand Herald	National newspaper published online.	New Zealand Herald. (n.d). <i>NZ Herald: Breaking & latest New Zealand news</i> . NZME. https://nzherald.co.nz

e. Planning documents

The final category of planning documents was not included in Bryman’s (2016) categorisation; however, it was important to include these documents given the context of this study (Maykut & Morehouse, 2003). I have defined planning documents as resources that the school or teacher has created and/or used to enact the music curriculum. This includes unit plans, lesson plans, and supporting activities such as worksheets. Planning documents were received via email before I conducted semi-structured interviews with generalist and specialist teachers; this provided me with the opportunity to discuss these documents in more detail during the interviews (Bowen, 2009). Through these documents, I was able to determine the intended learning objectives and lesson content at each school, as they illustrated the provision and enactment of music education and the activities to which children were given access. While observations provided some data, it was not possible to complete the number of observations required to develop an in-depth understanding of enactment while also working full-time. As already discussed, I was also aware that, even though I did not participate in activities, observations may have been influenced by my presence. The use of planning documents therefore provided another opportunity for triangulation, in addition to the semi-structured interviews and focus groups conducted. A list of planning documents used in this study is shown in Table 13.

Table 13. Planning documents

Document	Description
Unit plans	A series of lessons developed to understand a specific concept, theme, or learning objective.
Lesson plans	Plans detailing lessons intended for the classroom. These plans outline the learning objective and series of activities in which children will be participating.
Supporting resources	Supporting resources such as worksheets used as part of a lesson plan.

Field notes

After conducting semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and observations, field notes were taken (Maykut & Morehouse, 2003). Arthur et al. (2014) explained that “field notes can provide an opportunity to record what researchers see and hear outside the immediate context of the interview, their thoughts about the dynamic of the encounter, ideas for inclusion in later fieldwork and issues that may be relevant at the analytical stage” (p. 171). Field notes were initially audio recorded, allowing me to document my general observations, contextual information, and any themes that arose. This additionally provided an opportunity to reflect on the data collection process and consider aspects that were successful, or even unsuccessful (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). Audio recordings were later typed up, ensuring that my initial thoughts could be easily accessed to provide contextual information to support the data analysis process.

Ethical considerations

This study was guided by ethical procedures set by the University of Waikato. This included obtaining approval from the Education Research Ethics Committee in 2020 (see Appendix A). As already discussed, an amendment to this application was later made in order to invite itinerant teachers and private contractors to participate in semi-structured interviews, add one question to the survey, and broaden the recruitment criteria for children in focus groups. This amendment was approved in 2021 (see Appendix B), ensuring that this study continued to abide by ethical procedures. While some ethical considerations have already been discussed

throughout this chapter, this section seeks to highlight issues related to informed consent, power relationships, and confrontation. The additional considerations for working with children will also be discussed, alongside the use of pseudonyms to protect the identity of each participant.

Once ethics approval was received, participants' informed consent was sought before data collection could begin. Webster et al. (2014) explained that informed consent refers to the practice of communicating all details with potential participants, enabling them to make an informed decision about whether to participate (Christians, 2005). In the context of this research, this included communicating the nature and purpose of the study, what participants were being asked to do, and their right to decline participation or, if they had begun participating, to withdraw data or further participation. Details were also shared concerning confidentiality, anonymity, how data would be used, how long it would be kept for, and how it would be stored then later destroyed. My contact details were also shared, in addition to those of my supervisors who were overseeing this study at the time of data collection. As recommended by Flick (2007), these details were communicated through written documents in the form of information sheets and consent forms (see Appendices C–O). Nevertheless, while I endeavoured to communicate this information clearly and without the use of jargon (Thomas, 2011), formal documents are not accessible to all participants (Webster et al., 2014). Taking this into consideration, participants were invited to contact me directly if they had any questions or concerns. Once these details were clearly communicated and understood, participants were asked to return a signed consent form indicating their wish to participate. As children were involved in this study, consent was sought from each child in addition to their parent or caregiver. This is a common practice when working with participants who do not have the capacity to give consent without approval from a third party (Flick, 2007).

As this research focused on the lived experiences, thoughts, feelings, and opinions of participants, it was important to protect the identity of participants and to minimise any potential harm. This was highlighted when participants disclosed information that could potentially threaten the reputation of each school. For participants who were employees at these schools, this type of disclosure could additionally threaten their employment and impact their relationship with their senior leadership team. To protect the identity of participants and each school, pseudonyms were used and, where possible, identifiable details were removed. Personal information was safeguarded, with identifiable documents such as consent forms,

interview recordings, and transcripts being securely stored on a password-protected computer. Additional measures were also taken in shared office spaces, including the use of headphones while transcribing focus groups and semi-structured interviews. Despite this, it must be acknowledged that the identity of participants and each school may still be recognisable, particularly to those who are familiar with these contexts (Christians, 2005). Therefore, while every effort was made to protect the identity of participants, I was unable to guarantee anonymity. This was clearly communicated to participants before they gave their informed consent.

I was aware that harm could also be caused if principals or teachers felt confronted by participating in this research. This could be due to their perceptions of me, given my background in music education, or their own gaps in knowledge, which might lead to feelings of insecurity. This occurred on a handful of occasions, as some generalist teachers felt they were not meeting the requirements of the curriculum, even apologising for the lack of time dedicated to music in their classroom. In these situations, I reminded participants that the purpose of this study is to understand how music education is accessed and enacted in each school. Regardless of the level of provision, this study identified and carefully examined factors contributing to children's access to music education. Ultimately, it therefore provided an opportunity to make recommendations to improve this access.

Another ethical consideration was the power imbalance that occurred between me, as a researcher, and participants. According to Matthews & Ross (2010), this is a common occurrence and has the potential to alter participants' responses, particularly if they do not want to disagree with the researcher, or they view the researcher as a gateway to knowledge and believe that they could benefit from the researcher's expertise (Webster et al., 2014). This occurred during an observation, where a specialist music teacher tried to draw on my expertise to check their understanding of a musical concept. After this observation, the teacher then sought feedback on their practice in light of their upcoming appraisal. Both requests were clearly beyond the boundaries of my role as a researcher (Webster et al., 2014). I gently communicated this to the teacher and rearticulated the purpose of my study. Another power imbalance occurred when I was working with children due to the difference in age and my authority as an adult and researcher (Matthews & Ross, 2010). To reduce this imbalance, students were interviewed in a group context. Careful thought was also given to my

demeanour, and I ensured that I was friendly, used language that was appropriate to each age group, and kept the focus groups engaging.

Data analysis

Thematic analysis

Clarke & Braun (2017) described thematic analysis as “a method for identifying, analyzing and interpreting patterns of meaning (‘themes’) within qualitative data” (p. 297). Thematic analysis allows data to be coded into either pre-existing or emerging themes. This enables researchers to identify reoccurring patterns in the data and to carefully examine how these patterns were created to understand underlying phenomena (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Joffe, 2011; Liamputtong, 2012; Nowell et al., 2017; Swain, 2018). While thematic analysis is commonly used in qualitative research (Swain, 2018), it is a time-consuming process (Flick, 2007) due to its flexible nature, as themes may be interpreted in different ways (Nowell et al., 2017). This section discusses how thematic analysis was used in this study, and the step-by-step process that was followed.

The thematic analysis of the data occurred in three stages. To begin, I prepared and organised the data (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). This involved transcribing semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions and compiling data from each case study (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). Following the organisation of the data, I revised my research questions and objectives before fully immersing myself in the data (Spencer et al., 2014). This consisted of reading transcripts multiple times and noting important ideas that emerged within each (Braun & Clarke, 2021). Marshall and Rossman (2016) indicated that this is an important step, as it will enable the identification of possible topics or themes of importance. Once the data were prepared and organised and I had become fully immersed, I began the coding process.

Stake (2010) described coding as “sorting all data sets according to topics, themes, and issues important to the study” (p. 151). Depending on the structure of the research, these codes can be produced inductively or deductively (Maykut & Morehouse, 2003). Inductive codes are those that emerge from the data, while deductive codes are predetermined by previous literature (Spencer et al., 2014) and often draw from existing theoretical concepts or ideas (Gomm, 2004). Either inductive or deductive codes can be employed in thematic analysis

(Braun & Clarke, 2006), although deductive codes are particularly useful as they can provide explanations of the data (Marks & O'Mahoney, 2014). For this reason, I opted to use a combination of inductive and deductive codes, thereby capturing themes that emerged from this data set that could be contextualised against existing literature and then understood through theory.

Using the computer software NVivo, I began outlining surface features of the data, creating categories related to each issue or theme that arose (Guest et al., 2012). These themes were usually explicit, being observable in the empirical or actual layers of reality (Joffe, 2011). Once initial categories were created, the parameters of each category were carefully considered, thus ensuring consistency (Matthews & Ross, 2010). From each category, data were then divided into subcategories depending on emerging themes. For example, data relating to resourcing were subdivided into categories of cost, condition, quantity, and organisation as shown in Figure 4 below.

Figure 4. Levels of coding

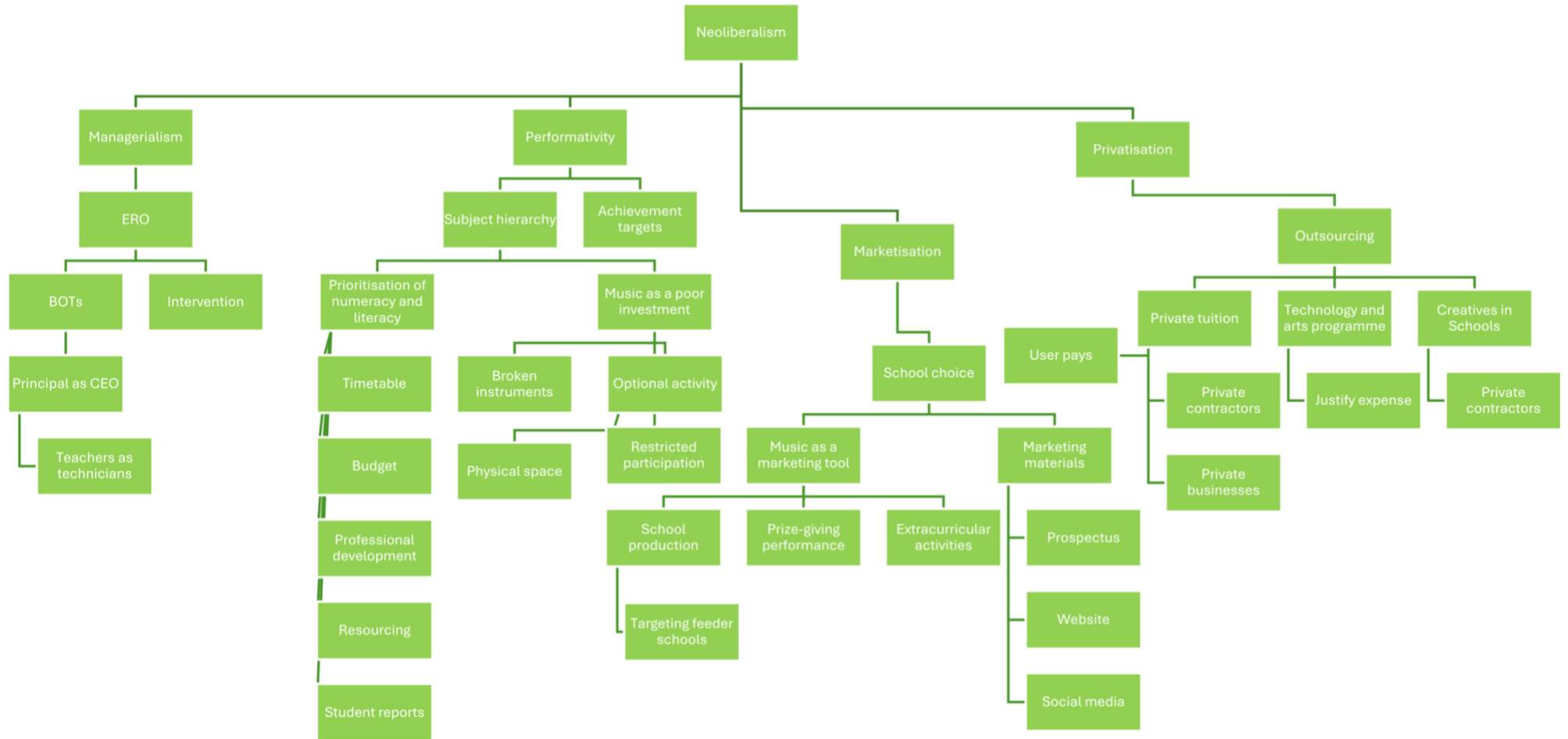


While these inductive codes provided some indication of the factors that influenced children's access to music education, I was unable to understand why these factors existed. Drawing on the figure above, resourcing was a key factor that influenced the type of activities in which children participated in the classroom. For instrumental music-making to occur in the classroom, there needed to be enough instruments for each child to participate, and these additionally needed to be in usable condition. While there was a clear relationship between the cost and organisation of resources within each school, it was unclear from this level of analysis why resourcing was insufficient. To better understand this, a deeper level of analysis was required to reveal the generative mechanisms in the real layer of reality (Joffe, 2011).

Generative mechanisms

This deeper level of analysis occurred through abductive and retroductive reasoning, as data were reinterpreted through existing frameworks to reveal the generative mechanisms (Tikly, 2015). This initially occurred using the framework of neoliberalism, specifically, the policy technologies of managerialism, performativity, marketisation, and privatisation. Data were then re-examined and categorised against these deductive codes and visually represented to demonstrate the relationship between each. This visual representation is shown in Figure 5 below.

Figure 5. Visualisation of themes relating to neoliberalism



The second framework that was used to reveal the generative mechanisms in the real domain of reality was Bourdieu’s theoretical concepts of capital and habitus (Bourdieu, 1986). Cultural, social, and economic capital were used as deductive codes. A definition of each can be found in Table 14 below.

Table 14. Defining cultural, social and economic capital

Type of capital	Description
Cultural capital	Embodied, objectified, and institutionalised cultural capital relating to music education.
Social capital	Social connections that promote access to music education.
Economic capital	Financial resources that enable the pursuit of music education, developing either embodied, objectified, or institutionalised cultural capital.

These forms of capital were positioned as parent nodes, which allowed subcategories to be created for the different forms of cultural capital, including embodied, objectified and institutionalised. These subcategories are outlined and defined in Table 15 below.

Table 15. Subcategories of cultural capital

Type of cultural capital	Description
Embodied	Musical knowledge and skills needed to pursue music education at secondary school through NCEA and gain entrance for tertiary study.
Objectified	Instruments and equipment needed for music education.
Institutionalised	Qualifications and achievements in music at regional, national or international levels.

Bourdieu’s concept of habitus was additionally used and divided into the two subcategories of personal and institutional as shown in Table 16.

Table 16. Subcategories of habitus

Type of habitus	Description
Personal	Values, beliefs, and thoughts associated with each social class. These will likely influence involvement in music education, including the types of instruments, genres, and activities that are promoted.
Institutional	The culture, values and practices of each school.

Data were then re-examined and categorised against these deductive codes and visually represented to demonstrate the relationship between each.

Data saturation

During the coding process, I discovered that some codes were more prominent than others, being repeated multiple times within the data. Braun & Clarke (2021) shared that regardless of their reoccurrence, any code that is relevant to the research question adds another layer of meaning. From here, I returned to my research questions and created a visual map of emerging themes and positioned these in relation to each question (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018). This process was particularly useful, as it enabled me to step back from the data to see how themes were connected and identify any reoccurring patterns that had emerged (Braun & Clarke, 2021; Clarke & Braun, 2017). Once these reoccurring patterns were established, the coding process was complete.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodology that framed this study, including the methods of data collection and the forms of analysis used. The chapter began by introducing case study research and identifying why this design was chosen and the process that was followed. Methods for data collection were reviewed by examining the use of semi-structured interviews, surveys, focus groups, observations, documents, and field notes. It was argued that the combination of these methods provided a contextual understanding of each case and enabled the identification of generative mechanisms. The chapter continued by exploring the ethics of this study and outlining the various procedures that guided it. Issues relating to

informed consent, power relationships, confrontation, and the ethics of working with children were carefully considered. To conclude the chapter, data analysis was discussed, including the use of thematic analysis. The findings that arose from this methodology are presented in the next three chapters, which detail the provision and enactment of music education in each case study.

Chapter 5: Tuatara School

Tuatara School is a decile 10 primary school, which is located in a semi-rural and affluent area. Classed as a contributing primary school, Tuatara School caters to a roll of almost 500 children, all of whom participated in early childhood education. The roll at Tuatara School was fairly homogenous, as the vast majority of children were of New Zealand European descent, followed by a small percentage of children from Māori or Asian heritage. Unlike other schools in the region, no children had been stood down, suspended, or excluded in any form.

Tuatara School has 18 classrooms, which are led by generalist teachers from a variety of backgrounds and with experience that ranges from beginning teachers to those with over 25 years of experience. Teachers' qualifications similarly range from undergraduate degrees in education, accounting, commerce, nursing, and science to postgraduate teaching diplomas and degrees. These teachers often work collaboratively to meet the students' needs or share their specific skill sets. In addition to generalist teachers, the school employs 12 teacher aides, and several other educators are employed to fulfil classroom release time (CRT). In total, the school's staff consists of approximately 55 people, including the leadership team, teaching staff, office administrators, the caretaker, a qualified librarian, and those involved in before- and after-school care. This number excludes the seven private contractors that provide private music tuition.

The staff are responsible to the board of trustees, who oversee the governance, management, and leadership of the school to ensure that it meets its strategic goals. The governance team consists of nine trustees, including the principal and assistant principal. Other trustees live in the area and a number have children who attend the school. For the most part, these trustees are working professionals with significant experience in their respective fields, including law, finance, and sales backgrounds. In addition to having children who have or are currently attending the school, many of these trustees live in lifestyle blocks and enjoy recreational activities such as camping, skiing, and wakeboarding.

Tuatara School caters to a supportive and affluent community, consisting mostly of working professionals, such as lawyers, doctors, and surgeons. This community has high expectations for the education of their children, and members possess the economic resources to ensure these expectations are met by contributing financially through fundraising initiatives, direct

donations, and specific activity fees for curricular and extracurricular activities such as swimming, camps, and private music tuition. The principal explained,

We've got very wealthy, affluent parents who want the best for their kids. It's almost like a private school that's not a private school ... So they have high expectations. They have the money to pay for different things, in the way of music tuition and other things and they want the best for their children, they're very involved and they certainly want the best for their children across all areas. (Principal 1)

Over the last year, this school community fundraised over half a million dollars, in addition to donations from numerous business sponsors. These initiatives have been promoted as the school continues to publicly contest the government's decile-based funding system, stating that the funds received from the Ministry of Education are inadequate to fully fund the curriculum. According to the principal, this has resulted in the school, although public, being operated like a private school, with many of its graduates going on to attend private and exclusive intermediate and secondary schools.

Budget

Given the community's high socioeconomic status, Tuatara School is classed as decile 10, and therefore receives minimal financial support from the government. From the principal's point of view, the school "run[s] on an oily rag in many regards." As a result, parents are asked to donate \$240.00 per child to fulfil Tuatara School's annual budget. Despite these donations, only \$400.00 is allocated annually to music education, equating to less than a dollar per child. Instead of investing in music education, between \$60,000 and \$80,000 is spent on the rest of the curriculum and curriculum-related resources. A significant portion of Tuatara School's budget is also allocated to teacher aides and supporting children with physical and intellectual disabilities.

Resourcing

Generalist teachers at Tuatara School have access to the music room, which is filled with a large collection of instruments and musical resources due to parental donations and

successful fundraising initiatives. These resources include barred percussion such as glockenspiels and xylophones, ukuleles, keyboards, and percussive instruments such as hand drums. A generalist teacher shared the following:

[Tuatara School] is quite well-equipped in terms of xylophones and instruments and two and a half sets of recorders and lots of drums that can be shared and lots of resources, which now, of course, most of them are online. (Generalist Teacher 3)

As the instruments were stored in the music room, generalist teachers wishing to use them needed to transport them to their own classroom, which, depending on the instrument, could take a considerable amount of time and effort. A private contractor hypothesised that this may be why generalist teachers tended to omit the music curriculum:

Maybe teachers aren't teaching the curriculum 'cause they'd have to go to that little music room, grab all these ukuleles, bring them to their class. (Private Contractor 1)

One generalist teacher confirmed this hypothesis, indicating that enacting music in the class required more organisation and planning compared to other subjects, such as physical education:

So I suppose there's probably a lot more time dedicated behind the scenes and organising resources? Yeah, probably all of that, whereas I can just go outside and do sport. (Generalist Teacher 1)

The principal similarly indicated that

there's a bit of dust lying on them, but there's boxes of instruments. (Principal 1)

For other generalist teachers, however, the organisation of these instruments resulted in music being enacted over a longer period of time, rather than as a one-off activity. A generalist teacher elaborated on this:

If I was doing keyboard in the classroom, I'd have the keyboards in my room for a fortnight, and we would do a big session every day because the effort of getting all of those and bringing those all away and out. (Generalist Teacher 3)

Despite the wide range of instruments owned by Tuatara School, these resources were in poor condition due to lack of action from the school. According to one generalist teacher,

We haven't bought any instruments for a while, you know, we've got whole sets of ukuleles and that sort of thing, we haven't bought anything, else but I'm not responsible for that now so I'm not sure, but there's nothing wrong with what we've got, except we need people to repair them and that sort of thing, keeping them up to date. (Generalist Teacher 3)

Another generalist teacher shared the following:

There is stuff, I mean, I don't know if there would be whole class sets, and some of it is not in very good condition, but there are resources that the kids can use, and yeah. (Generalist Teacher 2)

There was even a portion of generalist teachers who were not aware that the school had a music room or instruments that were available for classrooms to use. When asked of the resources available, several teachers indicated that there were "none" or "very little." One generalist teacher shared that

we don't even have a class set of instruments or anything. (Generalist Teacher 2)

Despite the wide range of instruments available, it seemed that there was little resourcing in terms of books, particularly compared to other subjects such as mathematics. A generalist teacher made the following observation:

Like with maths, we have a whole cupboard of maths books, and for writing we have so many resources for that and everything, and that's the thing with music, we don't have, here's what you can do for music. I mean maybe there is? But I don't think there is. (Generalist Teacher 2)

It seems, however, that this was not always the case, as another generalist teacher recounted:

I'm not very good at throwing out things, particularly music, and I think they went through at [Tuatara School] and wanted to empty out and throw out all the old songbooks, they had class sets of them, and I couldn't do that, but someone else did because I couldn't do it. (Generalist Teacher 3)

Professional development

The teaching staff at Tuatara School all receive regular professional development. Over the last few years, this has focused on numeracy and literacy, in addition to digital technology and mindfulness, both of which have become increasingly popular in education (Duff, 2022; Huang et al., 2014). Other professional development focused on culturally responsive practice, student agency, and collaborative teaching and learning. According to the school's strategic plan, professional development is key for upskilling staff, improving results across all curriculum areas, and enabling high quality teaching and learning. This is also reflected within the school's annual budget, equating to over \$120,000 having been dedicated to upskilling staff over the last 3 years. Despite a strong emphasis on professional development, only one teacher on staff could recall having ever received professional development in music. For others, the last time this occurred was within their ITE. Private contractors had similar experiences, having last undertaken professional development several years ago within their undergraduate degree or through various courses. Similarly, the principal could not recall the last time music was a focus for teachers at the school; nevertheless, they indicated that upskilling the staff in this area would be very beneficial. The principal admitted that a challenge of this is knowing who to ask to facilitate, given there are no longer music advisers available to provide guidance and expertise to schools.

Curriculum

According to a recent report from ERO, Tuatara School offers an extensive curriculum that provides rich learning experiences across the New Zealand Curriculum. The school actively strives to provide high quality teaching and learning with improved achievement throughout all curriculum areas. Despite this, the school is largely focused on achievement levels in numeracy and literacy, which are currently higher than average compared to other schools of the same decile. The prioritisation of numeracy and literacy is reflected through the school's strategic plan, which aims to raise student achievement and to have all students at least half a curriculum level above their age. This focus is achieved by investing in numerous professional development opportunities for the teaching staff; dedicating significant classroom time to reading, writing, and mathematics; and facilitating additional initiatives such as reading challenges.

Planning

Generalist teachers

At Tuatara School, generalist teachers from each syndicate tended to work together to collaboratively plan their curriculum. In the senior syndicate, this resulted in generalist teachers discussing the needs of their students, their current progress in the curriculum, and the current level against which they are achieving. Generalist teachers would then discuss the achievement objectives that would be shared across the entire syndicate. One generalist teacher explained as follows:

I mean, we meet as a syndicate and we have to, like generally we will do the same sorts of things but then do them in our own sort of ways? But we will all be, like all six senior classes will be doing the same sort of writing and the same sort of maths, usually. Like sometimes there's some slight overflow and change due to levels but generally we're told ... well not told but we discuss what needs to be done and then go from there. (Generalist Teacher 2)

This planning seemed to be limited to reading, writing, and mathematics, with other subjects such as art or physical education being planned or enacted individually by generalist teachers. As one generalist teacher explained,

And obviously there's some wriggle room but not a lot and that's usually when I do art or PE. (Generalist Teacher 2)

From the shared achievement objectives, generalist teachers would individually plan lessons and activities depending on the needs of their learners and the resources available. When asked of the achievement objectives that generalist teachers were planning to meet for music, one generalist teacher admitted,

To be honest I don't know because I haven't looked at it recently at all because we just haven't done it. (Generalist Teacher 2)

In contrast, another generalist teacher shared that, to their understanding, the achievement objectives of the music curriculum were so broad that they would encompass almost any musical activity:

For me, the objectives here are very broad, so I explore and share ideas about music and arrangements. So if you're talking about the authors, or talking about the instruments that are involved or the people involved, you're doing that, and so the sound that's made as a listener responds to elements of music. So I think they are pretty broad, and just about anything you do with music, you can fit into those achievement objectives if you like. (Generalist Teacher 3)

In the middle syndicate, generalist teachers also planned collaboratively together; this occurred annually and dictated the overarching focus for each term. Similar to the senior syndicate, generalist teachers based this planning on the achievement objectives in the New Zealand Curriculum. As one generalist teacher explained,

Well, we use the curriculum guide, so we use what we need to teach from what we have to do and then from there ... I just see what the children's needs are and then plan from there and use what we have to teach and use the curriculum guidelines, the achievement objectives. (Generalist Teacher 1)

When asked about planning the music curriculum specifically, a generalist teacher similarly explained that this would not occur in their generalist classroom; however, the arts were a part of the syndicate planning:

Well in my classroom I wouldn't do it, it's not something I would do naturally, no, but as a syndicate it was part of our yearly planning, that we had to do an arts performance, so that's what we chose to do. We did dance, visual, and singing, so the arts. It was really good. (Generalist Teacher 1)

Private contractors

Planning also seemed to vary significantly between private contractors, with some relying solely on instrumental tutor books. Contrastingly, other contractors planned their curriculum based on upcoming performances or whether children were interested in participating in external examinations. A private contractor shared the following:

I usually just make a plan for the term, or even the two terms, because my goal as a tutor is to get them through playing at the concert and then also maybe preparing for the exam if they are going to do a Rock School exam. So I guess what that would entail is learning songs, learning technical, so like scales, sight-reading, ear tests, and

then also just creating music as well, because as a tutor I love to encourage creating.
(Private Contractor 1)

As these lessons are deemed extracurricular, they are not obliged to meet the New Zealand Curriculum. While it could be argued that the achievement objectives of the New Zealand Curriculum are so broad that private music tuition could be seen to fulfil these objectives, for the most part, private contractors seemed to have little understanding of the New Zealand Curriculum itself. According to one private contractor,

I know nothing about the New Zealand Curriculum really. I probably did when I first started here, in a new country, let's read this curriculum thing and I haven't looked at it for years. (Private Contractor 2)

Enacting the music curriculum at Tuatara School

Generalist classrooms

There are 18 classrooms at Tuatara School, all of which are led by generalist teachers. Despite this, the principal lamented that the staff are not well versed when it comes to music:

Music across our staff is probably not a strength as such. We've got three or four staff who are, love music, love the singing and love the dance and other aspects of music. So we've got four teachers at the moment taking Jump Jam, and they enjoy the dance and they enjoy the choreography and all those sorts of aspects, but they probably wouldn't say that they're "musical" as such. (Principal 1)

The enactment of the music curriculum at Tuatara School was either omitted completely or enacted in the classroom through periods of group singing. Generalist teachers shared that group singing occurred regularly at the beginning and end of each day, as the class sung along to songs on YouTube. As one teacher explained,

I don't think anyone in our syndicate would teach music. We all do a song in the morning and the afternoon but that's it as far as I know, so it is, it's non-existent.
(Generalist Teacher 2)

Depending on the class, this song was chosen from a pre-approved list of songs either by the generalist teacher or by a student. One generalist teacher elaborated on this:

I have a group of songs that are really good for kids. So I let children choose, so each week I have a different child who is in charge of music and so they get to choose a song ... so it's just popular songs that are clean I suppose. (Generalist Teacher 1)

While children were able to suggest repertoire, in the senior syndicate, songs were often selected by a nominated generalist teacher:

[They] pick out the songs that are right in vogue and the kids love it and they learn it, so I just go with what they've done. (Generalist Teacher 3)

Another generalist teacher explained this process further:

Sometimes the kids will suggest them, but generally we'll, just because our whole, well, I think there is one class that doesn't do it, but most of our classes do it, and usually we'll do the same one, so if someone just finds a song that they think the kids will like, quite often they're like new songs that are on the radio and the kids enjoy them and stuff. (Generalist Teacher 2)

During classroom observations, children sang along to popular songs, such as "Brave" by Sara Bareilles and "I'm Still Standing" by Elton John, more recently popularised through the animated movie "Sing." These activities involved minimal input from the generalist teacher, who either gave directions such as "Come on guys, you know this!" or sat silently completing work at their desk. A generalist teacher later explained that these group singing activities are usually student-led, with little direction given:

Yeah, we usually just put it on and they just go with it. (Generalist Teacher 2)

The level of engagement during group singing seemed to vary significantly between students, with some mumbling their way through the words and others sitting in complete silence. According to one generalist teacher,

The expectation is that they either sing or they just sit and enjoy the music, but they don't talk. (Generalist Teacher 2)

The principal shared that generalist teachers resorted to group singing activities as they lacked the skills to enact other aspects of the music curriculum:

This arts term focus, there will be a lot of singing, there'll be a lot of different things happening. People say they are happy to put a bit of music on and encourage but don't feel they've got the skills to do some of the other stuff. (Principal 1)

This may explain why these activities did not have a specific learning objective, beyond “just enjoying music.” When questioned further, one generalist teacher explained,

I just think at the beginning of the day it's just the song to get them ... you know, we have lots of kids that come in late, so it's just a song to gather them together to become one and just to enjoy the song. Then at the end of the day we do it to clean up, you know, it's like a clean-up song. (Generalist Teacher 1)

Another generalist teacher said,

It's just fun. Like I definitely wouldn't say “yes I do music in my class, I sing a song!” It's just fun. It just calms them down, or hypes them up. (Generalist Teacher 2)

When asked whether these types of activities would meet the achievement objectives outlined in the New Zealand Curriculum, two generalist teachers shared the following:

I'm going to go out on a whim and say no probably not. (Generalist Teacher 2)

I think it is very minimal but it's a love and it's a start. (Generalist Teacher 3)

Similarly, when asked what musical skills children were expected to graduate from Tuatara School with, a generalist teacher said that it would be “nothing to do with music” They continued,

It would be very basic, like can sing the national anthem. (Generalist Teacher 2)

Other music-related activities seemed to differ between classrooms depending on the generalist teacher. In one classroom, I observed a CRT teacher enacting a listening activity that featured music from a variety of genres, including pop, folk, rock, classical, and Māori waiata. Over the course of 45 minutes, children listened to snippets of 10 different songs and were required to write the emotion that it made them feel. These emotions were then

discussed and shared with the class. The release teacher explained that they had found a lesson plan for this activity online from a website called Sparklers. This website was created in response to the Christchurch earthquakes, and it provided free lesson plans for activities to increase student well-being (Sparklers, 2022a). According to the lesson plan, the learning objective for this activity was to “help students connect music and their emotions, and discover how music can lift their mood and help them feel good” (Sparklers, 2022b). While this activity featured a variety of music, it seems that the lesson was focused more on mindfulness than on fulfilling the music curriculum or developing any specific musical skills.

Some generalist teachers additionally chose to play music in their classroom while students were completing work:

I think on a daily basis, I think generally there would be some music every day, like ... a CD on or piece of music that you're listening to while you're writing, so that sort of thing. (Generalist Teacher 3)

I bring in my UE Boom to play music, but that's it. (Generalist Teacher 2)

We listen to a variety of songs every day. (Generalist Teacher 4)

Children at Tuatara School reinforced this during the focus group discussions, explaining that:

Child 1: When we're doing work my teacher will just put on the UE Boom and we'll just listen to Spotify.

Child 2: We'd put Christmas songs on when we're doing colouring and stuff.

Child 3: Yeah and sometimes when we're working we play heaps and heaps of Christmas songs. (Focus Group 1)

Like group singing however, these experiences tended to differ between classrooms, as other children shared that “we don't listen to music” in class. In addition to group singing and listening to music, some generalist teachers have previously taught instruments, such as recorder and ukulele, in their classrooms:

So I have actually taught ukulele before, but not for a long time ... A few years ago I taught recorder. (Generalist Teacher 1)

In my first year, the syndicate leader that I had here, she's not here anymore, she loved music and so we, in that year, did a little bit and I did ukulele. (Generalist Teacher 2)

These findings were additionally reinforced by the children themselves:

Sometimes our teachers teach us like recorder and stuff. (Focus Group 1)

Children from the focus group indicated that instrumental music-making had not occurred in the classroom for some time. They explained that the last time this occurred was when they were still in the junior syndicate:

I think one time we went to a different class and we got to, it was like in Year 2, and we got to play ukulele. Like the class. (Focus Group 1)

Generalist teachers indicated that these lessons would last up to 30 minutes; however, the frequency of these lessons was unclear, given they had not occurred for several years. One generalist teacher shared that, in their class, this would happen quite regularly to prepare for a performance, but after the performance, the instruments may not be used again:

Then it would be because we are performing in assembly or something like that. So I would have the instruments out, do something really thoroughly, put them away and then I might not look at that again. (Generalist Teacher 3)

Alongside teaching instruments in the classroom, one generalist teacher shared that they had previously used soundscapes to teach students about composition and improvisation:

In the past we've done music pictures, where we might, for example, with our instruments and our groups and working together with different groups in the classroom, plan a piece of music sound picture about a stormy night. So it might start off with and get stormy and then rain in between. So children enjoy that because they sort of talk to each other about what they can, what instrument or how can they make it sound, it might just be their fingers on the desk or something to make a sound and then record it and share it. (Generalist Teacher 3)

From these accounts, it seems that music-making does occasionally occur at Tuatara School, but this has been inconsistent over the years and dependent on the generalist teacher themselves. According to the principal,

I think it's something that does slip off in lots of classes, and I think some teachers are petrified of it. And they'll sing a little bit of, and or you know, put a bit of music on, but it's not, it's something that I, that we don't do amazingly well here. You know what I mean? We, we, I don't feel in classes we do amazingly well here, but then it's very hard to be amazing at everything. It is very hard. (Principal 1)

Assembly

Alongside opportunities for music-making in the classroom, children sing regularly at the weekly school assembly. As the principal explained,

Every week at our assemblies, we always sing and we try and lead songs that they enjoy and get involved in. (Principal 1)

A parent similarly mentioned this:

So I know that obviously they do a lot of singing at assemblies and things like that. So they have their routine, usually a lot of it is Māori songs, and then of course they have their school songs as well that they do. So they've got an Elton John one at the moment, "I'm Still Standing," and they all get up and sing that. (Parent 2)

Children shared that each assembly began with the national anthem and was followed by other repertoire depending on the time of the year and upcoming events in the school's calendar. For example, in Term 4, the students were preparing for their upcoming prize-giving. This involved preparing Christmas carols, such as "Jingle Bells" and "Silent Night," in both English and te reo Māori.

In addition to group singing, assemblies would also occasionally feature performances from teachers who are musically inclined, visiting musicians, and students participating in private music tuition. A generalist teacher explained that

in the past we've done that. We've had drummers in and every child had a drum, I forget who the group is now but that was incredible, absolutely incredible. (Generalist Teacher 3)

Nevertheless, these performances were not a regular occurrence.

Extracurricular activities

At Tuatara School, students have the opportunity to be involved in several extracurricular musical opportunities, such as the production, choir, kapa haka, and private music tuition. These are described below.

Production (senior syndicate)

At Tuatara School, a production occurs every 2 years in the senior syndicate and is facilitated voluntarily by several generalist teachers. In the year that I was conducting my research at the school, the production was purchased online from a private business in the United Kingdom, which sells and distributes musicals to schools. Through this website, Tuatara School was provided with scripts, backing tracks, backdrops, production notes, costume guides, staging, and supporting videos demonstrating possible choreography for each song. In addition to purchasing these resources, performing, copying, and video licences may have been required, depending on the number of performances, whether resources were photocopied, and whether the school wished to take any video recordings. The cost of each of these licences ranges from \$20.00 to \$100.00, depending on the number of performances and the size of the school roll.

Children who wished to participate in this production were given the opportunity to audition for either acting, speaking, dancing, or singing roles. In addition to these roles in the cast, it was compulsory for senior classes at Tuatara School to participate by creating supporting choruses. These choruses were required to sing along to a backing track and participate in a choreographed dance. In total, approximately 80 children were involved, and they participated in numerous rehearsals over the course of two terms. In addition to the supporting generalist teachers, this event was strongly supported by the school community, as parents and staff volunteered to construct the set, staging, and design and to sew costumes for all the children who were involved. The staging of the production itself occurred in the school's auditorium over three performances that were open to the public for the cost of \$10.00 per adult and \$6.00 per child.

It quickly became apparent that this biennial production was part of Tuatara School's culture, as it was promoted and celebrated throughout the school. A private contractor shared that, because of the production, they felt music was valued at Tuatara School:

I think it is valued, like especially with their choir, kapa haka ... yeah, I think their choir and production is quite a big thing there. (Private Contractor 1)

Generalist teachers additionally discussed the production, outlining that, although there was little music education in the classroom, the production fulfilled their curriculum requirements:

Well, last term we did a production so there was a lot of singing. (Generalist Teacher 1)

One generalist teacher even indicated that participation in the production would have promoted educational pathways by adequately preparing children for intermediate and secondary school:

Production would have, like because we did dancing with the music and, you know, a lot of them did get better with their rhythm and their, like, keeping up and you know. (Generalist Teacher 2)

Others in the school were more cynical, with one private contractor suggesting that schools tend to use productions to negate their responsibility of enacting the music curriculum in the classroom:

I haven't seen much classroom music happening ... I have a feeling that the schools tick the music box by doing a production every couple of years and hope that that ticks a whole lot all in one go, rather than a consistent, you know, right from the age of 5 learning to clap the beat and learning about long sounds and short sounds and loud sounds and all of that kind of stuff. (Private Contractor 2)

This cynicism was also shared by parents, and one explained that, despite the production, there were few opportunities for music education unless children were involved in private music tuition:

I mean, you've got a musical but in terms of playing an instrument, you have to pay. (Parent 1)

Production (middle syndicate)

Alongside the senior production, the middle syndicate was involved in an arts performance, which generalist teachers referred to as a production. Within each classroom, generalist

teachers enacted a unit on New Zealand music, focusing on different New Zealand musicians through art and singing activities. This was concluded by a performance on stage, where students throughout the entire syndicate sang the New Zealand repertoire together. One generalist teacher described this:

They did a unit on New Zealand musicians, so they learnt about all these musicians, and then they did some artwork around that, and they sang a song with snippets of New Zealand music, and they all, the whole syndicate did that and performed it on stage. (Generalist Teacher 3)

In addition to this performance, each classroom from the middle syndicate performed one item which would be filmed and edited into a video. With an overarching New Zealand theme, these performances varied from class to class. As one generalist teacher explained,

So each class did something and then we all did a combined dance and a few songs. (Generalist Teacher 1)

This resulted in one class singing along to a recording of “Glitter” by Benee, while another class created a short stop motion video. One of the classes incorporated instruments, as students sang waiata with rākau, wooden sticks otherwise known as claves. This activity was copied directly from a performance that the generalist teacher found on YouTube, where rākau were choreographed to be passed and hit to create a percussive sound. The generalist teacher explained,

We each had to do a lot of collaborative singing, but then I did the rākau and someone else did a different dance or whatever. (Generalist Teacher 1)

Another class opted to feature children who played a musical instrument:

They got children to play piano or play their instrument, whatever they were learning, and record it and put it on Seesaw [a learning experience platform] and send it in so that they could share it. (Generalist Teacher 3)

As only some children could play a musical instrument, I questioned whether this performance opportunity was limited to those participating in private music tuition. The generalist teacher indicated that this opportunity was open to

anyone who learnt an instrument privately, or from the itinerant, or at school or wherever. If they thought they played and wanted to share it, they could. (Generalist Teacher 3)

When asked about the purpose of this arts performance, a generalist teacher indicated that it was purely to fulfil the requirements of the New Zealand Curriculum for the arts:

We did have that arts performance so we did visual arts, we did dance and we did singing, so I guess that kind of ticked the box for the music. (Generalist Teacher 1)

Kapa haka

At Tuatara School, all children were required to participate in kapa haka, a form of Māori performing arts. This requires students to sing, dance, and chant within a group ensemble to increase cultural practices within the school. As the principal explained,

We have also a kapa haka, which all our children get involved with kapa haka, so everyone is singing. (Principal 1)

This was also reinforced by a generalist teacher:

I think on a daily basis, I think generally there would be some music every day, like you talk about your kapa haka and the waiata that you have there. (Generalist Teacher 3)

In addition to participating in school-wide kapa haka, children could also choose to participate in a kapa haka rōpū (group). A student said,

Everyone does kapa haka and there's a kapa haka rōpū which is basically an extension. (Focus Group 1)

With no associated cost, approximately 70 students are involved in the kapa haka rōpū. This group performed regularly within the school and in the local community, specifically at assemblies and the opening of amenities both at the school and within the community; they also performed at the annual kapa haka competition. While it is unclear who led this group at the time of data collection, a previous ERO report indicated that Tuatara School had once employed a specialist kapa haka teacher.

Private music tuition

With little music-making happening in the classroom, approximately 25% of the children enrolled at Tuatara School participated in private music tuition. These students were given the opportunity to learn either piano, keyboard, ukulele, guitar, bass, drums, singing, violin, recorder, flute, clarinet, or saxophone, in addition to classes in music theory. These lessons are enacted by seven private contractors, who either operate as independent contractors or are sub-contracted by private businesses. These lessons occur weekly on a user pays basis, with the cost of each lesson varying between private contractors, who are able to dictate their own fees. Lesson costs ranged from \$30.00 to \$47.00 per half hour of individual tuition, which is significantly more expensive than \$7.50 per lesson through the Out of Hours Music and Arts (OOHMA) scheme that is funded by the Ministry of Education. Annually, participating in private music tuition at Tuatara School equates to between \$1,200 and \$1,800, in addition to the cost of either purchasing or hiring an instrument. Given the affluent status of the school and the community, these costs did not seem to be a problem. As one private contractor explained,

[Tuatara School] is quite lucky because they're quite a high decile school, so there are a lot of families who are fortunate enough to have enough income to pay for it.
(Private Contractor 1)

This was echoed by a generalist teacher:

Our children are very lucky that their parents are able to provide private lessons. So a lot of the children in my class do take private tuition if they're really interested in it.
(Generalist Teacher 1)

Regardless, the principal indicated that the school has previously sponsored children whose families may not be able to afford the cost of private music tuition:

The parents pay, so it's a user pays arrangement. But we've asked them, any child who we feel might not be able to, who shows talent and is able to, that they provide some free spots for those. So, the itinerants [private contractors] come in to tutor their own ones, and just occasionally they get another child that pops in and out and nobody knows that is being supported by us. (Principal 1)

When asked how the school selected these students, the principal explained,

We know the ones who may be not as affluent and as able to afford it as others, and they just need to show a bit of passion and talent. (Principal 1)

Despite this, private contractors seemed to be unaware that sponsorship existed, with one contractor exclaiming,

Oh! I didn't even know! This is my first time hearing of the funding so that's actually quite interesting to know because, if that was offered a bit more, there might be more kids who would sign up to lessons. (Private Contractor 1)

Disconnect between the school and private music tuition seemed to be a common theme, with private contractors operating almost entirely independent from the school:

I just go in there, do my thing, and just leave. (Private Contractor 1)

It's very isolated from anything else that happens in the school ... I'm independent, I come in and out and do my own thing, and they aren't really aware of me half of the time. (Private Contractor 2)

As private contractors, these teachers come from a variety of backgrounds, often holding music qualifications, such as a Bachelor of Music, rather than any qualifications in education. During the interviews, two private contractors explained their background:

When I finished my music degree, I thought about doing a postgrad in teaching, but I just fell into this itinerant job, and I've fallen in love with it, so I don't know if I'd stop and then go do the postgrad and then go back. It's hard because I would love to be able to teach classroom stuff but then going off to study another year while I'm doing so well with my company, I'm just like "oh ... nah." (Private Contractor 1)

So I'm not a trained teacher ... I played at school and did grades and all of that. (Private Contractor 2)

Despite not holding any educational qualifications, these teachers are additionally not required to hold a LAT. According to one of the private contractors,

I did an LAT a few years [ago] ... but, you know, it expires. I haven't done it, and I haven't been asked for it. I should probably do it and put myself through it, but I kind of feel like, at my age, my experience is probably better ... and I feel that it's not

particularly needed in schools for an itinerant. I think if I was doing classroom music, I think it would be. (Private Contractor 2)

Another private contractor hypothesised that

there's heaps of tutors that don't have that LAT. (Private Contractor 1)

When asked about this further, the private contractor suggested that this was due to their own lack of awareness:

To be honest, I think just a lack of knowledge, like I didn't hear about the LAT until I went for my job interview at [another school]. (Private Contractor 1)

In addition to lacking educational qualifications and an LAT, these private contractors were also under no obligation to undertake regular professional development; they were even excluded from any staff-wide professional development that occurred within the school. This resulted in private contractors undertaking little to no professional development over the past 4 years. Despite operating independently from Tuatara School, private music tuition occurred during class time on school property, usually in the music room. As the music room was also used for the storage of learning resources, Christmas decorations, and kitchen crockery, the space was limited and could barely accommodate more than one teacher and one student. For lessons such as drums that required a space large enough to accommodate a drum kit, a dilapidated pool shed was used, which has since been demolished. A private contractor recounted the space:

So it's like this old pool shed, like right next to the main office. It's like super small ... They keep talking about demolishing it at some stage. (Private Contractor 1)

In addition to offering teaching spaces, Tuatara School additionally owned several instruments that both the students and private contractors were able to use. Many of these instruments were broken and unfit for purpose. Two of the private contractors described them as follows:

There are some violins that belong to the school but nobody ... I wouldn't say anybody from the school knows how many there are, even where they are, what state of repair they're in. (Private Contractor 2)

In terms of [Tuatara School] there's been times when guitar strings are broken and drum skins ... I guess [Tuatara School] don't know that some instruments require maintenance. (Private Contractor 1)

Despite requesting these instruments either be replaced or repaired, there was a lack of action from Tuatara School; this spurred one private contractor to personally purchase new strings and attempt to fix the drum skin with duct tape:

I have tried asking to replace stuff, but it hasn't quite followed through, so I'll buy the strings and put them on the guitars, and I've just taped up the drum kit. (Private Contractor 1)

Apart from providing a teaching space and granting the use of these broken instruments, private contractors at Tuatara School were offered no other resources or support.

As these private music lessons occurred during the school day, children were required to come out of class to attend their lesson. To minimise disruption to each child's education, a rotating schedule was encouraged. The principal explained this process:

So we have most of them roster different times during the week. We try and vary the children's impact so they don't always come out of maths or what it is, or that sort of thing. (Principal 1)

Despite this, one private contractor indicated that generalist teachers were sometimes reluctant to let their students attend scheduled tuition:

Some of them can get quite grumpy like "Oh, they're missing out on writing." (Private Contractor 1)

Another private contractor shared that some parents were additionally concerned about their child attending private music tuition during the school day:

Some parents can't bear the thought of their child missing half an hour's important schooling to learn an instrument, so they insist that it's in the afternoon or straight after school or whenever. (Private Contractor 2)

In terms of the structure of the lesson and how they are taught, this seems to vary significantly between teachers. One private contractor shared that,

basically, my structure over the lesson would be like learning songs, reading proper tablature and notation and, depending on the instrument, so like piano will just be all notation with some chord stuff as well, and then I like to do a bit of song-writing, so getting kids to create their own songs. And then with the scales, trying to use those scales to kind of solo in those songs, and yeah. So just getting kids to create and play fun songs. (Private Contractor 1)

This contrasted with the methods used by another private contractor:

My structure of the lesson is that they do some warm ups, choose something to play that they have particularly enjoyed practicing this week, or haven't ever remembered playing before. Yeah, and then something new, a new piece or a technique, or some reinforcement and then the main body of the teaching of the lesson. Then I always try and finish off with, again, their choice of anything. (Private Contractor 2)

For one private contractor, their method of teaching changes to cater to the needs of the individual child and depends on their previous experience:

I always get new students that come from different schools who have had lessons with other tutors and some of them don't know how to read music, don't know how to read tablature, don't have proper technique and everything. It makes me so sad to see kids come from other itinerant tutors without proper musical knowledge. (Private Contractor 1)

When asked to give an example of how a new piece may be taught, a private contractor shared the following:

It does depend on each student. Yes, there are students who I feel it's good for them to have, to do it themselves, so put it in front of them and see what they make of it, just a sightreading exercise, I suppose. There are students who ... and I was very much, I liked to learn by ear and my teacher would play things through to me and then I would just play them back to her. So sometimes I'll play it to them or let them listen, because I use the backing tracks that come with the beginner books quite a lot. That frees me up from playing the piano or anything that I can see them and you know I can put my finger here to you know to ... adjust posture ... while they're playing, which you can't if you're attached to the piano, I guess, or I can listen to them in

different ways, I don't have to worry about that. So I might play them the backing track and get them to watch and listen to it, I might play it to them, we might do the clapping thing, we might sing it, sing the letter names, sing the long and short things, depends on the student. (Private Contractor 2)

Choice of repertoire also seemed to significantly vary between private contractors depending on their background. One private contractor explained that they had a background in funk and metal and that, because of this, they tended to include more repertoire from pop and rock genres. However, they did indicate that, if students wanted to learn another genre, they were also happy to cater to this:

I guess if a kid were to approach me about learning classical stuff, I would definitely get out the Trinity [music exam] book or something like that, just to cater to them as well. It just depends on the student really, like my goal as a tutor is to provide a fun experience, so if they want to learn classical, we'll go down classical, if they want to learn pop, we'll do pop. (Private Contractor 1)

In addition to the background of the private contractor, instrumental examinations seemed to influence the repertoire that students would learn. A private contractor explained,

My goal as a tutor is to get them through playing at the concert and then also maybe preparing for the exam if they are going to do a Rock School exam. So I guess what that would entail is learning songs, learning technical, so like scales, sight-reading, ear tests, and then also just creating music as well, because as a tutor I love to encourage creating. (Private Contractor 1)

These examinations seemed to be optional and dictated by the child's parents. A private contractor shared that some parents "are very exam focused." When asked why some parents opted for their child to work towards an examination, this teacher said,

Because they're [Tuatara] parents ... they are kind of higher achieving, higher socioeconomic groups, and their children are doing ballet exams and swimming medals, and they are doing it in every other area, so they want them to do it in violin as well. (Private Contractor 2)

Parents who chose for their child to undertake a music examination were also required to pay for the cost of the examination on top of the fees that they were already paying for the cost of the instrumental tuition and either hiring or purchasing an instrument. Depending on the examination board and the level of the students, the cost of these examinations varies between \$88.00 and \$315.00. Alongside examination fees, parents may also incur additional expenses associated with an examination, such as a fee for hiring an accompanist or the cost of purchasing any required resources such as music books.

Alongside examinations, private contractors also promoted performances at either local events or at concerts that they had personally organised:

In Term 2 and Term 4, I put on concerts, and that kind of just encourages kids to play in front of their friends and family. (Private Contractor 1)

At Christmas time for example, I would try and get them playing together, for if there's a carol service, or they do a lighting of the tree ceremony at the church across the road here, or if there's an end of year concert, I'll try and push for my kids to play. I love arranging parts, you know, they might have only been playing for a term but they can play D and A, so we can do that, and they can play an open string thing with some of the others. I like to get them involved if I can, if I hear about something happening. (Private Contractor 2)

Choir

Another extracurricular activity in which students could opt to be involved was the school choir, which was voluntarily led by the principal. They explained,

I take the choirs generally. I'm not, I'm not a chorister, I mean, I love choir. I've always been in a choir sort of thing, but I'm not a talented choir person. (Principal 1)

The principal reiterated,

I'm not amazingly clever at doing incredible choir things. So for me, it's just at this stage trying to, enthusiasm, light the fire, passion. (Principal 1)

Without any associated cost or a requirement to audition, it was hoped that this choir would be accessible to all children at Tuatara School. The principal commented,

I like for it to be a participation choir, absolutely like it to be participation. Anyone who wants to come can come along. Sometimes the most enthusiastic are the flattest which is really hard, really hard at times, and you try and sort of, try and move them around to try not swing out too many people and that can be challenging. (Principal 1)

In addition to leading a participation choir, the principal explained that they also lead a specialist choir for a term or so, leading up to the annual Kids for Kids performance. These performances are hosted by Kids for Kids, a charitable organisation that seeks “to educate and inform school-aged New Zealanders about global citizenship through their participation in the Kids for Kids concerts” (New Zealand Government, 2022). Each of these concerts involves children from local primary school choirs, who come together to sing well-known New Zealand repertoire from the likes of Dave Dobbyn and Bic Runga (J. Fletcher, 2016). Participation in this event required each school to submit two soloist singers and a rapper, which involved students being auditioned. In total, approximately 50 children from the middle and senior syndicates at Tuatara School were involved in this choir; however, the event was later cancelled due to COVID-19. As one student indicated,

I was in it this year but since of COVID we couldn't do it. (Focus Group 1)

The principal shared that they had also once led an all-boys choir:

I had an all-boys choir for a while, and I had to hook the cool boys in, you know, and grab them in and I, you know, I bing bonged and bing bonged on the notices. And went round and couldn't get anyone. Then I went round and I signed up two or three cool boys, and then I ended up with a choir of all boys, who were, I didn't call them a choir, the girls were a choir, the boys were the vocal group, and you know, and they gained confidence of what they could do and that sort of thing. So, but it seems to depend on the personalities of the boys that you've got at the time, it's quite hard for them to be, and if you can catch a few cool boys who like singing, you can sort of generate a group. (Principal 1)

In addition to leading an all-boys choir, the principal shared that children at Tuatara School had also historically participated in a community production of “Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat.” According to the principal, the school was contacted by a local musical theatre company that was seeking a primary school choir to participate in the chorus.

While the principal quickly agreed to participate, they shared that they were sent pages of sheet music, outlining what the children were expected to perform:

[The theatre company] sent out the music. Music notation. Pages and pages of music. And you think, “Oh, this really shows you where I’m not at ... when we got it, I thought, flipping how do we do this? And we had to be doing echoing here and adding on that and doing this and stopping here.” (Principal 1)

Given the limited musical ability of the principal and other teachers at the school, the musical theatre company sent a specialist music teacher to conduct the students and teach them the repertoire. As the principal recalled,

And then they sent out, and in the end, a guy came out and he helped take the children ... and he conducted and he did an amazing job. (Principal 1)

Despite being a great opportunity, the principal shared that participating in the production was a big time commitment:

That was a great opportunity for those kids. And they went on, and they saw what was like in a big show, and it was pretty exciting, and they looked stunning and they found it stunning, but it was a massive commitment because we went night after night after night. So it was a huge commitment for myself and parents. But you, opportunities. It’s cool. (Principal 1)

Alongside these performance opportunities, the principal shared that the school also arranges a choir specifically for a Christmas festival that is held annually at the local church. They explained that this is generally a class choir, run voluntarily by a generalist teacher. While it was clear that the principal was an advocate of music and sought to provide various opportunities, they shared that, given their full schedule, they struggled at times to fit everything in:

It’s just hard fitting the time in, I take the chess and things, it’s hard fitting, squeezing it in. (Principal 1)

Timetabling seemed to be a recurring barrier to these extracurricular activities, with a private contractor sharing that choir rehearsals occurred during lunchtime. They indicated that, if the school valued this form of music-making, then it should happen during the school day:

That's another barrier, they still run in lunchtimes. Children don't want to come to choir at lunchtime, and I don't think they should, I think they should be running around outside. But schools that say, "Oh it's really valuable that we have a choir at our school, let's make it every Friday afternoon and put it in teaching time," then it's easier for the children to come, and they are going to want to come. (Private Contractor 2)

Another barrier raised by a parent was the lack of communication from Tuatara School regarding the choir. They explained that their child had previously been involved, but they were provided with little to no information:

She had been involved at some stage, but again it was just one of those things that I never found out much about. (Parent 2)

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of the first case study, which illustrates the provision and enactment of music education at Tuatara School. Through this chapter, the governance, budget, and operation of Tuatara School was explored, detailing how music education was planned, budgeted, and enacted, both within generalist classrooms and through extracurricular activities. These findings reinforce the importance of context and highlight the role of private tuition and the community's ability to financially contribute to the school. The findings of the second case study are presented in the following chapter, which explores the provision and enactment of music education at Kākāpō Intermediate.

Chapter 6: Kākāpō Intermediate

Kākāpō Intermediate is a suburban school, open to children in Year 7 and 8. Despite being classed as decile 5, Kākāpō Intermediate is situated in an area of significant deprivation, featuring high mortality rates and low levels of educational attainment. The streets surrounding the school are littered with rubbish and graffiti. Several houses appear abandoned, with long overgrown grass and boarded-up windows, while others are deemed uninhabitable because they are damp and overcrowded. As crime and violence run rampant, sirens of emergency services seem to play on loop. Given the socioeconomic status of the community, perhaps it is not surprising that Kākāpō Intermediate's reputation has continued to decline.

The roll at Kākāpō Intermediate largely consists of children from New Zealand European and Māori heritage, with others being described as Pacific, Asian, and Indian. According to the principal, these children hail from contributing schools from around the city and are consequently from "all walks of life." Despite having the capacity for 2000 students, around 700 children were enrolled. This decline is partly due to the expansion of the city, with the establishment of new schools that are considered to offer better educational opportunities. The COVID-19 pandemic is also responsible, as a large portion of Kākāpō Intermediate's roll was previously dedicated to international students, but with restrictions on international travel, this source of students and funding has been discontinued for the foreseeable future. Declining enrolments are also in response to Kākāpō Intermediate's dwindling reputation, which has been spurred by significantly high stand-down rates and an ERO review that found children achieving below expected levels for reading, writing, and mathematics. In response to this review, several changes have been made to the senior leadership team, and a new strategic plan has been developed with the community and board of trustees to promote more equitable outcomes. As a result, the principal explained that student well-being and achievement is now given precedence in all decision making.

In terms of staff, Kākāpō Intermediate employs 24 generalist teachers and six specialists involved in the technology and arts programme. Ranging from beginning teachers to those with over 15 years of experience, teaching staff hold a variety of undergraduate and postgraduate diplomas and degrees. Kākāpō Intermediate also has a variety of other part-time and full-time roles, including release teachers, team leaders, and coordinators for special

educational needs and learning support. In total, the staff at Kākāpō Intermediate consists of approximately 62 people.

Budget

Annually, Kākāpō Intermediate spends between \$90,000 and \$200,000 on curriculum-related resources and activities. From this budget, \$2,000 is allocated to music through the technology and arts programme. While the principal described this budget as “pretty generous,” this was disputed by the specialist music teacher:

So it's \$2,000 for the year for my music programme. When you have equipment that breaks down, that's actually not a lot, and things like these keyboards here, I haven't replaced since I've been here, and I've been here 7 years, so they need replacing. I'm actually going to have to go to senior management and say they are around \$400, \$500 a keyboard, and it's what our kids need actually, and ideally we want to change them all at the same time. I don't know how that will go. (Specialist Teacher 1)

An additional \$1,500 is allocated each year for instrument maintenance; the specialist music teacher similarly indicated that this was insufficient:

I get another budget for my music groups, so I get a further \$1,500 and that's for my music groups. I'm expected to deal with all my maintenance within that, so guitar strings and taking the guitars in to be serviced, pianos tuned, and it's not a lot. (Specialist Teacher 1)

Alongside a dedicated budget for music, generalist teachers are given \$300 per year to spend on classroom resources. Depending on the expenditure throughout the rest of the school, this budget can increase. A generalist teacher explained, however, that this budget is often spent on subjects besides music:

It's not even \$100 a term, and I use a third of it the first term just setting up the classroom and, you know, all the spaces and games and resources and stuff for the subjects that you do teach, because you have to teach them. (Generalist Teacher 7)

The annual budget at Kākāpō Intermediate is also influenced by donations from the community, which equate up to \$90,000 each year. It is unclear however how these donations are spent and whether any of this money is allocated to music education.

Resourcing

Kākāpō Intermediate has multiple spaces available for music-making, including a large auditorium, a dedicated music room, and several smaller practice spaces. The auditorium is predominately used for large events, such as assemblies and productions. Featuring a stage and tiered seating, this venue is also available for hire, and it is often rented out for community events. As well as the auditorium, there is also a music room, which is filled with instruments such as marimbas, xylophones, guitars, ukuleles, an upright piano, and a class set of keyboards. This room looks somewhat like a recording studio, featuring numerous Apple iMac computers and midi keyboards. According to the music teacher, however, further resources were desperately needed:

It will get to the point where we will have to do a fundraiser ... We're getting to the point where we don't have enough music stands, sort of like proper decent music stands. (Specialist Teacher 1)

In response, the specialist music teacher explained that one child even went busking to fundraise for additional music stands:

One of my students came in, because we were short of a stand one week because of when all of the tutors came in. [They] went, "I'm going busking this weekend" ... [They came] in on Monday and go, "Here you go, here's \$50, I've been busking." (Specialist Teacher 1)

In addition to fundraising, the specialist music teacher shared that they had resorted to personally creating resources and borrowing ones from colleagues at other schools:

So I make a lot of resources myself, beg, borrow, steal other people's bits of music and other people come and beg, borrow, and steal from me. (Specialist Teacher 1)

Despite this, the principal indicated that Kākāpō Intermediate was “pretty well resourced” for music, particularly in comparison to primary schools:

I think in terms of the music room and in terms of instruments, that side of things ... I think we're pretty well resourced, you know, for guitars and pianos and bits and pieces, but you can always have more, and there's maintenance ... I think, especially compared to probably our primary counterparts, I think intermediates are pretty well off even having music specialists, because I understand a lot of primary schools don't have the same level of resourcing in that area that I would argue we, the likes of our school, has, but yeah. So I think we're pretty well resourced. Music has a budget, and if there's anything [the specialist music teacher] wants, [they] just need to come and see us and then we can discuss it within reason, you know? (Principal 2)

While the specialist music teacher was given a specific budget and resources for music-making, generalist teachers were provided with speakers that could be used to play music in the classroom. Apart from these speakers, generalist teachers seemed unsure of any further resources that they could access:

At [Kākāpō Intermediate] I'm not 100% sure if there would be anything available for me. (Generalist Teacher 7)

The availability of resources? Like, I don't even actually know if there is? Like, I know in primary schools more, we sort of had a resource room, and you can go into that resource room and there's a box of maracas and there's a box of this, and you can get some xylophones here, and glockenspiels and that sort of thing. So at intermediate, there's not so much accessibility to those kinds of equipment or resources for you to do that. (Generalist Teacher 6)

According to the principal, however, generalist teachers were able to access any resources in the music room:

So we have a few ukuleles, so if a teacher wanted to, in this case would really need to talk to [the specialist music teacher] and say, “Hey, can I borrow the ukuleles?” (Principal 2)

While this was confirmed by the specialist music teacher, it was unclear whether these resources were accessible, given their use within the technology and arts programme. Two of the generalist teachers commented on this:

I suppose, depending on what I wanted to do, there might be something in the music room that the tech teacher might not need that day, but like I said, I don't know a lot of what [they do], so I'm not 100% sure what there would be. (Generalist Teacher 7)

See, the thing is that we don't have access to the music room and [the specialist music teacher] would be needing those instruments for [their] classes, so I guess we're not set up to allow classroom teachers to take lessons if we wanted to. (Generalist Teacher 6)

For many generalist teachers, lack of resources was a significant barrier to enacting music in the classroom:

Access to resources is major. I mean, we have quite a good music class at school, and obviously because, as one of the tech arts classes, they have their own funding, so that is all sort of taken care of, and also having [a specialist] music teacher ... [they] can source those sort of instruments and stuff, but I don't really know how you would get the resources into each class so it can become a regular thing. (Generalist Teacher 7)

Private contractors were additionally concerned about resourcing, with their access being limited to a teaching space and a photocopier. Despite these shared concerns, a generalist teacher indicated that these issues are common at every school:

I think any issues at [Kākāpō Intermediate] are just issues found in every single school in New Zealand, and I think it goes back again to the lack of resources. (Generalist Teacher 7)

Professional development

Kākāpō Intermediate annually spends between \$8,000 and \$14,000 on professional development. Despite this expenditure, the principal explained that music had not be included as a focus:

See, in terms of music, it would be very limited to be fair, because like I said once again, we are reliant on our music specialist ... music hasn't been a strong focus, other than within the specialist rooms. (Principal 2)

Generalist teachers also confirmed the absence of professional development for music:

We don't really have any professional development around the arts curriculum at all. I think again, because of that attitude that they have the tech art teachers to do that, so you just need to focus on the other stuff. (Generalist Teacher 7)

[Professional development in music] would be unlikely because we have a person who already does it. (Generalist Teacher 5)

Given Kākāpō Intermediate's reliance on the technology and arts teachers, it is interesting to note that even the specialist music teacher had not received any professional development in music, which resulted in their skills not being "as good as they once were." Professional development at Kākāpō Intermediate instead focused on literacy in response to the school's damning ERO review. Generalist and specialist teachers have since participated in a series of workshops led by the "Writer's Toolbox," a private business that provides professional development to schools in Australia and New Zealand (Writer's Toolbox, 2022). Other professional development has focused on student well-being, Positive Behaviour for Learning (PB4L) initiatives, inquiry learning, and ensuring that the local curriculum is culturally responsive. Without any opportunities to upskill in music, generalist teachers indicated that their understanding and skills were restricted to their ITE programmes, which for some, occurred over 15 years ago:

I have never had any training, apart [from] how to teach music at uni. The teaching degree has an arts paper, so you kind of go through the visual arts, drama, dance, and then there's a little bit of music. But yeah, we don't really have a lot of access to the training or anything like that. (Generalist Teacher 7)

While generalist teachers could pursue their own professional development in music, a generalist teacher confessed that this would be unlikely, given the subject's position within the curriculum:

It's not an important area of the curriculum. (Generalist Teacher 6)

With professional development workshops usually occurring during the school day, the specialist music teacher explained that timetabling was an additional barrier:

If it's during the school day, you feel guilty. If you've only got 11 lessons for kids and they lose one of those lessons because you've gone off to a training session. (Specialist Teacher 1)

Curriculum

Following ERO's recommendations, Kākāpō Intermediate has recently developed a localised curriculum in consultation with the community and local iwi. Aiming to accelerate children who are not achieving expected levels in reading, writing, and mathematics, this curriculum is guided by specific achievement targets. To ensure each achievement target is fulfilled, a step-by-step process is outlined, which promotes professional development in writing, extensive monitoring of achievement data, the adoption of learning intentions, success criteria, and the integration of numeracy and literacy in the technology and arts programme. Despite being described as "future focused," the adoption of achievement targets and curriculum integration are reminiscent of the National Standards policy, which was removed in 2017. Similar to the National Standards policy, this redeveloped curriculum seems to prioritise reading, writing, and mathematics to the detriment of the broader curriculum.

Planning

Generalist teachers

Planning at Kākāpō Intermediate is led by the leader of each syndicate, alongside curriculum leaders for learning areas and subjects relating to numeracy, literacy, Māori and Pasifika. These leaders collectively decide on the coverage for each learning area, the achievement objectives, and the context of how each subject will be taught. Team leaders will then collaborate with generalist teachers in their syndicate to determine suitable learning intentions, success criteria, lesson plans, and how these will be scheduled throughout the term. One generalist teacher elaborated on this:

So as a school, largely through senior management and middle management if you like, the [team leaders], senior teachers, there's a decision around what the year is going to look like, usually if COVID isn't around. Then from that, we've got our

coverage for the curriculum areas, and reading, writing, and maths is always in there, and then we sort of decide. We've just been doing our planning for next term, where, what is the context? We've got our achievement objectives from the curriculum. The context that we are going to use is the vehicle to deliver that, and then the [syndicates] separate off and do whatever, they put a twist on it that they want to put on it and then the learning intentions and the success criteria and then schedule it all over. Basically, we have the whole 10 weeks laid out in front and we figure out how it is all going to fit in, hence the crowded curriculum, because it's really, really hard to fit everything in. (Generalist Teacher 5)

Generalist teachers continued to refer to the curriculum as being overcrowded, indicating that, as a result, subjects such as music were excluded in favour of numeracy and literacy:

Again, there is always an expectation of, like a massive expectation when it comes to workload and what you have to teach the kids in a single week, which again kind of feeds into that sort of focus on the planning reading, writing, and maths first, because that's the data that they need, that you get told to teach first, that's what you kind of get in trouble for if you don't have it three times a day sort of thing. So you kind of focus on that and then you sort of try and fit in anything extra. The arts kind of fall off a little bit ... planning each week is such a massive job anyway, making it as detailed as it needs to be, it does get a lot easier when you just sort of focus on one subject. Does that make me a terrible teacher? (Generalist Teacher 7)

Despite the exclusion of music, the principal justified that generalist teachers were able to include music if they wished:

If teachers want to include music as part of their programme ... they are welcome to, but we don't or won't, rightly or wrongly, have that as part of the planning. (Principal 2)

As most generalist teachers lacked the content knowledge, skills, and confidence to enact music, it seems unlikely that they would voluntarily choose to include music in their planning. This was later confirmed by one generalist teacher:

Like, I wouldn't know how to break down the achievement objectives for music in the curriculum to turn them into WALTs [learning objectives] and success criteria, and I

wouldn't necessarily know what activities to do with the kids to help them achieve that. (Generalist Teacher 7)

Term focus

The planning process at Kākāpō Intermediate is also influenced by the overarching focus of the term, which dictates one learning area that the entire school will focus on. The principal outlined that, for each focus, teaching staff are given the opportunity to collaboratively plan and upskill through professional development:

If we're looking at living world science, there would be lots of teachers that are not sure what to do with that, so we sort of collaboratively plan, we try and upskill. (Principal 2)

While music had not been included as an overarching focus for several years, the principal confirmed that an arts subject is occasionally featured:

Then over the 2 years too, we have the arts as a focus for at least one term, so it depends on what the big learning and that is. So this year, for example, in Term 3 the emphasis will be around dance and drama, then the following year it usually looks at, say, visual art, and that's where music could be part of it too. (Principal 2)

Specialist music teacher

Unlike the generalist teachers, specialist teachers planned independently from the rest of the school. Given that children only received 11 lessons in each technology and arts subject, the specialist teachers indicated that these lessons were meticulously planned to ensure the full coverage of the curriculum. For the specialist music teacher, these 11 lessons were divided into smaller modules based on the elements of music:

I tend to teach via the elements of music, not agreed by all people, but I think for our students here it separates things into nice little modules. So if they're here for 11 lessons, I can do five lessons on rhythm, five lessons on pitch, melody, and it keeps everything fast paced. (Specialist Teacher 1)

From these modules, the specialist music teacher indicated that learning objectives and success criteria are constructed from the New Zealand Curriculum:

I start off with WALTs and success criteria, these can change, these can be adapted per group, it's not set in stone. (Specialist Teacher 1)

This information is then used to create an overview for each module and subsequent lesson plans.

Private contractors

While in-depth planning occurred within the generalist and specialist classes, little time or focus was given to planning private music tuition. Private contractors instead relied on instrumental tutor book series, such as Alfred, Abracadabra, A Dozen a Day, and A New Tune a Day, while others improvised lessons on the spot. One private contractor explained,

When I arrive, I see what state they're in, and if they are bright and sparky, the music will be tricky, if they are not so sparky, we do something middle-of-the-road until we get them sparky. (Private Contractor 5)

While a broad overview was usually followed, one private contractor outlined that there was simply no time to construct individual plans:

I would say with having so many students, because I suppose between school and private I've probably got 40 students a week, there's not a lot of time for developing lesson plans on a regular basis, so a lot of the time I am, not that I'm winging it because you know the overall goal and things like that, but I wouldn't, I don't have time to sit down every week and think, okay this is what needs to happen. So it is, a lot of it is having an overall plan ... but yeah, I do think if I had more time then I could put more time into actually preparing stuff more thoroughly, and that's just lack of time in general. (Private Contractor 3)

Enacting the music curriculum at Kākāpō Intermediate

The music curriculum at Kākāpō Intermediate is enacted in several ways, including in the classroom, in specialist technology and arts classes, and at school-wide singing assemblies known as waiata. Alongside music-making in the curriculum, children are also given the opportunity to participate in various enrichment activities, such as production, alongside cultural ensembles known as kapa haka, and Pasifika. Other extracurricular activities include

choir, orchestra, rock band, and private music tuition. This section will discuss each of these activities in detail.

Generalist classrooms

Kākāpō Intermediate is marketed as offering high-quality learning experiences throughout the curriculum. Despite this, a generalist teacher explained that only a handful of teachers were able to enact music:

We've got 24 teachers, maybe two or three could confidently teach a music lesson on their own. (Generalist Teacher 6)

Another generalist teacher confirmed this:

Unless you have a particularly passionate musical teacher in your class ... [children] won't be getting that much exposure unless they go to tech arts. (Generalist Teacher 5)

While the technology and arts programme did give all children the opportunity to learn music with a specialist teacher, generalist teachers shared the feeling that it had also absolved them from having to teach music:

I think as far as what we get told is the expectation is that they go to tech to do all of that kind of thing, and so we can let the tech teachers worry about it, and we can focus on everything else. (Generalist Teacher 7)

I think with an intermediate as well, you do have that added excuse that people give, I guess, or the added factor of having technology and art classes twice a week ... so if the discussion was brought up at a school like an intermediate that has that happening, quite often you'll hear, "Well, they do learn music for 6 weeks in the year, twice a week sort of thing, you don't need to be teaching that in class." (Generalist Teacher 7)

Reliance on the technology and arts programme was additionally confirmed by the specialist music teacher:

I think when it gets to intermediate that's exactly how it's seen, you know music is a subject, [technology and arts have] covered it, we've covered that curriculum, that allows our staff to get on with other things, which I find quite sad because it should be throughout, like it should be all interwoven, I guess. (Specialist Teacher 1)

While some generalist teachers were saddened by the omission of music in the classroom, others were relieved:

it's almost a relief that we don't have to teach it for coverage because there is just not enough room. The curriculum is so crowded that any teacher who isn't passionate about it would happily give it away, and that's any non-core reading, writing, and maths subject. It's sort of like, "Meh, we might give that a miss today, this week, this month, this term." (Generalist Teacher 5)

As a teacher, we have so much pressure to get through the reading, writing, and maths curriculum that there is often just not enough hours in the day to do what we're expected to do, let alone anything extra on top like music. (Generalist Teacher 7)

With an overcrowded curriculum, one generalist teacher suggested that music was better suited to the technology and arts programme:

As an intermediate, we struggle to fit the basics into our week, so I guess music, cooking, woodwork, those kinds of things are better off in technology where there is sort of those teachers who are trained to do that type of thing? (Generalist Teacher 6)

This struggle was illustrated as generalist teachers outlined the school's timetable:

When you break down how many blocks we have in a week and what's taken out for PE and what's taken out for tech and what's taken out for enrichments, we have 12 blocks of teaching available per week. In those 12 blocks you have to fit in at least three blocks of writing, at least three blocks of maths, and at least three blocks of reading. So reading, maths, and writing, that's nine blocks just there of your 12 that you have free and then you throw in your enquiry, that's two lessons so that takes you up to 11, which leaves you with one block maybe to do your extras like your health, or your te ao Māori [the Māori world], or your values segment that's guided by your school. So everything else sort of just goes by the wayside because you literally have to get that paperwork through and that planning done, which is why I think we fall back on those technology subjects being there. (Generalist Teacher 6)

There's 15 blocks in a week, like periods of learning, three a day, so we should be able to spend some of that time doing more creative things like music, but a massive

hindrance to that is the fact that there is so much pressure on us to fill that time with reading, writing, and maths. (Generalist Teacher 7)

This pressure to prioritise numeracy and literacy in the timetable was mostly in response to Kākāpō Intermediate’s negative ERO review, alongside the perception of music itself. As one generalist teacher explained,

I’m not sure if it’s particularly seen as important by children themselves or families, again, if they are not a musical background family, you know, “Why are you teaching my kids music when they suck at their times tables?” sort of thing, you know? (Generalist Teacher 5)

With limited time available, the principal justified it as follows: “It’s actually sometimes better to do less and do it well.” This provides one explanation for why children indicated that music was omitted from the classroom entirely:

Researcher: What about your classroom teacher?

Child 6: No.

Child 7: No music with [them].

Child 8: Nothing at all. (Focus Group 3)

Despite the overcrowded curriculum, a reliance on the technology and arts programme, and feeling absolved from teaching music, some generalist teachers chose to include periods of group singing within the classroom. For one generalist teacher, this occurred every morning after karakia (prayer):

Like every morning without fail I’ll do karakia and waiata, and I’ve got a couple of students that can play the guitar as well, so trying to just provide them opportunities to do that in the classroom. (Generalist Teacher 6)

In addition to waiata, this class regularly listened to music, especially in preparation for the school-wide waiata. The generalist teacher explained that, whenever the class was required to learn a new song, the song was played on repeat each morning:

If it's a YouTube song, I will play that YouTube song every morning between quarter past eight and quarter to nine so that they can hear, and by the time it comes round to me teaching it, they're like, "Oh this is the song that you've been playing in the mornings." "Yes, yes it is." (Generalist Teacher 6)

In other classes, children outlined that they were allowed to listen to music, providing that it enhanced their concentration:

In class if you, like if it helps you work better and you don't get distracted, the teacher will allow you to [listen to music] but otherwise not. (Focus Group 3)

However, listening to music was dependent on their behaviour, as one child explained:

Sometimes we're allowed to, sometimes we're not, depends on how crazy we are that day. (Focus Group 2)

Alongside listening in the classroom, one generalist teacher indicated that music was occasionally played in class to support literacy lessons:

I try to incorporate music sometimes through literacy. So, we'll look at whatever songs they are listening to at the moment and break down the lyrics and sort of that kind of thing. Talk a little about symbolism, and that's kind of helpful because that's like where different sounds come in and that sort of thing. It is very much like a one-off lesson every now and again if the kids just aren't focusing. (Generalist Teacher 7)

As these types of lessons usually occurred at the end of the term when children were tired or unfocused, they were usually improvised, lasting approximately 20 minutes. To illustrate these types of lessons, the generalist teacher recounted the following:

I can't remember which song it was, but it was a song that they all wanted to listen to, or they all wanted me to play ... I played it for them, and then I played it again, a second time with the lyrics on the screen ... I was like, "Alright, sweet, let's have an impromptu reading lesson, let's think critically about the lyrics, it could mean this." And I think I ended up getting them to go into groups of like three or four, they all had like a verse or something like that, and they kind of just talked about what the singer or songwriter was feeling, why they did that, how it fitted in with the music. We talked a little bit about how a lot of songs might have really happy upbeat music,

but then the lyrics are quite depressing. We talked a little bit about that, and I think, because we were looking at symbolism anyway in class, so we kind of brought that into it as well, and that was really, really cool, and a lot of that was like student led, like I said the combination of words and the music and how they match, that was purely just because one of the kids put up his hand and said, “This song does this.” But yeah, it wasn’t planned, and I kind of just went with it. (Generalist Teacher 7)

Alongside these improvised lessons, this generalist teacher explained that music was also used to provide a break from learning:

We played Time Bomb, so basically, we listen to music, throw a ball around and then when I pause the music, whoever is holding the ball is out. It’s a very basic game but you know it will start getting music in the classroom. (Generalist Teacher 7)

With music being used to supplement other learning areas and regulate behaviour, it is hardly surprising that generalist teachers believed that their teaching of music alone had failed to meet the requirements of the New Zealand Curriculum for music.

Technology and arts programme

The technology and arts programme is led by six specialist teachers, who offer classes in music, visual arts, science, hard materials, health and physical education, and digital and visual communication. Rotating through each subject, children attend two sessions of 90 minutes per week. Annually, this equates to 16.5 hours per subject. For music, these classes are grouped into several modules, which focus on rhythm, pitch, harmony, timbre, and structure. Within the first module, children learn to read, recognise, and play rhythms, understand how these fit into a pulse, and compose and perform alongside their peers. After using notation to show how rhythms can be divided across different beats, children use body percussion and bucket drums to perform and sight-read a variety of different rhythms. The specialist music teacher explained that these concepts are then expanded in subsequent lessons:

So sometimes we’ll do rhythm dictation, and they’ll work out how to slot it in through the grid method, there’s sort of a real connect. So it’s about trying lots of different methods. So they’ll be doing that and they’ll be starting to have a go on GarageBand, but Lesson 2, I’ll connect this to GarageBand by taking them into the piano roll so they can actually input their own drum beat that’s perfectly in time that they’ve

recorded themselves. So they might not know what crotchets and quavers are, but they know it's all fractions ... And then Lesson 3, I'll start properly introducing the traditional notation. (Specialist Teacher 1)

After completing this unit, a module on pitch is then introduced, which presents the music staff alongside the treble and bass clefs. Using the music staff, children learn to read, recognise, and play different pitches on an instrument of their choice. To support the development of musical literacy, a wide variety of sheet music was available, featuring pieces such as "Für Elise" by Beethoven, "Stayin' Alive" by the Bee Gees, and "Bad Romance" by Lady Gaga. After working through these pieces, children were encouraged to compose a melody and prepare a solo or group performance that would be shared with the rest of the class at the end of term. The third module focused on timbre and harmony, with children using traditional instruments such as taonga pūoro to explore how sound is created. The final module focused on the musical element of structure and introduced the progression of chords. With this understanding, children composed their own songs, writing lyrics, melody, and accompaniment, which were later performed by the class.

Each of these modules featured the integration of reading, writing, and mathematics. While reading occurred naturally as children developed musical literacy skills, writing was explicitly taught because children were required to write a paragraph on a given topic. To be successful, paragraphs were required to open with a "power statement," include at least three facts, be grammatically correct, and use vocabulary specific to music. In subsequent lessons, language features were introduced to enhance the complexity of children's writing. These language features included the use of adjectives, similes, alliteration, repetition, onomatopoeia, hyperbole, and metaphors. Writing was additionally integrated during the songwriting process through the introduction of rhythmic syllabification, which required children to identify the number of syllables in a word and the corresponding rhythm of each. The concept of rhyming was also explored. Alongside reading and writing, mathematics was integrated through the introduction of fractions and decimals to describe different rhythmic groupings.

While these objectives clearly meet the New Zealand Curriculum's requirements for music, the specialist music teacher explained that it was difficult to ensure all children were achieving at the required level, particularly given their lack of prior experiences:

Most students arrive with very little knowledge at all. Some of them have knowledge just through singing and playing guitar with family. ... But reading of music? Very little ... honestly, we're looking at students at Level 2. (Specialist Teacher 1)

Consequently, the specialist music teacher shared that it was difficult for these children to graduate Kākāpō Intermediate at the expected level in the curriculum:

If the students are here every lesson, my Level 2 ones, and if they really concentrate, I can probably can get them to low Level 3 in 11 lessons. (Specialist Teacher 1)

In contrast, there were other children at Kākāpō Intermediate who were achieving at a very high level, having come from a primary school with a strong music programme or having accessed private music tuition from a young age. The specialist music teacher indicated this:

I've got some students that actually they could do NCEA Level 2 now, and I can have that in my classroom. (Specialist Teacher 1)

In response to varying levels of experience, the specialist music teacher explained that aspects of the music class were independently led in order to ensure the needs of each child were met:

If we're doing a composition lesson or even a practice session, they've got to be able to do their own thing. It can't be everybody doing the same. (Specialist Teacher 1)

Waiata

In addition to the technology and arts programme, full school singing, known as waiata, occurs every fortnight for around 45 minutes. During the time of data collection, waiata was being led by a passionate generalist teacher, who recounted volunteering for this role after a COVID-19 lockdown:

So before the lockdown last year, another teacher was taking it and [they're] not musical per se, like it was also, this is going to sound so bad, but I was bored. It was more of a lot of talking and a little bit of practice, and yeah. After COVID it never came up again in conversation that we would have waiata on Fridays, and so I was like maybe I could send a couple of emails and just be like, "I'm willing to help, do you want my help for waiata," and the two teachers that had previously taken it had

said, “No we don’t want to do it,” and I was like, “Oh okay sweet as, like okay, I’ll take it!” (Generalist Teacher 6)

Beginning with a warm up, each waiata session follows the same broad structure. Warm ups generally consist of a range of physical and vocal activities to songs such as “Pizza Hut,” “Button Factory,” and Leonard Cohen’s “Hallelujah” sung in te reo Māori. After these warm ups, a variety of Māori and European songs were sung, including the school’s karakia, “Tūtira Mai Nga Iwi,” written by Māori tohunga (expert) Wiremu Te Tau Huata, and “He Honore, He Kororia,” written by New Zealand composer Jenny McLeod. Other repertoire included the New Zealand national anthem, “Waka Waka (This Time for Africa)” by Shakira, “Fix You” by Coldplay, and songs from Bruno Mars and the Disney film “Moana.” When it came to teaching new songs, this generalist teacher leading waiata would sing one line at a time for children to echo, or her class would perform the song for the school in exchange for pizza. This teacher additionally recounted creating recordings for each classroom so that they could practice throughout the week:

I’ll send a song out or a waiata out and be like, “You know this might be useful for you to be able to practice every morning. You’ve got 10 mornings until waiata. Have a go at it just one time.” I’ll be walking around the school, and the windows will be open, and I’ll hear the songs in the different classes, and I’ll be like, oh yay! So I generally try and send the songs out beforehand. I’ll personally record them or get my class to sing it, so I’ll teach my class to sing it first, or I will do it line by line with them all present so that it’s just me teaching them, and then they’ll sing it back to me. And competition wise, you know different [syndicates] doing it at different times and that kind of thing, and they seem to think, you know, everyone loves competition. (Generalist Teacher 6)

Despite sharing these recordings beforehand, the teacher indicated that this method was not always successful:

I actually got them to sing it in [syndicates], so we’ve got six [syndicates], and we’ve got around 120 kids in each one, and my [syndicate] was amazing, obviously. And as we sort of, like, went round, it was really noticeable, you know, who hadn’t practiced the song. And I just sort of, in the most blatantly nice way, was just like, “It’s really obvious who has not practiced,” and I just said it in front of everyone. I just said,

“Who hasn’t practiced when [our classroom] has gone out of their way to record a song for you and have emailed it to everybody to practice, and we come back to a waiata session like this, and it’s really obvious who hasn’t bothered to practice.” And I got like half of the auditorium to sing it and it was just so obvious. (Generalist Teacher 6)

Each waiata session was then concluded with the whole school performing a haka. Despite the associated time commitment, the teacher was not given any additional release time to prepare or enact waiata sessions. While the promotion of music and group singing within the school was encouraging, the principal indicated that this was promoted for cultural reasons rather than musical ones:

The emphasis, I guess, is more in terms of waiata, kapa haka, and the cultural aspect so the whole school can haka, the whole school know certain waiata. (Principal 2)

In addition to contributing to the school’s culture, group singing was also seen as providing a mental break:

We have a good old time, and you know, we might practice the haka, sing some ridiculous songs, have a bit of fun. Yeah it’s just a nice break, a good mental break. The kids seem to enjoy it. (Generalist Teacher 5)

Like many other activities, waiata sessions were eventually cancelled in response to COVID-19, ongoing lockdowns and restrictions to indoor singing.

Extracurricular activities

Extracurricular activities for music were enacted through the enrichment programme, private music tuition, and ensembles, such as choir, orchestra and rock band. While many of these extracurricular activities were offered free of charge, private music tuition were based on a user pays model. This section will provide an overview of each of these activities.

Enrichments

The extracurricular enrichment programme offers weekly classes in sports, digital technology, science, engineering, visual arts, hospitality, and production, in addition to cultural enrichments, referred to as kapa haka and Pasifika. These classes occur during the school day

for an hour and a half and were voluntarily led by either generalist or specialist teachers. As one generalist teacher explained,

[Enrichment classes have] been around for many years here, and they're basically areas where teachers have a passion, and they say, "Oh I'd really like to teach extra classes in whatever" ... usually a teacher is passionate about it, so they go off to that. (Generalist Teacher 5)

Due to the allocation of staff, available rooms, and resources, spaces are often limited, with some enrichments being restricted to just 20 children. As a result, children can only apply for one general enrichment class and one cultural enrichment class. After submitting an application and attending a trial, children are selected based on their "talent" and "passion" for the subject. According to one generalist teacher,

You don't want to be teaching a subject to kids who aren't particularly interested, so the passionate ones get in. (Generalist Teacher 5)

This generalist teacher explained that, on occasion, children may be accepted into multiple enrichment classes and are therefore required to choose between them:

Most of them don't get into multiple things but some do. Being in an accelerate class, I tend to have kids that have had multiple offers, and then we sit down and we have a bit of a chat, and they come and go, "Oh, I got into this and this and this. What am I going to do?" "Go home, have a talk to your parents," you know? (Generalist Teacher 5)

Most of these classes are offered free of charge; however, some incur a small fee to cover the cost of any associated competition or event. One child confirmed this:

Some are free, some you have to pay for, but they're not too expensive. (Focus Group 4)

When families are unable to meet this cost, a generalist teacher indicated that Kākāpō Intermediate is able to waive this fee:

They are usually quite small costs, and we have a fund to cover students who are perhaps not able to make those payments. (Generalist Teacher 5)

Production

Through the enrichment programme, children can participate in the school's annual production. This production is voluntarily led by a group of generalist teachers, alongside an external specialist contracted for the role of musical director. While generalist teachers usually received release time for their involvement in the enrichment programme, one generalist teacher explained that this was not always the case:

So we will be working after school and on the weekends, but the enrichment on a Friday afternoon is supposed to be release for a block. Quite often that is a bit of a negotiation and an argument. (Generalist Teacher 5)

Given the large roll at Kākāpō Intermediate, children were asked to audition for onstage roles, either singing, dancing, or acting:

It was mainly singing, but we could also do acting and like dancing around and stuff for the auditions. (Focus Group 4)

Yeah, we had to do a little paragraph of the song and do some dance moves with it. (Focus Group 2)

After initial auditions, shortlisted children were called back before the final casting was announced. A generalist teacher explained that, while every child was accepted, these auditions were used to dictate who would play each role:

I think they all got in. It was just about which parts they would be playing. So the leads especially, we wanted strong singers, and then we had the problem with kids at this age, especially the boys growing up quite quickly and voices dropping and suddenly becoming tone deaf. (Generalist Teacher 5)

Children's changing voices was particularly problematic given the ongoing impacts of COVID-19, which resulted in the school's production being delayed by a year. The same generalist teacher recounted,

We actually started this process last year, and COVID put a cold wash on it. So this production took a blimin' long time to get onstage. So the boys that we had decided we quite liked weren't so able anymore, so we had to reaudition them and set kids to different roles. (Generalist Teacher 5)

While all children were encouraged to audition, some chose not to, indicating a lack of interest or a lack of knowledge about the production itself:

Child 4: I was confused because I just started, and I didn't know what it was.

Child 5: I just don't like acting that much to be honest. (Focus Group 2)

Children who were not interested in acting roles onstage were given the opportunity to be a part of the production team, responsible for designing, constructing, and decorating the sets, in addition to managing the lighting and sound. A generalist teacher confirmed this:

We had kids involved backstage in set building and painting. So we try to involve as many kids as we can, whether they are onstage or not. (Generalist Teacher 5)

Despite this, one child who indicated an interest in being a part of the production team explained that they were unable to do so, given they were absent when sign-ups were announced:

I was away when you have to do that, but I probably would have done that. (Focus Group 3)

Children's participation was also influenced by the rehearsal schedule itself, with rehearsals occurring during the school day and twice a week after school. Participating children explained this:

We'd have a lot of lunchtime rehearsals, and then we'd have 2 or 3 hours after school on Wednesday and 2 or 3 hours after school on Thursday and then a block on Friday. (Focus Group 2)

Leading up to opening night, additional rehearsals were scheduled, with one even lasting 6 hours. Given this schedule, some children indicated that they were unable to participate:

And the practices I couldn't make it. They were all like Wednesday, Thursday afternoon, like 3 till 5, 3 till 8. (Focus Group 3)

Rehearsals that occurred outside of the school day were also problematic for children who lived outside of the city and commuted each day. Despite these barriers to participation, a generalist teacher outlined that a large number of children were involved in the production:

... we had 75 students who were onstage. They danced, they sang their hearts out, they acted, they had speaking roles, they had non-speaking roles. They got to be involved in a real sort of production where there was lighting and sound and there was a live orchestra. (Generalist Teacher 5)

With a semi-professional orchestra being paid to accompany children onstage, the overall cost of the production was unclear. The same generalist teacher mentioned that the script alone “cost a lot of money to buy.” This may explain why Kākāpō Intermediate sought financial support from the Ministry of Education and a local trust to enact the production. Funding from the Ministry of Education was received through the Creatives in Schools programme, enabling professional dancers to choreograph each dance number and work alongside the children. While the exact amount received is unknown, the Ministry of Education’s website states that up to \$17,000 can be applied for within each funding round (Ministry of Education, 2022b). Alongside funding from the Ministry of Education, Kākāpō Intermediate successfully applied to a local gambling trust, from which they received over \$10,000. As contributing schools from across the city were invited to attend the production free of charge, the time, energy, and financial resources invested into the production appeared to be a strategic investment to enhance the school’s profile and increase enrolments.

Cultural ensembles

In addition to these enrichment classes, children were also given the opportunity to participate in cultural enrichments, known as kapa haka and Pasifika. Being part of the enrichment programme, kapa haka is offered free of charge and is voluntarily led by a generalist teacher. Rehearsals occur each week during the school day for an hour and a half, although additional rehearsals are sometimes scheduled leading up to performances. As one child explained,

So usually on the school week it would be on a Friday, but sometimes they’ll add in like lunchtimes or like last block ones for other things. (Focus Group 2)

Weekend rehearsals were additionally accompanied by a noho, with children and staff staying overnight at the school. Participating children explained,

Every second week since the second week of this term, we’ve had a thing called a noho, where in the weekend we would come on Saturday at 1.00 p.m. and then work

on like singing and all that stuff, and then sleep there, and then go home the next day at 5.00 p.m. (Focus Group 2)

Through these rehearsals, children were introduced to a range of Māori practices, learning waiata, haka, weaving techniques, and how to create and play taonga pūoro. One parent confirmed this:

[They're] learning the poi [traditional Māori instrument] and sort of the songs and stuff like that. (Parent 4)

Of the 40 children in the group, 20 were selected, based on their skills, to create an elite supergroup, which focused specifically on excellence:

And then [the kapa haka teacher] will choose who [they] think will do the best at it. (Focus Group 3)

This supergroup is well known in the community, and it regularly performs at local primary schools and represents Kākāpō Intermediate at regional and national competitions.

Pasifika is another cultural ensemble offered at the school free of charge; at the time of data collection, it was voluntarily led by the same generalist teacher who led the school-wide waiata. This teacher explained that children are required to submit a formal application to join, but all children are welcomed as there is no cap on numbers:

At the beginning of the year, they apply, so there's an application process where they have to apply to be a member of Pasifika: "Why do you want to be involved, what is the commitment like, have you been involved in Pasifika before?" I guess that's kind of us getting them used to applying for things. We generally take everybody, which is cool, and I think we have about 50 committed students in the Pasifika group, which is really nice, and most of them are boys, so yeah, it is really nice. We generally don't turn anyone away, and we have a grace period of about 3 or 4 weeks where, if Pasifika is not for you, we're not going to hate you if you leave, but you know, you can choose to stay, you can choose to go, but this is the grace period and then, yeah. (Generalist Teacher 6)

Rehearses similarly occur each week for an hour and a half; however, as the teacher noted, these are scheduled at the same time as kapa haka:

So at the moment, we have Pasifika as an enrichment programme, and that is at the same time as kapa haka. (Generalist Teacher 6)

While this may potentially limit participation, another generalist teacher explained that this allowed kapa haka and Pasifika to be separate from the other enrichment subjects:

Kapa haka and Pasifika are what we call enrichments as well. So kapa haka, Pasifika, and performing arts are all on the same day. So you could be involved in the arts, and that was important because that was sort of cultural, that they could be involved in that and also be involved in enrichment. So they never run at the time. (Generalist Teacher 5)

Alongside rehearsals during the school day, additional rehearsals were scheduled after school for an hour and a half each week. The teacher leading kapa haka and Pasifika shared that this was due to an upcoming competition:

So yeah, they are getting like two one-and-a-half-hour blocks, one during school, one after school, purely because we've got a big competition coming up and we are current winners so we've got to hold that status. (Generalist Teacher 6)

These rehearsals were divided into two sections, with the first focusing on enjoyment and the second on the upcoming competition. The same teacher confirmed this:

We have two brackets, so our first bracket is kind of the fun performance bracket. So if we're asked to perform anywhere, they've got an array of maybe eight dancing songs that they can do for anybody. And then we have competition bracket. So the fun bracket, they just learnt that in no time. It was just amazing to see the effort that they put in learning that. The competition bracket is a lot harder, they have to learn items from Kiribati and Niue. (Generalist Teacher 6)

As the Pasifika group had won several regional competitions and performed at a variety of high profile events, this approach seemed to be successful.

Private music tuition

Apart from the enrichment programme, private music tuition was available in piano, keyboard, ukulele, guitar, bass, drums, singing, violin, flute, clarinet, bassoon, trumpet, trombone, French horn, and saxophone, in addition to lessons in music theory. Like Tuatara

School, these lessons are enacted by seven private contractors, operating as either independent contractors or sub-contractors to private businesses. As a result, these contractors are not required to have any educational background or to hold a teachers' registration or an LAT. As one private contractor explained,

I think with private tuition I just had to be police vetted. (Private Contractor 4)

Based on a user pays model, the cost of each 30-minute lesson ranges from \$24.00 to \$35.00 for an individual and from \$12.00 to \$25.00 for a group. Annually, this equates to somewhere between \$480.00 and \$1,400. Parents explained that, for many families, this cost was a barrier to participation:

I think cost is always a factor when it's something extracurricular. You know we're lucky, we have incomes that we can afford, you know, to buy them the drum kit and buy them the keyboard and then pay for the lessons every term, but I know there would be so many families that couldn't access that. (Parent 3)

A private contractor additionally confirmed that,

at the beginning of 2021, we had a "meet the music tutor" night at [Kākāpō Intermediate]. I had maybe 13 enquiries, but I think the lack of sign-up was due to the price of lessons. (Private Contractor 4)

While the cost of these lessons could be minimised if children participated in a group lesson, a private contractor explained that this was dependent on other children signing up:

So I'm currently contracted to a company, and my boss said that I could offer group lessons, but it was dependent on the availability of other students at the school. There were some parents that wanted their kids to learn, but they couldn't afford the one-on-one tuition, only the group. (Private Contractor 4)

There were additionally occasions where families were unable to meet the cost of lessons after their child had signed up. When this occurred, a private contractor shared that children were removed from lessons:

There was a parent of one student that had two terms worth of overdue invoices ... My boss asked me to print and hand off the overdue invoice to the student in a lesson

and state that lessons would commence again when the parent had paid the invoice. So that was a pretty hard position for me to be in, because it wasn't the student's fault. (Private Contractor 4)

Another private contractor shared a similar experience:

I still have one from like last year who is slowly paying me off. But you know, at the time, the kid was so into it, and you think, okay it's such a pain that the parents aren't paying, but the kid is so musical and passionate about it that you just want to keep teaching them. But then you kind of get to the end and think, I actually should have stopped their lessons because no money equals no lessons, because I can't, you know, teach everyone for free because it's my income as well. (Private Contractor 3)

These situations resulted in generalist teachers and private contractors considering to personally cover these costs. For one private contractor, they even created a scholarship fund:

Sometimes I have kind of put aside money as such to have, like, a scholarship fund, and I might be able to offer them, like, 10% off or a free lesson a term, which has been able to help in some stages. (Private Contractor 3)

As a result of fundraising, private sponsorship, and a portion of the annual budget being allocated to families who were struggling with financial hardship, the principal explained that the school had occasionally sponsored children's lessons:

Where we can, we will, you know, if we know of a hardship case where children can't afford to, we've said to the staff, "Let us know and if we can help out financially," because for some kids that can be a barrier, especially for the outside extracurricular. (Principal 2)

A private contractor seemed to confirm this sponsorship:

Well, I've got two that have free lessons because they can't afford it, so I imagine the school is paying for those. (Private Contractor 5)

Interestingly, other participants, including the specialist music teacher, seemed to be unaware of this sponsorship. In spite of the cost associated with private music tuition, a large number of children were involved. One private contractor said,

It's actually got to a stage where I've got too many students, and I've got them all signing up and [I'm] thinking, "Gosh, this is so stressful because I can't actually take them all," so you've got to pick and choose. (Private Contractor 3)

According to private contractors, the majority of these children are Pākehā, followed by other ethnicities such as Māori, Pacific Islanders, Indian, and Asian. While only a small number of Asian children participated, a private contractor explained that these were often the children who had prior musical knowledge:

Asian students are the ones coming in with previous knowledge and have done exams before and have had, I suppose, whether it's a parent thing, saying like that you have to, you know, take music at a young age and do really well. But yeah, I'd say all of my higher grade ones are Asian of some description. (Private Contractor 3)

This private contractor discussed that children of other ethnicities tended to be beginners and have little musical knowledge:

Oh, I'd say most of them at [Kākāpō Intermediate] are just straight beginners, like even at Year 7 most of them have never played an instrument before ... I mean, they might have done stuff at primary school, but I'm not really aware of what it was or what it covered or anything and whether they've actually remembered any of it, so. (Private Contractor 3)

In terms of timetabling, private music tuition occurred during the school day, with children coming out of class to attend. Technology and arts classes, in addition to enrichments, were an exception to this rule, with private contractors having to timetable their classes around these commitments. Despite occurring during the school day, private contractors shared that children sometimes forgot to attend these lessons:

Every so often they'll forget because they've been working on something cool in class, and they won't come, but then I'll just call their class and remind them. But yeah, generally not an issue. (Private Contractor 3)

Some students need to be called every time because they've forgotten about their lesson, so that can sometimes be frustrating. But at the same time, if they're in class

and they're working towards something, they can forget about it. (Private Contractor 4)

In contrast to Tuatara School, generalist teachers were seemingly supportive of children missing class to attend their lessons, with one parent explaining,

They were quite cute when I said "Do the teachers mind?" You know, because I was saying, when we first went there, I thought maybe we should have looked at after-school lessons, and they were like, "No mum, the teachers, they're not allowed to complain, music is a priority," or something. I think it's kind of a school thing that, you know, that the kids can be taken out of the class, and the teachers kind of have to accommodate it. (Parent 3)

This support, however, seemed to depend on each child's progress, as one parent observed:

[I] had a conversation with [my child's] teacher and [they] feel that [my child] is sort of slightly falling behind, and for me that's a red flag now. And so I said, "Okay, so what should I do?" And [they] said, "Well, if you could arrange a different time for the singing so [they're] not missing school, that would be better." So this is why I've had to go back to [the private contractor] and say, "Look, can we reschedule at a time that [my child] isn't going to be missing some school lessons?" (Parent 4)

Another barrier to participation was lack of practice, as many children failed to meet the practice requirements. Private contractors gave various reasons as to why this may occur, including parents' understanding of extracurricular activities and children's workload:

I think there's a mentality as well of, "I'm paying for music lessons, therefore that's, like, enough in terms of going to the lesson once a week, that's all they need," and they don't actually appreciate the whole commitment that goes with it ... I think some parents just approach it as it's something you do at school and not something you do at home. (Private Contractor 3)

Is the workload at school too much for them? I've had some kids say how much of a tough/tiring week they've had. Putting myself in their shoes, at that age, it would have been quite overwhelming. (Private Contractor 4)

Other extracurricular activities, such as the school production, also contributed to children's lack of practice, as one private contractor outlined:

Their practice for lessons decreased because they were more focused on the school production. (Private Contractor 4)

With limited time for practice, private contractors shared frustration that children were making little to no progress:

Some weeks you do just end up doing the same thing, week after week and ... at intermediate age, you can be quite open with kids, like, "Well, have you practiced?" "No." "Well, what are we going to do today?" "Oh, I don't know." "Well, I don't know either because you haven't done anything. Shall we just do the same as last week?" And they're like, "Oh, I suppose so." But you know, it kind of is that, like actually you need to put in some effort as well as me. (Private Contractor 3)

From a parent's perspective, these expectations were somewhat unknown. With music lessons occurring during the school day, one parent indicated that there was little communication with the private contractor:

With [my child], it's happening at school, so I don't know what songs [they're] learning, I don't know what [they're] being pushed at. I don't know, so I have never been involved in any of those discussions with that at all. Am I bothered about that? Yes and kind of no. I mean, what was I expecting? Was I expecting to be kept informed? I probably wasn't really, because it just really strikes me as something that is like a hobby. (Parent 4)

Despite these associated problems, parents explained that the lessons and musical opportunities available were part of the reason they chose to enrol their children at Kākāpō Intermediate:

[Kākāpō Intermediate] is one of the reasons we took our kids out of the primary school that they were in, which they could have stayed there for intermediate, but we chose to take them out and put them in an intermediate like [Kākāpō]. It] was the access to things like music as one thing and sport would be another thing. Just that opportunities to be able to offer much better delivery of those, sort of music and

things like that, and have lessons in the school. That was definitely quite a big part of our decision to put them in [Kākāpō Intermediate]. (Parent 3)

Alongside influencing their choice of school, parents shared that these lessons ensured the development of necessary employment skills and entry to exclusive secondary schools:

So we got them involved in music probably about 4 years ago? So when they were about 7 or 8, I think? We always wanted them to be able to play an instrument, that was always something quite important to us as parents. Just knowing about all that stuff about how good it is for their brains and everything, so it was always going to be something that we wanted them to do. Then we went to a [private secondary school] open day, because we were deciding where we wanted them to go for high school ... it really struck us that all children that go there have to play an instrument, and we were like, "Oh okay, alright, well we better get onto this now then." So that was when we sat the [children] down and said, "Right, you need to start playing an instrument, what do you want to play?" And they chose their instrument, and they've been having lessons of those instruments ever since then. (Parent 3)

Choir

Unlike private music tuition, choir is offered free of charge. This choir consists of approximately 15 children and is voluntarily led by the specialist music teacher. Seemingly open to all, children recounted joining this ensemble without the need for an audition. One of the children in Focus Group 2 said, "I think anyone can sign up for choir." This was confirmed by the children in Focus Group 3:

Researcher: Do you guys have to audition or anything like that?

Child 9: You just go.

Child 7: Well if you want.

Child 9: Yeah. You've got to ask [the specialist music teacher], but yeah. (Focus Group 3)

In contrast, another child indicated that an audition is usually required; however, given their involvement in the school production, they were admitted without having to follow this process:

You were supposed to audition, but because [the specialist music teacher] knew me, [they] said that after our school production I could join, and I wanted to do it. (Focus Group 4)

Rehearsing on a weekly basis for an hour and fifteen minutes after school, the choir is visible throughout a variety of school events, including assemblies and performance evenings. According to the school's prospectus, the choir also participates in the annual choral festival known as The Kids Sing, organised by the New Zealand Choral Federation. Historically this choir also participated in a biannual choral festival through the school's community of learning. While this event was held for several years, the specialist music teacher indicated that it was abolished with the establishment of the school's Kāhui Ako³.

Orchestra

Alongside choir, the specialist music teacher also leads the school's orchestra. Consisting of approximately 20 children, this ensemble features a range of instruments, including strings, woodwind, brass, and percussion. While there was no cost associated with the orchestra, children were required to demonstrate instrumental proficiency through an audition process. As a result, participation was restricted to those with an instrument and who were also receiving private music tuition. Participating children were consequently playing at a secondary level, ranging between Grades 1 and 5 on their instrument. Given the skill of its players, this orchestra was successful at regional competitions, performing a varied repertoire, including "Smoke on the Water" by Deep Purple, "Sweet Caroline" by Neil Diamond, and "The Final Countdown" by Europe.

In terms of rehearsals, the orchestra met once a week for an hour and a half. Despite rehearsing during the school day, the specialist music teacher outlined that this time was often interrupted by assemblies and different enrichment subjects:

So I'm given a block to do that. It gets disrupted, so it's not always ideal, but I still get it. (Specialist Teacher 1)

In response to these disruptions, the specialist music teacher approached the senior leadership team, requesting permission to hold additional rehearsals at the weekend. Instead of

³ Kāhui Ako refers to a cluster of early childhood centres, primary, intermediate, and secondary schools that collaborate to serve the same community. These clusters were previously known as Communities of Learning, and were established through the Investing in Educational Success policy in 2014 (see Thrupp, 2019).

approving this request, the senior leadership team allocated an entire school day for the orchestra to rehearse. As the specialist music teacher explained,

I was offering to do a Saturday, I wasn't asking for any time in the curriculum, and they looked around and say, "Actually, take a whole Friday." "So you're saying all these kids will miss their enrichments and any other things in their class?" And they said, "Yeah, take a whole Friday." And I was like, "Okay, cool." (Specialist Teacher 1)

Despite being allocated additional rehearsals, ensembles such as the orchestra were significantly impacted by COVID-19, either being cancelled or held outside to meet the Ministry of Education's restrictions.

Rock band

In addition to the choir and orchestra, children are also given the opportunity to participate in one of the rock band ensembles. While there was no cost associated with this activity, limited places resulted in a strict audition process. These auditions were held at the start of each year, giving children the opportunity to demonstrate their musical skills and ability to co-operate with their peers. One parent outlined that this audition process ensured that each ensemble was able to perform at a high level and therefore be successful at upcoming competitions:

The school sort of has two bands this year, but bands that they enter into competition, so they do like them to be as high quality as they can. (Parent 3)

This parent additionally explained that this process provided motivation, with their children dedicating more time and effort into their respective instruments:

They didn't quite get in ... they trialled last year and didn't get in ... I don't think [they] were quite there, so it was good motivation for them to work harder, and then they got in this year. So yeah. (Parent 3)

Despite providing motivation to some, other children described the audition process in negative terms, explaining that they were only given a day to select and prepare a song:

We only had one day to choose a song, which was really annoying, and I didn't choose it until the morning, and then I didn't know the words very well. (Focus Group 3)

Like other extracurricular activities, lack of knowledge continued to be another barrier, with one child indicating that they were unaware that Kākāpō Intermediate offered rock bands until after the auditions when rehearsals were discussed in the daily notices:

Child 13: I did not know that they had a rock band.

Researcher: Oh you didn't know about it? When did you find out?

Child 13: I think it was ... I don't know how I found out. I guess they were talking about it on the notices. (Focus Group 4)

From the audition process, successful children were placed in one of the rock band ensembles, which were led by the specialist music teacher and a private contractor. Featuring traditional rock band instruments, such as guitar, bass, keyboard, and drums, these ensembles additionally featured singers and a variety of brass instruments, including trumpet and cornet. Both bands rehearsed weekly during the school day. Children explained that these rehearsals lasted between 45 minutes and 90 minutes, depending on the availability of rooms:

So it really depends on how long we can have the rooms for. Usually it's like half of the middle block, but sometimes we get both rooms, so that means both the rock bands can practice for the whole block. (Focus Group 4)

These rehearsals were spent either preparing for upcoming performances or composing original music. Participating children confirmed this:

At the moment we're writing our own song. (Focus Group 4)

In addition to composing original songs, these ensembles rehearsed a variety of well-known pop songs, such as "Glitter" by Bennee and "Shut Up and Dance" by Walk the Moon. These songs were performed at school events, including assemblies and performance evenings, alongside events for prospective students, such as open days and information evenings. Each rock band also participated in various regional competitions and were well celebrated on the school's social media. The value of ensemble music-making was also acknowledged by parents who indicated that playing within a group would promote the development of life skills which would be viewed highly on an application, particularly for secondary school:

It was always, you know, it's part of the whole appeal of playing an instrument is being able to have it on your ... you know, sort of CV if you like. They're children, they don't have a CV, but it's part of their repertoire of life skills that they are developing. So having an instrument and probably more importantly now is that fact that they've taken that to being able to be part of a band. I think that's probably one of the best achievements in terms of making it something that they can use as an application or, yeah. (Parent 3)

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of the second case study, illustrating the provision and enactment of music education at Kākāpō Intermediate. Throughout this chapter, the governance, budget, and operation of Kākāpō Intermediate was explored, detailing how music education was planned, budgeted, and enacted, within generalist and specialist classrooms and through extracurricular activities. These findings highlight the significance of the intermediate structure, enabling the employment of specialist teachers, purpose-built spaces, and a timetable that features music. The findings of the third and final case study are presented in the following chapter, exploring the provision and enactment of music education at Pūkeko Intermediate.

Chapter 7: Pūkeko Intermediate

Pūkeko Intermediate is a decile 5 urban school, catering to Year 7 and 8 children. Over the years, the area surrounding Pūkeko Intermediate has significantly changed. Once characterised by white middle-class families and large villas, this neighbourhood was abandoned by its residents in favour of newly established suburbs on the outskirts of the city. Large homes have since been subdivided or demolished, to be replaced by infill housing to cater for a growing migrant community. As a result, Pūkeko Intermediate now caters to a high proportion of migrant families, with the school's roll consisting of up to 70 different ethnicities. These ethnicities include Indian, Asian, Pacific, Middle Eastern, Latin American, and African, in addition to Māori, who make up almost 50% of the roll. This roll consists of approximately 500 children and, unlike other schools of a similar size, features a slightly higher-than-average stand-down rate. Despite this and the declining socioeconomic status of the community, Pūkeko Intermediate has continued to grow, remaining a popular choice for commuting parents, particularly given its proximity to the central city. In response to this growth, the principal shared that an enrolment scheme has recently been enforced, limiting the number of out-of-zone enrolments.

Thirty generalist teachers are employed at Pūkeko Intermediate. These teachers are divided between single-cell classrooms and collaborative teaching spaces, three of which are dedicated to sports and both bilingual and accelerated education. Pūkeko Intermediate also employs eight specialist teachers, who are responsible for leading the school's technology and arts programme. This programme offers specialist classes in digital technology, food technology, hard materials, and computational thinking, alongside dance, drama, visual arts, and music. While teaching staff seem to be overall less qualified than those at Tuatara School and Kākāpō Intermediate, most teachers are very experienced, having worked in education for well over 2 decades. Alongside teaching staff, the school also employs a learning support teacher, numerous teacher aides, and administration staff, in addition to a cleaner and a caretaker. In total, the staff at Pūkeko Intermediate consists of approximately 50 people.

The staff at Pūkeko Intermediate are governed by a board of trustees, comprised of working professionals, such as builders, administrators, and business managers. While the board was described by senior leadership as having the skills and understanding to provide governance across the curriculum, the representative teacher on the board stated otherwise:

There's like six other people who have no idea how the heck a school runs, but they're the people running the school. (Generalist Teacher 8)

Alongside overseeing the operation of Pūkeko Intermediate, the board of trustees is also responsible for setting the school's strategic direction. Currently, this is focused on improving student achievement, raising teacher expectations, and improving learning experiences across the curriculum.

Budget

Pūkeko Intermediate annually spends between \$90,000 and \$170,000 on curricular-related resources and activities. The deputy principal outlined that a portion of this is allocated specifically to music:

The music room does have an asset budget, and it does have also a sort of wear-and-tear type of budget as well, and a budget for resources. So we're conscious that we need to keep up with the asset budget as much as anything else. (Deputy Principal 1)

While the specialist music teacher confirmed these budgets, they explained that the budgets have continued to decrease over the years:

Twenty years ago, I was getting like \$2,000 to run my class, and this is in real dollar terms, and about \$2,000 to buy assets, to buy instruments, and a really good repair budget. Now I think this year I've got \$650 to run my class and a repair budget. So if I need to replace anything or buy anything new, I've got to really juggle things around. (Specialist Teacher 2)

Despite this budget being labelled as "pretty crap" by the specialist music teacher, it was described by another specialist as reasonable, particularly in comparison to other arts subjects, such as drama:

I know [the specialist music teacher] gets a reasonable budget because of obviously all the instruments [they] need, but I mean, I just make do with what I've got. It's just me. I am the resource really ... So I don't have a huge budget, but I don't need it. (Specialist Teacher 3)

Alongside a dedicated budget for music within the technology and arts programme, a separate arts budget was available for generalist teachers. Annually, this budget equates to \$200 for a single cell classroom and \$400 for a collaborative teaching space. Despite being dedicated to all arts subjects, one specialist explained that these funds were predominately spent on resources for visual arts:

It'll be visual art. You know, I've tried to give some ideas of other things that they might be able to use it on, but you know, they do want the visual art stuff because they're putting up their displays and doing things like that, and it's the easiest go-to really. (Specialist Teacher 4)

However, the deputy principal did indicate that, if teaching staff required additional funds, they are able to submit a formal request to the board of trustees:

Staff have the opportunity at about this stage each year, if they've got an interest for it, to put to the board a budget, you know, this is what they have in mind and why they would like it as such. So they have the ability to request it as such, and then obviously they have to live with whatever is decided and is mashed out in the big picture. (Deputy Principal 1)

Like the other schools, Pūkeko Intermediate's budget is supplemented by fundraising initiatives within the community, equating up to \$30,000 per year. Pūkeko Intermediate also asks families for an annual donation of \$80.00, in addition to charging \$30.00 for participation in the technology and arts programme. This is particularly interesting, given that the school has opted into the School Donations scheme, and receives additional government funding in exchange for removing parental expenditure related to the curriculum. Unlike the other two schools, however, additional revenue is also sourced from Pūkeko Intermediate's technology and arts programme. This programme is marketed throughout the region and is outsourced to full primary schools that lack the facilities to offer these classes. According to the specialist music teacher, approximately 12 primary schools pay for this programme, ensuring the continued employment of specialist teachers at Pūkeko Intermediate:

I mean, we've got eight tech and arts teachers, and the outside schools basically pay for about three of those teachers, I think. Something like that. If we didn't have those outside of schools, well, our tech and arts programme would get smaller. (Specialist Teacher 2)

Resourcing

Being a purpose-built intermediate, Pūkeko Intermediate has a building specifically dedicated to music. This building features a small recording studio, a practice room, storage cupboard, and two teaching spaces. These spaces are equipped with a variety of instruments, including guitars, keyboards, a digital piano, and a class set of hand drums. Nevertheless, these instruments were described as old, used, and battered:

I've got nine keyboards and a digital piano. I used to have about 20 keyboards, but the really old ones, they just all died, and it's just not worth fixing. So classes at the moment, most of the time they're sharing a keyboard, and I have about 30 guitars, of which about five or six are left-handed. But they're not necessarily in great shape. (Specialist Teacher 2)

Given the condition of these instruments and the small budget allocated to music, the principal shared that the specialist music teacher had requested additional funds:

[The specialist music teacher] has come forth and asked for money beyond [the] budget that [they are] allocated because [they] had half a dozen guitars that were just sitting there because they were broken. (Principal 3)

It was unclear whether this request was successful, as the specialist music teacher later admitted to using the repair budget to obtain new instruments and making purchases beyond the allocated budget:

So when it comes to replacing things, sometimes I just pull it out of the repairs budget, or I just spend it and then I say, "Oh sorry, I had to get it." (Specialist Teacher 2)

Historically, the specialist music teacher had also resorted to buying instruments with the profits of the itinerant music programme, which operated like a private business through the school:

The previous principal was really good. [They] said, "Yeah, anytime you make a profit, I can spend it." So I bought a digital piano, and I replaced the drum sets and bought guitar amps, all out of profit from after-school music. (Specialist Teacher 2)

Under the leadership of the current principal, though, the specialist music teacher recounted that this was no longer an option:

But our new principal, when I went to [them] at the end of last year and said, “Okay, I’ve got \$1,500 profit, am I able to spend it?” And [they] turned around and [they] said, “How are you going to refund all the parents when you’ve overcharged them?” Oh my god. No one had ever said that until that point. I mean, I worked my arse off to get it to actually break even for a start ... and then I’ve got this money, and [they] say, “Actually, it needs to be refunded.” So we have an agreement on that one now. If I have any profit, I can spend it on repairs, but I’m not allowed to buy anything new. So this year is going to be really difficult. (Specialist Teacher 2)

With the building dedicated to music being used within the technology and arts programme, generalist teachers were confined to their classrooms or the school field for music-making. As many of these classrooms were collaborative teaching spaces, generalist teachers explained that they were not conducive to music-making:

The biggest problem I would say with modern learning environments is the sound ... The older classrooms on the other side, you can’t even have a conversation without your ears hurting. So I imagine that would be quite tricky, especially if you’re working particularly with sound. (Generalist Teacher 8)

Generalist teachers in collaborative teaching spaces explained that these classes would also be difficult to resource:

The other challenging aspect is probably our class size, being a modern learning environment with close to 60 students ... we’ve done group rotations and things like that. However, especially using things like instruments in a classroom and trying to do sort of multi-group lessons in a space where there’s obvious sort of distractions could be a bit challenging. (Generalist Teacher 9)

It became apparent that the lack of instruments and resources available for music-making was a significant barrier for generalist teachers. As one summarised,

It's probably the resourcing that gets difficult. I can't even allow students to explore learning concepts in music because I don't have the resources or instruments. (Generalist Teacher 8)

Despite this, the deputy principal explained that generalist teachers were able to access all the instruments and resources in the technology and arts programme:

It's a simple [as] seeing ... our [specialist music teacher] and just arranging with [them] to have the use of [instruments and resources]. (Deputy Principal 1)

This was later confirmed by another generalist teacher:

I have gone over in lunchtimes before and borrowed the electric guitar, the bass guitar, a whole collection of acoustic guitars ... and [the specialist music teacher has] been really great at providing those instruments to us and [they are] quite been happy to do that and [they are] very encouraging actually of kids to use instruments during those times, as long as they are somewhat supervised as such. (Generalist Teacher 9)

Lack of resources, however, continued to be a significant barrier to music-making, particularly given the impacts of COVID-19. With ongoing lockdowns, a generalist teacher explained that classroom activities were restricted to ones that could occur with resources children had available at home:

We're being told by management, you know, make sure your programmes are flexible so that whatever you're doing in the classroom, the kids can do it at home. That makes things a bit tricky, you know, when you're looking at specific resources. You know, you can tell the kids to get some pots out and, you know, make some drums and things like that, but outside of that, heck, I don't know what else they could be doing or having. (Generalist Teacher 8)

In response to resourcing concerns, the principal stated,

We're a big school, we've got a limited number of resources, and we've got to allocate those. But again, if it's a need, we need to have it, and I think music is a natural strength of many of our students, and so therefore we need to be promoting it. (Principal 3)

From this statement alone, it appears that the principal is in favour of improving resourcing for music; however, with no improvements during their employment at Pūkeko Intermediate, this seems unlikely. The specialist music teacher summarised the situation as follows:

There is SLT support, but the arts always appear to be low on the list of school priorities. (Specialist Music Teacher 2)

Professional development

Each year, up to \$20,000 is allocated to professional development at Pūkeko Intermediate. Despite this, teaching staff were unable to recall the last time music was discussed, with one generalist teacher recounting that

feedback has been a really big PLD [Professional Learning Development] focus we've done before, te reo Māori, cultural responsiveness, done those here, yeah, all sorts of things, but just not music. (Generalist Teacher 8)

According to members of the senior leadership team, the exclusion of music was partially due to the lack of opportunities available:

There are very limited opportunities promoted to schools. (Deputy Principal 1)

There certainly isn't that PLD easily accessible for us to put in place. (Principal 3)

The senior leadership team indicated that cost was an additional barrier:

The fact [is] that we have to apply every time we run out of PLD for a new lot, and sometimes it's granted, sometimes it's not. (Principal 3)

We have the ability to apply to the Ministry for funding for PLD. I've not really seen music listed when I've looked, not that I've looked ... schools don't have the extra funding to be able to pay over and above. (Deputy Principal 1)

While limited opportunities and associated costs provide a plausible explanation of why music had been excluded, the principal alluded to the underlying issue: the prioritisation of numeracy and literacy. As educational success is currently measured by achievement in

reading, writing, and mathematics, the principal outlined that the promotion of other learning areas was unlikely:

I think it's dependent upon government support for PLD within music and saying it's alright for us to actually go down that and ... [for ERO] to say "This is an awesome thing that you're doing and, okay, we accept that your literacy and maths results aren't that great, but understand that maybe if you develop music and the arts, then there may get an impact upon that as a result." (Principal 3)

To ensure educational success is upheld at Pūkeko Intermediate, professional development has focused on numeracy and literacy, alongside developing culturally responsive practice. Over the years, other professional development has included the use of digital technology in the classroom, Positive Behaviour for Learning (PB4L) initiatives, and effective teaching strategies. Despite the exclusion of the arts, this professional development was justified by specialist teachers, who explained that,

to get the students' results, you have to have the teacher skills there to be able to get those standards up there. (Specialist Teacher 4)

This justification seemed to be in response to declining levels of student achievement throughout New Zealand and the belief that current ITE programmes failed to equip graduates with the content knowledge needed for the classroom. Participants overwhelmingly expressed this:

Teachers aren't coming out as well prepared as they probably should be to teach the basics. (Specialist Teacher 3)

There are a lot of teachers that just don't have content knowledge themselves, and I think that does come through training. (Generalist Teacher 8)

I think the training of old was far more impactful than what it is now, and I don't believe that teachers are entering into schools having a good grounding background. (Principal 3)

While professional development was restricted to a few learning areas, the deputy principal indicated that, if staff wanted to upskill in a particular subject, they had the opportunity to request funding to do so:

If there was someone who wanted something particular, it's a matter of getting the details, putting their request in, and the bottom line obviously is that they are teachers as such, as opposed to someone doing a personal music career. (Deputy Principal 1)

Interestingly, one generalist teacher did request funding as suggested; however, this request was not followed up:

When I came here, it was one of the first things I asked, because obviously, teaching at intermediate level for the first time, I was feeling a bit apprehensive about the whole thing, and I said ... "I'd love to learn some creative ways of teaching this besides just planting a textbook in front of someone. I don't want to be that teacher." And that was met with sort of "Yeah, yeah. There'll be some great stuff." And you know, at the time, I think they just gave me the Teaching Gazette and said, "There's some stuff there." And this was in my first year ... I basically signed up, or I said, "Can you sign me up to this?" and nothing really came of it. When I mentioned that to some colleagues of mine, they sort of scoffed at it and said, "No one does that, you're not going to be given that," and I was really quite surprised. (Generalist Teacher 9)

Like Tuatara School and Kākāpō Intermediate, the specialist music teacher and itinerant music teachers personally pursued professional development in music. Given this professional development was external to Pūkeko Intermediate and not required for their role, some itinerant music teachers admitted that they had never attended any form of professional development throughout their entire career, which for some, spanned over several decades.

Curriculum

Planning

Generalist teachers

Historically, the curriculum at Pūkeko Intermediate was planned individually by each generalist or specialist teacher. Without any type of collaboration, these teachers created their own independent programmes and assessments that could be repeated each year. According to teaching staff, this process was problematic and lacked a coherent learning sequence as children moved between classes. Because teachers operated independently, there was additionally little accountability, with some generalist teachers choosing to abandon the New

Zealand Curriculum entirely. As a result, it was somewhat unclear what was being taught in the classroom, with the school's curriculum being described by a generalist teacher as being "all over the show." When the current principal was appointed, a localised and integrated curriculum was introduced to promote consistency throughout the school, raise expectations of achievement, and ensure coverage of the entire curriculum. As the principal explained,

We have to be very strategic and deliberate in our planning and focus for what that looks like, because our time is precious, both students' time and teachers' time, and how do we maximise that to get the most out of any part. (Principal 3)

Planning at Pūkeko Intermediate is now led by a team of curriculum leaders, who are responsible for creating an overarching focus for each term and providing achievement objectives for each learning area. From these achievement objectives, generalist teachers within each syndicate collaborate by sharing lesson plans and resources. An integrated curriculum leader explained how this works:

So me and the other integrated curriculum leader, we get together and we kind of plan our 2-year basis, and we work the units for each term around ... at the moment, social sciences and science. So we'll pick a learning objective for one of those, you know AB AB AB, across the 2 years, so that we get the full coverage for the 2 years, and then we will think of a context that kind of fits in with that, preferably something that the kids can link to locally or individually, personally. And then we have curriculum leaders that come along and go, "Well, maths would suit that by doing this," you know? "Visual arts will suit that by doing that." And they'll kind of add their little bits and pieces just to paint an overview of kind of how things can all marry into this one concept. And then we present that to the staff, which we just finished doing on Monday. We'll have two sessions on it, and then teams will go away and plan how their personal programmes will fit in with that. (Generalist Teacher 8)

Since the introduction of an integrated curriculum, the overarching focuses at Pūkeko Intermediate have been restricted to science and the social sciences. Despite this, the principal asserted that the arts have continued to be featured within the curriculum:

We are using science and social science as the main vehicles to deliver, so we are acknowledging the arts as part of that delivery. (Principal 3)

The inclusion of the arts was contended by the arts curriculum leader, who shared that, unless generalist teachers were interested or passionate about the arts, it was unlikely that these subjects would be included in their planning. This curriculum leader recounted providing lesson plans for generalist teachers to ensure the inclusion of the arts, but with little uptake, this was shortly abandoned:

So I've given up. I've done many lesson plans before and put them out there, but if they're not that way inclined towards the arts, then they're likely to just push it back for something else. (Specialist Teacher 4)

Without a specific focus on the arts, it was unclear how or even if subjects such as music were included in generalist teachers' planning.

Specialist music teacher

Specialist teachers within the technology and arts programme were also expected to integrate the overarching focus of each term. With the focus being on science, the integrated curriculum leader provided the following example of how science could be integrated with music:

So next term [is] a science term, and we are doing planet Earth and beyond, but we're looking at the systems on Earth. So the hydrosphere, the atmosphere, the geosphere, and the biosphere and how they all interrelate with each other. And so [the specialist music teacher] might think about music and think, "Well, how can I match music into that," and that could be creating music that has something to do with that, or that could be potentially looking at the different layers of music and how they interact with each other, similar to the spheres. (Generalist Teacher 8)

However, the specialist music teacher was hesitant to include integration within their programme, particularly given the limited time allocated and children's lack of knowledge and understanding of music. As they pointed out,

That, to me, is just collaborating for the sake of collaborating. Kids need some basic understanding of what they're doing. (Specialist Teacher 2)

Despite this, the specialist music teacher indicated that they had planned to introduce repertoire about planet Earth and beyond, specifically *The Planets* orchestral suite by Gustav

Holst. But due to the impact of the pandemic and ongoing lockdowns, the specialist music teacher indicated that they would be unable to complete their regular programme, let alone any additional learning. In terms of planning, specialist teachers within the technology and arts programme were unlike generalist teachers in that they tended to plan their programmes independently. Specialist teachers were nevertheless guided by the collective goal of promoting creativity, as the specialist music teacher explained:

What we want all the kids to do is to come out with confidence to create, whatever arts discipline they are in ... We also try to use as much as the same language as possible, cross over where we can. We have developed our own, what we call the arts creative process, you know, going in a circle, you know, learning skills, developing ideas and so forth. (Specialist Teacher 2)

This creative process was evident throughout the specialist music teacher's planning, including activities that promote composition and improvisational skills.

Itinerant music teachers

Planning seemed to differ between different itinerant music teachers, but overall, little time or thought seemed to be dedicated to planning. Like Tuatara School and Kākāpō Intermediate, the majority of itinerant music teachers relied solely on instrumental tutor book series:

In the basis of week to week, I mostly just look through the syllabus of the book that they're on, or see how they go and if they are ready for the next piece. (Itinerant Teacher 1)

Well, I have a book, and I have everything that they need to go through, and I just tick them off as I go. (Itinerant Teacher 3)

Other itinerant music teachers created their own syllabus that would be broadly followed each week. One itinerant teacher explained that this included scales, song writing, and elements of theory, which children completed before they worked through before children worked through a preselected repertoire to develop specific skills.

Enacting the music curriculum at Pūkeko Intermediate

At Pūkeko Intermediate, the music curriculum is enacted by generalist teachers within the classroom and the specialist music teacher within the technology and arts programme. Music-making additionally occurs during school events, such as assembly and prize-giving, alongside extracurricular activities such as kapa haka, Pasifika, orchestra, and itinerant music lessons.

Generalist classrooms

According to the school's prospectus, Pūkeko Intermediate offers a high standard of learning opportunities, allowing children to celebrate success across the curriculum. Despite this, the principal shared that numeracy and literacy were prioritised, as these were viewed as a prerequisite for success in other learning areas:

You can't progress easily, into the arts or any other learning area, without having a core base literacy and math concept, and we're finding that we're having to fill those more and more and therefore have lost the time spent on other things. (Principal 3)

The prioritisation of numeracy and literacy was confirmed by generalist teachers, who indicated that additional time was allocated to reading, writing, and mathematics due to declining levels of achievement prior to admission. As one generalist teacher explained,

So by the end of Year 8, they're expected to leave at Level 4. We've got kids entering at sub-Level 2. So we've got 2 years to try and make 4 years' worth of progress ... I would say easily 75% of my class are probably working at Level 2, beginning of Level 3, which is huge. That's a lot of kids working quite low. (Generalist Teacher 8)

In response to these increasing needs, the principal outlined that there are simply not enough hours in the day to ensure the full coverage of the curriculum, and as a result, the arts are often omitted:

It's not humanly possible to provide everything that we need to provide, from the social agency, to the full physical needs, to the social needs, to the well-being needs, as well as the academic needs of our students entering. Something has to give, and unfortunately, if we're honest about it, it's things like the arts that give. (Principal 3)

With these mounting pressures, curriculum integration was presented as a possible solution by generalist teachers:

You've got to integrate, otherwise you can't get through it all to be completely honest. If you're not integrating and you're trying to keep all of your subjects separate, there is no heckin' way you're going to get through that curriculum in 2 years. (Generalist Teacher 8)

The success of integration is dependent, however, upon each teacher's content knowledge and expertise. With less time being dedicated to music within ITE programmes and an absence of resources and professional development for music, it seems unlikely that music would be successfully integrated into the curriculum. One generalist teacher confirmed this:

For me, music is not the one that I default to, because like I said, I don't have the knowledge. I will default to letting them do something visual, visual art, or let them default into doing something with drama, but because, like I said, I don't have the knowledge or the resources. (Generalist Teacher 8)

This may explain why the enactment of music seemed to differ between generalist teachers. For example, some classrooms enacted music through periods of group singing. One generalist teacher illustrated this:

The music that we do is more around singing waiata, music appreciation, rather than specific teaching of musical skills. (Generalist Teacher 10)

This was confirmed by some of the children:

Most times we do singing is when the teacher plays music off [their] speaker, and it's like songs that we know, and we just sing along. (Focus Group 9)

For other classrooms, group singing was restricted to special occasions, specifically karaoke sessions that would occur at the end of each term:

Researcher: So singing in class, does that happen?

Child 18: Not really.

Child 19: They only really have like karaoke.

Child 20: Yeah, like on special occasions.

Child 19: Yeah, like once a term. (Focus Group 8)

These karaoke sessions tended to last the entire day and were described by children as “kind of like a break.” Group singing was less common in other classrooms, though, as attested in one of the focus groups:

Child 16: No one really sings at school.

Child 17: Not unless we’re forced to. (Focus Group 6)

Unlike mainstream classes, group singing was a part of the classroom’s morning routine, and it therefore regularly occurred. One child described this routine as follows:

First, we do karakia, three mihi [speeches], they say their mihi. Once they’re done, there’s a person that’s selected from the list that starts a song, and then we all follow along. Sometimes the guitar gets played, depending on what we plan. (Focus Group 10)

This routine was additionally confirmed by a parent:

They always have a waiata after their karakia. They are singing throughout the day. Their teachers are playing guitar throughout the day. (Parent 5)

Like group singing, listening to music in class also seemed to differ between generalist classrooms, with some children indicating that listening to music was prohibited and would result in punishment. Other children, however, explained that they were able to wear headphones and listen to their own music while they completed their work, as long as they did not distract their peers. In contrast, some generalist teachers even opted to play music for the entire class through speakers, in the hope of improving concentration and behaviour. One generalist teacher stated that

having a bit of background music can be quite soothing, and also it’s quite good if you want to talk about it as a behaviour management tool, as it does work as well, because often the kids will ask you can they choose the music, and that can be negotiated from time to time. However, if the noise level increases too loud above the

music, you can sort of use it that way. So, it has its benefits in many different ways.
(Generalist Teacher 9)

Participating children corroborated this:

Child 21: We just ask our teacher if they can play some music, and they just play it on the speaker.

Researcher: Oh, that's awesome! How often does that happen?

Child 21: Just when you do work, if we're good. (Focus Group 8)

Researcher: What about when you do work? Do you get to sometimes listen?

Child 22: Yeah, it depends on how calm we are. (Focus Group 9)

With generalist teachers reducing music to a behaviour management tool, the principal indicated a reliance on the specialist music teacher to ensure the requirements of the music curriculum were met:

If I'm really honest I think there is a reliance upon the expertise in the music department to supply the more technical elements of music. (Principal 3)

This may explain why generalist teachers believed that the music curriculum was the sole responsibility of the specialist music teacher, or why children themselves viewed music as a subject that could only be taught by specialists. As one child stated,

For tech and arts it's different, they need a qualification in that specific learning.
(Focus Group 10)

Technology and arts programme

Music at Pūkeko Intermediate is also enacted by a specialist music teacher as part of the technology and arts programme. With 10 sessions of an hour and a half being allocated to each subject, a total of 15 hours is dedicated specifically to music. During this time, children are introduced to the elements of music, such as melody, rhythm, tempo, dynamics, form, and texture. These elements are introduced alongside compositional devices, such as retrograde, ostinato, and sequencing. After developing an understanding of these elements and devices,

children are given the opportunity to improvise, compose, and perform within a group setting. Children in the focus groups confirmed this:

We just basically make our own music. (Focus Group 9)

So what we're doing in music this term is we're creating keyboard music in groups of three or four or two. (Focus Group 5)

After performing these compositions, children recounted that they were able to produce and edit a recording in the school's recording studio:

Then we got to record playing it, like in the recording booth, with our own headphones on and everything. (Focus Group 6)

Given the divide between those with prior musical experience, children explained that these group-based activities were particularly useful:

Quite a lot of people that play instruments in our class, like, even if they don't do it for school, they'll know something. So most of them are able to help other people that didn't know. (Focus Group 6)

This divide was confirmed by the specialist music teacher, who indicated that a portion of children have participated in private tuition from a young age and are therefore playing at an advanced level, far beyond the requirements of secondary school, let alone intermediate. In contrast, they shared that there was also a large portion of children who had no prior experiences in music:

There [are] so many kids that will start playing guitar, and I'll say, "Who has never even even touched a guitar?" And three quarters of the class have never even had a try. (Specialist Teacher 2)

As a result, the specialist music teacher indicated that their programme was quite different to other intermediates as it focused on exposure and experiences rather than on developing specific skills such as musical literacy:

I'm well aware that I don't teach any singing, and I know other music teachers teach a lot of singing. To me, there's other stuff ... I don't want to teach them to read music. I can't see any point. Because what we want kids to have is [a] taste ... I mean, I'd like

them to go out and go, “Hey, I really enjoyed music. I think I’ll start looking at [it] a bit more seriously in high school,” you know, and lots do. (Specialist Teacher 2)

Given that musical literacy is often viewed as a prerequisite for learning at secondary and tertiary levels, this perspective was particularly interesting. When asked whether the skills gained at Pūkeko Intermediate would prepare children for subsequent learning, the specialist music teacher elaborated:

Yeah, this is something [where] there’s always this big round discussion. What is our role at intermediate in teaching the arts? Is it to prepare them for high school? Or is it to give them something else? (Specialist Teacher 2)

Despite this, the specialist music teacher explained that their music programme was often praised by the music teacher at the local secondary school:

[They] would have new Year 9s coming in and [they’d] say, “What schools do you come from?” And [they] said if any of them put up [their] hand from [Pūkeko Intermediate, they’d] say, “Cool, here are some kids who are going to have some creative skills.” (Specialist Teacher 2)

Like Kākāpō Intermediate, though, there were several barriers to participating in the technology and arts programme, specifically due to COVID-19. As a result of regional lockdowns, some children had their 10 music sessions reduced to three, while others missed the subject entirely. One child explained,

COVID probably took away most of the time, like for some things. Like for arts, we didn’t get to do enough of it because most of the term was gone, and then we came back to school. (Focus Group 7)

In addition to COVID-19, the specialist music teacher shared that these sessions were also interrupted by regional competitions, especially for sport:

So a lot of the kids that are very active in sports miss a lot of music because that just simply gets in the road. (Specialist Teacher 2)

Culture provided another barrier to participation, particularly for children within the school’s bilingual class. As these children are fully immersed in te reo Māori, embodying principles of

te ao Māori (the Māori worldview), and mātauranga Māori (traditional Māori knowledge). These principles are abandoned, however, in favour of a Eurocentric model in the technology and arts programme, with all classes being taught in English. One parent summarised this:

They are constantly speaking te reo Māori and [the bilingual class] is in kaupapa Māori [embodies Māori values], and so, when they do go over to the Pākehā lesson, it's all switched, you know? (Parent 5)

Despite inclusion and celebration of culture at Pūkeko Intermediate, the specialist music teacher confirmed that Māori repertoire and instruments were rarely featured in their programme. Given their limited skills and knowledge, they stated that this was an active choice:

I do very little Māori music in my programme. One reason is that we actually have a very, very strong Māori and Pasifika department in school, and they do it all. I don't need to do it. I'm not good at it, and the class that actually least wants to hear me speaking anything about Māori music are the Māori kids, particularly the bilingual class. (Specialist Teacher 2)

Assembly

A school-wide assembly is held each week at Pūkeko Intermediate. These assemblies are routinely opened with New Zealand's national anthem, "God of Nations." On occasion, waiata are additionally sung, led by a bilingual teacher. As one specialist teacher explained,

We've got our school songs, which are very Māori focused, run by our bilingual unit teacher, our Māori teacher. So [they have] songs that [they] want all the kids to learn for things like pōwhiri [welcome ceremonies] and any of our sort of end-of-the-year assemblies and school-wide sort of songs. (Specialist Teacher 3)

This was confirmed by the principal:

We work towards every class being able to deliver a mihi whakatau [welcome speech] to any visitor from outside, so therefore specific whaikōrero [speeches] and songs need to be delivered. (Principal 3)

At the end of each year, a song is sung at the final assembly to farewell the graduating Year 8 students. Leading up to this assembly, the song is taught and regularly practiced within each

generalist classroom. At the time of data collection, children were preparing Stan Walker's reo Māori cover of "Take it Easy" by the Eagles. One generalist teacher explained that, for their class, this song was predominately taught by rote, with the teacher pronouncing one line at a time for the children to echo:

I'll just walk them through it like really traditional teaching, because I just don't know any other way to do it. So we'll just go through pronunciation of a verse, we'll practice that one verse for a while and we might do, like, a girls versus boys, and then we might get together. Sometimes I'll just split them into groups, and I'll give them a verse, and normally I have quite good leaders that will be like, "Okay, let's do this line," and they'll kind of break through it themselves together. (Generalist Teacher 8)

Children explained the process of learning of song in other classes:

For us, we will listen to the music, and then we'll try and sing. Then our teacher will teach us the words that we stumble on. (Focus Group 9)

Despite the promotion of group singing throughout the school, it was unclear what the learning objective of this activity was and how the music curriculum was met. Interestingly, generalist teachers communicated that they were also unsure of this activity's purpose beyond social objectives:

Well, the purpose for this song is that it's for our end-of-year assembly to send off the Year 8s, so it's like our goodbye song to the Year 8s, but outside of that, heck, I wouldn't have a clue. You could probably say it's school kaupapa [culture], you know, it's something we all do to support one another, school culture, probably broader things like that. But outside of that, probably not so much, I wouldn't have a clue. (Generalist Teacher 8)

Alongside preparing this song within the classroom, children also had the opportunity to practice together during school assemblies. But with the ongoing impacts of COVID-19 and regional lockdowns, assemblies began to be conducted online. When children were eventually able to return to school, indoor singing was prohibited and outdoor singing was restricted to small groups of socially distanced children. As a result, the performance of this song was eventually removed from the final assembly.

Extracurricular activities

A range of extracurricular activities were offered for music at Pūkeko Intermediate. These activities included ensembles such as kapa haka, Pasifika, and orchestra. Children were also given the opportunity to participate in instrumental tuition through the itinerant music programme. While most of these activities were offered free of charge, costs differed between each activity. Overall, the cost of extracurricular activities at Pūkeko Intermediate brought approximately \$150,000 in revenue each year.

Cultural ensembles

Extracurricular activities, such as kapa haka and Pasifika, have become increasingly popular at Pūkeko Intermediate. For example, the kapa haka rōpū has recently grown from 30 children, to well over 100, leading to the enforcement of an audition process. As one child explained,

It's kind of like we'll go for the first week and then [they'll] decide if we're allowed or if we're in or not, because there's a lot of people, so there might not be another slot for you. (Focus Group 9)

Despite all children being encouraged to audition, one parent indicated that this competitive process had resulted in their child choosing not to participate:

[They] probably would have done it last year when [they were] at primary school because it was more available to everybody, rather than, you know, we don't have enough room because our kapa haka group is now, you know 100 people kind of thing, if that makes sense. (Parent 6)

Voluntarily led by generalist teachers within the bilingual class, weekly rehearsals were held for kapa haka and Pasifika, which usually occurred for an hour and a half after school. But parents shared that, leading up to regional and national competitions, additional rehearsals were often scheduled for kapa haka:

It gets quite intense, especially when it comes to Te Matatini [kapa haka festival] and things like that where kapa haka performances, you have to be, like, precise. (Parent 5)

The intensity of these rehearsals was confirmed by an itinerant music teacher:

[The specialist music teacher] told me about one time last year where there was a big kapa haka festival coming on ... well, about to happen on a weekend and on the Thursday before, the kids had to stay at school till 1 o'clock in the morning. (Itinerant Teacher 2)

Like other music-making activities within the school, rehearsals for kapa haka and Pasifika were disrupted by COVID-19 and ongoing lockdowns. When children were eventually able to return to school, singing was restricted to outdoors, and as a result, rehearsals were weather dependent. Another potential barrier to participation was the associated cost, as parents explained that they were required to pay for children's performance outfits and competitions, in addition to any other trips.

Orchestra

Alongside kapa haka and Pasifika, Pūkeko Intermediate offers an orchestral ensemble, which is led by the specialist music teacher. While there is no cost associated with participation, children are required to have an instrument and a basic level of instrumental proficiency and to be musically literate. As a result, participation was restricted to those receiving instrumental tuition, which may explain why only 12 children were involved. Over the years, the orchestra's rehearsal schedule has continued to change, with rehearsals initially being held during the school day. After a change in senior leadership, these rehearsals shifted to twice a week, once during the school day and once outside of school hours, before finally being restricted to outside of school hours. The orchestra now rehearses each week for approximately 45 minutes before school. According to the specialist music teacher, these changes provide one example of how the school has neglected the arts in favour of cultural activities. They explained as follows:

We have a very, very strong and very vocal Māori and Pasifika side of the school. That is very dominating, actually, to the point where they just call kids out in class and, you know, I've never been able to take kids out of class. I'm never allowed to say, "I've got a special orchestra practice, can I have the orchestra?" You know? It's just like, "No." But they do. (Specialist Teacher 2)

With less value being placed on the arts, the specialist music teacher argued that Pūkeko Intermediate's actions had negatively impacted its reputation and roll and may even have discouraged a certain cohort of prospective students:

I used to have an orchestra from about 25 to 35 kids, and then what happened is [they] dropped the orchestra, and then a lot of the Asian kids that might have been looking at either coming to our school or [another local intermediate], thought, “Well, [the other intermediate] has got a big orchestra,” so they went there. (Specialist Teacher 2)

The shift in Pūkeko Intermediate’s reputation was confirmed by another specialist teacher:

When I first started there ... the school was known, if your kids had a passion for the arts, go to [Pūkeko Intermediate] because we were the only intermediate school with a specialist dance, specialist drama, specialist visual arts, and specialist music. (Specialist Teacher 3)

Like the specialist music teacher, this teacher indicated that the school’s priorities had since shifted from the broader arts subjects to cultural performing arts:

I think the focus is now towards the Māori performing arts and the Pasifika. (Specialist Teacher 3)

However, the children themselves suggested that the biggest barrier to participation was pressure of performing:

Researcher: And so why didn’t you want to be in it? You said you wanted to kind of focus more on your individual stuff?

Child 15: And yeah. I don’t know if that was the main reason. I think it was more that I didn’t want to embarrass myself.

Researcher: Why would you embarrass yourself?

Child 15: I don’t know. I might mess up the notes. (Focus Group 5)

Researcher: Does anyone want to be in orchestra but isn’t?

Child 22: Yeah, kind of.

Child 23: There’s just a lot of pressure.

Child 22: Yeah. A lot of pressure and stuff like that.

Researcher: What type of pressure?

Child 23: Like if you perform you have to get it right, and you also have to look at the music.

Child 22: Yeah and you have a lot of practice that you have to be at and it's just ... yeah.

Researcher: Does that pressure make you a little bit scared or worried?

Everyone: Yeah. (Focus Group 9)

Just as COVID-19 disrupted kapa haka and Pasifika, it was also another barrier to students' participation in the orchestra, with rehearsals being cancelled throughout lockdown. When children were able to return to school, woodwind and brass instruments could only be played outdoors and with social distancing observed. Interestingly, the specialist music teacher ignored these restrictions and continued indoor rehearsals as usual.

Itinerant music programme

Alongside extracurricular ensembles, Pūkeko Intermediate offers group instrumental tuition for flute, clarinet, saxophone, trumpet, trombone, acoustic and electric guitar, keyboard, and drums. Despite funding being available through the Out of School Music and Arts (OOHMA) scheme, this programme was created by the specialist music teacher, independent of the Ministry of Education. As they explained,

I was really aware that the official government funding is very limited and the schools that have it do not let it go. Now, they don't go, "Oh, we haven't had such a good programme this year, we'll let some of it go," you know? ... So I just thought I'm not even going to bother, because people have been saying they've been trying for years to get it and that it's frustrating filling out all the paperwork. So I just didn't bother. I just designed a programme that is self-funding. (Specialist Teacher 2)

As the itinerant music programme was established as a private business through the school, five itinerant music teachers were employed on a permanent part-time basis. Like the other schools, these teachers are not required to have any specific teaching qualifications or

experience. According to the specialist music teacher, these itinerant teachers were therefore “not trained to deal with disruptive kids.” As a result, classes are kept small, consisting of approximately four children per class. Lasting 30 minutes, these classes occur on a weekly basis, and despite efforts from the specialist music teacher, they are restricted to after school:

It’s all after school. I’ve never been able to get [the classes] to happen during school. I often ask. (Specialist Teacher 2)

As children grow tired by the end of the day, itinerant music teachers admitted that this time slot was somewhat challenging:

I’m getting the kids at the end of the day. And a lot of them, let’s be honest, a lot of them are a bit tired at the end of the day. I mean, it’s often occurred to me, and I know it can’t be that way, but man, sometimes I’ve thought to myself, “I wish I could have the kids at nine o’clock in the morning.” You know what I mean? I noticed that a few of them do get tired, there’s no doubt about it. (Itinerant Teacher 2)

From the parents’ point of view, this time slot also restricted participation, competing with pre-existing commitments. One parent shared that this time conflicted with their work schedule, meaning that they were unable to transport their child to and from lessons. Other parents indicated that this time conflicted with sport:

So [they were] doing hockey ... if we had signed up, [they] would have had hockey, basketball, kapa haka, and then [their] music lessons. So yeah, and then just trying to juggle all of that and things like that, and because one of [their] passions is hockey, I said to [them], “What one do you want to cut out? Just had to cut one out.” And [they] said, “Oh well, I can cut out music because we have to do that at school anyway.” (Parent 5)

Sport commitments were confirmed by the specialist music teacher as being a large barrier to participation:

But the other problem we have is ... the number of kids that do sport ... you know I’m thinking about a particularly really good kid ... [they] started learning keyboard and then stopped coming. Then eventually, I called up about the fact [they weren’t] going. And [they] said, “Oh no, football’s on at the same time,” and instead of coming

and saying, “Is there anything we can do,” [they] just stopped coming. So now that football’s finished, well, [they are] starting to come back again, but you know, [they] missed the whole middle two terms of the year because of it. (Specialist Teacher 2)

Alongside scheduling, participants indicated that cost was a significant barrier, with lessons equating to over \$300 per year:

There are so many things that the kids can do, and after-school music is by far the most expensive. (Specialist Teacher 2)

There would be a lot of families out there who would love to put them in music programmes and art programmes, and they just can’t, financially can’t. (Parent 7)

While these lessons could be paid off either weekly or fortnightly throughout the year, parents explained that the overall cost was still financially prohibitive, especially for single parents or those with large families:

I mean, you’ve still got stationery to buy, you’ve still got school fees to pay for, camp to pay for and all of that. I think camp was like \$240 but then another \$300 on top of that? Not every parent can afford to do it. (Parent 7)

Yeah, with the cost side of things, like, it can get expensive, like for lessons and things ... you know it weighs up between “Shall I send [my child] to guitar lessons or piano lessons, or should I put food on the table” type thing, because it can get really expensive. So that’s another reason that will stop us. (Parent 5)

In addition to the cost of tuition, children were also required to have an instrument. Given the significant cost of either purchasing or hiring an instrument, children were often restricted to instruments that their family already owned. One parent commented,

You’ve got the cost of all the lessons, and you have to buy an instrument or hire, like there was an option of hiring instruments that does add up, and so that was part of the reason why we went down the guitar route, because we had an acoustic guitar at home already. (Parent 6)

In response to these costs, the deputy principal shared that the specialist music teacher had, on occasion, sought sponsorship:

If there [are] people who really need support there, our music teacher is quite good at finding one or two sponsors to make sure a child gets there and receives that tuition as such. (Deputy Principal 1)

Itinerant teachers themselves had also historically sponsored children, based on talent and the family's financial situation. One parent recounted that

it was about \$300 a term or something, or for a year, and I can't afford that ... whoever the tutor was, [they] said they'll pay for it because he saw how talented [they were]. (Parent 7)

While timetabling and cost were recurring barriers for participation at each school, cultural tensions were also evident at Pūkeko Intermediate. According to itinerant music teachers, there was an absence of Māori children within this programme. One itinerant music teacher hypothesised that this was due to increasing divisions in society, while another problematically indicated that Māori simply lacked the skills to successfully participate.

[Māori children] can't cope. They'll often come for a term and they're away. You just don't see them again because they're better in a group where they're all singing or all playing guitar or something like that. (Itinerant Teacher 3)

Parents explained that these harmful stereotypes continued to restrict educational opportunities for children of Māori or Pacific descent:

I think coming from a brown perspective, we get seen as, "Oh you should already know how to play guitar, you're a Māori, oh you're a Pacific Islander you should know piano because you go to church," you know? And then there's all of that sort of stigma around it ... Being a brown kid, everyone expects you to be like already musically talented, especially if you come from a background where your family are musically talented as well. (Parent 5)

With expectations of already being a proficient musician, this parent shared that their child chose not to pursue instrumental tuition:

[They] never signed up to it, because of that sort of situation of not feeling like [they were] good enough ... I just say, "Oh well, if you're not comfortable, that's alright," you know? But I don't want that to dull [their] dreams of being a musician. (Parent 5)

Choice of repertoire was another point of contention, with one child withdrawing from lessons after the word “black” was used to describe the colour of someone’s skin. One itinerant music teacher explained what happened:

At the start of this year, I had one Māori girl, and she was a continuer [had learnt her instrument for more than one year]. So we were doing a song called “Under African Skies” by Paul Simon. And the opening line of that is “Joseph’s face was black as night, the pale yellow moon shone in his eyes. His path was marked by the stars in the Southern Hemisphere, and he walked his days under African skies.” Anyway, I got as far as “Joseph’s face was black as night,” and she started shouting at me, “God, that’s just racist, that’s racist.” Anyways, to cut [a] long story short, I said, “Well, I’m sorry it offends you, but anyway, I have to continue.” And she never came back. (Itinerant Teacher 2)

While there was no evidence of ill intent from this itinerant teacher, this experience clearly impacted this child’s participation in instrumental music-making. This quote also reflects the current climate in New Zealand, which as discussed in Chapter 2, can be, at times, very racially charged.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of the third case study, which illustrate the provision and enactment of music education at Pūkeko Intermediate. Throughout this chapter, the governance, budget, and operation of Pūkeko Intermediate were explored, including how music education was planned, budgeted, and enacted within generalist and specialist classrooms and through extracurricular activities. While this chapter was similar to Chapter 6, in that it highlighted the significance of the intermediate structure, the findings from Pūkeko Intermediate also demonstrate the implications of an integrated curriculum and the enactment of music in a collaborative teaching space. To understand the findings of all three case studies, emerging themes are discussed in detail over the next three chapters.

Chapter 8: Themes related to social class

In this chapter, dimensions of social class will be explored in greater detail, using Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus and field. These concepts are used to understand the relationship between music education and social class, and contribute towards answering the research questions of "How and by whom is the music curriculum enacted?" "Who gets access to music education and to what extent?" and "What factors enable or constrain access to music education?" Organised by each case study school, the chapter begins by outlining parental aspirations and how these informed children's involvement in extracurricular activities. The perceived value of these activities is then examined through a class lens, illustrating the numerous strategies that middle-class parents used to ensure that their children are positionally advantaged on the field of power. To understand the provision of music education at each school and how the subject is accessed, the institutional habitus of each school is considered. The chapter concludes with the broader implications of this research and how it contributes to understandings of music education and social class.

Tuatara School

Tuatara School predominately catered to middle-class families. This was partially due to the geographical location of the school in an affluent area; admission was mostly restricted to families who lived within the boundaries of the school's enrolment zone. Parents at Tuatara School had high expectations of their children, aspiring that they would be hard working, reliable, and successful. Parents' interpretations of success seemed to be tied most directly to economic outputs; specifically, they desired for their children to be able to purchase their own home. As one parent said,

I'm in an industry, the housing industry, I guess, and I see now how hard it is for people to get into a first home, so I really want to encourage them to work hard and to commit to things ... you just absolutely want them to be happy, but you do want that element of success for them because there's nothing more rewarding than being successful. (Parent 2)

To cultivate this chance of success, parents commonly enrolled their children in extracurricular activities that they believed would foster confidence, pride, a strong work

ethic, and an understanding of commitment. Children at Tuatara School consequently participated in a wide range of activities, including speech, drama, dance, gymnastics, swimming, horse riding, and a variety of sports, in addition to cultural activities such as kapa haka. As only some of these activities were offered at Tuatara School, many were pursued privately, either after school or at the weekend. This, however, resulted in children's schedules being heavily loaded, and they often attended a different activity each day of the week.

Of the different extracurricular activities that children participated in, music was highly esteemed due to the well-documented relationship between music and the brain (A. Collins, 2012; Levitin, 2006). One parent even recounted singing nursery rhymes and exploring rhythmic patterns with their children when they were babies, specifically to stimulate cognitive function. The perceived benefits of music also informed participation in instrumental music-making, as parents explained that this was one of the main reasons why their child was learning an instrument and participating in private music tuition. This seems to suggest that instrumental music-making was perceived as being more beneficial than any other musical activities. Given the numerous studies that confirm the cognitive benefits of instrumental music-making, this reasoning would not be unfounded (Chan et al., 1998; Ebert et al., 1995; Franklin et al., 2008; Fukioka et al., 2006; Gaser & Schlaug, 2003; Orsmond & Miller, 1999; Rickard et al., 2010; Schlaug et al., 1995). Private music tuition was also pursued because it gave children the opportunity to sit graded examinations and obtain internationally recognised qualifications in music. Because of this, private contractors said that they were often pressured to submit children for examinations; as discussed in Chapter 5, these teachers explained that parents often expected their children to be assessed in all areas of their life. This, however, seemed to be less about assessment and more about gaining institutionalised cultural capital, something that could be added to their children's curriculum vitae (CVs), which demonstrated their work ethic alongside other virtues.

While there was a clear hierarchy of extracurricular activities in music that prioritised instrumental music-making, there was also a hierarchy of instruments, with private music tuition in classical instruments being favoured. Of the classical instruments that children could learn at school, the piano was the most revered, even being described by parents as foundational to all other instruments. This is significant, as instruments such as the guitar are usually favoured by parents and children, because they are more commonly represented in

popular music and more accessible in terms of cost and size. In comparison, owning and maintaining a classical instrument such as a piano is far more expensive and cumbersome. Consequently, classical instruments are more often associated with the middle class, being considered more prestigious (Bourdieu, 1986, 2010). Perhaps, then, it is not that the piano is foundational to all other instruments, but that learning how to play the piano will accumulate more cultural capital than other instruments. It could therefore be argued that prioritising the piano above other instruments was another strategy that these parents used to ensure their children were positionally advantaged, even if this was at times unconscious.

Alongside having various opportunities to develop forms of cultural capital associated with music, children at Tuatara School were further advantaged by the cultural capital of their parents, specifically their experience and knowledge in music. As most parents had attended private music tuition and participated in various ensembles either as a child or adult, they were often musically literate and had a good understanding of the theory of music. These parents additionally often owned a wide range of instruments, such as ukuleles, guitars, drum kits, woodwind instruments, and pianos, all of which can be considered objectified forms of cultural capital. By having access to these instruments at home, children at Tuatara School were clearly advantaged, as they were able to explore each instrument and the sounds that they could make. Children recounted spontaneously playing these instruments when they were growing up and their parents teaching them basic tunes, such as “Mary had a Little Lamb.” This exposure seemed to be a driving force, sparking children’s desire to pursue private music tuition. When children were involved in this tuition, they were further advantaged by being able to regularly practice at home. Having a regular practice routine was additionally encouraged by parents, as they understood that this was necessary if their child was to be successful, make progress, and develop technical skills. There was, however, one parent at Tuatara School who had little background in music, describing themselves as being “tone-deaf.” To ensure that they were still able to assist their children at home, they attended their children’s weekly music lessons and kept regular communication with each private contractor. This reinforces the notion that middle-class parents tend to be highly involved in their child’s education (Thrupp & Lupton, 2011).

Like the aspirations of parents, the institutional habitus of Tuatara School was also focused on success and excellence. The school’s website indicated that there were high expectations in terms of student achievement in numeracy and literacy, and it overtly stated that

achievement in these learning areas underpinned children's success in the world, particularly in terms of employment. Other ideals that were heavily promoted included innovation, adaptability, perseverance, leadership, and achieving one's full potential; however, once again, this seemed to be limited to achievement in reading, writing, and mathematics – skills that were considered crucial to the job market, both now and in the future. Tuatara School's definition of success and excellence therefore seemed to be aimed towards employment and economic outputs, possibly to enable a certain type of lifestyle or achieve a certain social status. Through a neoliberal lens, subjects that are considered to lead to economic success are often promoted (Snook, 1990). This may explain why subjects such as music were positioned as supplementary and only able to be pursued voluntarily through extracurricular activities at the school or privately within the community. Given the school's reputation and history of glowing ERO reports, this strategy was evidently successful, as enrolment at Tuatara School was highly sought after. It is possible, then, that sidelining subjects such as music was a strategic decision, which ensured that numeracy and literacy were the sole focus of Tuatara School. By doing so, the school's reputation with ERO would be upheld, and enrolments from middle-class families would continue to be secured.

In some ways, the findings of this case study are not unusual, as they reaffirm strategies that middle-class parents commonly use to positionally advantage their children. As outlined in previous research, these strategies have included involvement in multiple extracurricular activities (Lareau, 2011), particularly in music, art, and drama (Vincent & Ball, 2007), and a clear preference for activities associated with "highbrow" culture, such as learning to play a classical instrument (Trulsson, 2015). Other strategies have included investing time and money into resources and activities that will enhance development and cognitive function (Lareau, 2011; Lilliedahl, 2021), school choice (Ball, 2003a), and high levels of parental involvement and support (Crozier et al., 2011). What is unusual about this case study, though, is that it challenges some aspects of the relationship between music and social class. Firstly, these findings contest widely held assumptions that affluent schools provide better opportunities in music (Brasche & Thorn, 2018) and are able to offer a broader curriculum (Alcorn & Thrupp, 2012; P. O'Connor, 2014; Wylie, 2012). Instead, this case provides an example of an affluent middle-class school that has minimal provision for music, suggesting that social class alone does not necessarily influence whether children are given access to music education in the classroom.

Secondly, these findings also challenge the notion that music education is inherently valued by the middle class and that middle-class parents seek out schools with good music programmes (Ball et al., 1995; Lehmann-Wermser, 2013; Raveaud & Zanten, 2007; Yoon, 2020). In isolation, these findings imply that parents at Tuatara School did not value music; yet, as discussed in Chapter 5, families invested substantially in private music tuition. It seems, however, that this tuition was only valued for the cultural capital that it developed, as tuition was predominately pursued by parents to enhance their child's cognitive function and CV. As music within the curriculum was mostly enacted for social objectives, children were unlikely to develop any cultural capital associated with music from the classroom alone. While it could be argued that, through group singing, children are learning to pitch, phrase, breathe correctly, and perform within an ensemble, without any type of instruction from generalist teachers, this seems doubtful. Given the minimal provision within the classroom and the fact that private music tuition was an optional extracurricular activity, it is possible that music education was not universally valued by parents at Tuatara School; rather, it may have simply been used as one among many different class strategies, alongside school choice, parental involvement, extracurricular activities, and objectified forms of cultural capital. Overall, these findings highlight the importance of school context and how each community will have different aspirations and values, regardless of their socioeconomic status (Thrupp & Alcorn, 2011). Therefore, the fact that a community is wealthy does not mean that it will necessarily value music and the arts.

Kākāpō Intermediate

The community of Kākāpō Intermediate was far more diverse than Tuatara School in terms of both class and ethnicity. As discussed in Chapter 6, Kākāpō Intermediate was situated in an area of significant deprivation and was still recovering from statutory intervention following a negative ERO review. Despite this, the school's reputation was improving; the school was generally well regarded and was even strategically sought after by middle-class parents. Like Tuatara School, parents at Kākāpō Intermediate similarly wished for their children to be successful by having prosperous careers and being financially stable. These parents, however, believed that being balanced and well-rounded underpinned success; as such, they valued both music and sport in addition to numeracy and literacy. Because of this, children were similarly involved in numerous extracurricular activities, although these were not as wide-

ranging, being limited to sports, swimming, music, and cultural activities such as kapa haka and Pasifika. Overall, children at Kākāpō Intermediate were involved in a smaller range of activities. It was additionally less common for these activities to be pursued outside of the school. While this may have been due to the socioeconomic status of the community and the cost associated with each activity, it is also possible that activities such as horse riding, dance, and drama were not valued in the same way.

At Kākāpō Intermediate, music was similarly valued for its impact on cognitive function, with parents sharing that they had played classical music for their children when they were babies, specifically to enhance brain development. As discussed, there is a well-documented relationship between music and the brain (A. Collins, 2012; Levitin, 2006), however, cognitive benefits are not restricted exclusively to classical music. While there has been some research that suggests listening to classical music will temporarily enhance cognitive function (Rauscher et al., 1993, 1995), the validity of this research has been widely criticised, as similar results were found listening to music of other genres (Chabris, 1999; Črnčec et al., 2006; Fudin & Lembessis, 2004). The “Mozart effect” has therefore been roundly quashed. Instrumental music-making was also promoted by parents at Kākāpō Intermediate, who believed that this would not only stimulate cognitive development but also strengthen their child’s CV. They asserted that being musically literate and possessing the ability to play an instrument would demonstrate their child’s broad range of interests and their ability to cooperate and collaborate with others. Parents explained that this would improve their child’s prospects for employment and subsequent education. This was particularly evident when one parent recounted enrolling their children in private music tuition at the age of 7, after they found out that it was compulsory for students to learn an instrument at one of the private secondary schools in the area. Hoping that their children would someday attend this school, this parent explained that if their children were able to play an instrument from a young age, they would be advantaged by the time they were able to enrol.

Despite being focused on building their children’s CVs, parents at Kākāpō Intermediate seemed to be less interested in institutionalised cultural capital, with private contractors indicating that only a handful of children sat examinations and that these were usually children of Asian descent who had been learning an instrument for several years. Parents explained that they did not encourage examinations, as they simply wished for their children to enjoy music. I found this assertion to be contradictory, as these parents had previously

stated that they had pursued instrumental music-making specifically to enhance their child's brain development, CV, and ability to enrol in an exclusive secondary school. It may be that examinations in music were not pursued simply because they were seen to be a valued form of cultural capital. It is also possible that obtaining these qualifications would go against the culture of Kākāpō Intermediate, which in some ways was very much focused on community and cohesion. For example, the school's weekly newsletter regularly acknowledged children's achievements, whether these were in a sports team, a classroom, or out in the community. Interestingly, it was not the achievements themselves that were celebrated but the social skills that each child demonstrated, such as pride, determination, commitment, leadership, or resilience. This may also explain why regional and national competitions were not individually pursued and instead involved entire ensembles. For some students, these competitions motivated them to work harder to obtain an award.

What was also interesting about Kākāpō Intermediate is that, unlike Tuatara School, there did not seem to be a preference for classical instruments. Instead, instruments such as the guitar and drums were favoured, most likely due to the school's popular rock band programme. As this programme had limited spaces, children were required to go through a competitive audition process to secure a position. The exclusivity of this programme seemed to be part of the appeal, alongside the fact that children were released from class for an hour and a half each week to attend rehearsals. There also appeared to be an element of prestige associated with participating in the programme, as the rock bands represented Kākāpō Intermediate in various competitions and performed regularly at school events such as assemblies and information evenings. While the rock band programme was revered by children for being "fun and energetic," parents described it as being one of their children's best achievements. They explained that it was a standout activity on their children's CVs, as it demonstrated their ability to work with others. This finding continues to reinforce the importance of context and how values may differ between communities.

Despite these differences, children at Kākāpō Intermediate were similarly advantaged by the knowledge and experience of their parents. These parents were highly skilled, with some holding qualifications in music and others able to play multiple instruments, both of which were the result of the private tuition they received as children. Because of this, parents often owned a range of instruments, including ukuleles, drum kits, keyboards, and pianos, with one family even transporting their piano from Britain when they relocated to New Zealand.

Having these instruments available meant that children were able to practice at home between lessons. While parents were not always able to assist with this practice (depending on the instrument that their child played), they understood the importance of a regular practice routine, with one family banning the use of technology until after their children's daily practice had been completed. In addition to benefiting from the knowledge and experience of their parents, children at Kākāpō Intermediate were further advantaged by the social networks and the social activities of their parents. One parent at Kākāpō Intermediate shared that they had heard from a member of their book club about musicianship classes being offered in the community and subsequently arranged for their child to participate in these. Opportunities like this were often influential, piquing children's interest in learning how to play an instrument.

While participating in music did align with parents' aspirations for their children to be well-rounded and balanced, it did not necessarily respond to the immediate needs of Kākāpō Intermediate. Participating in music would not directly improve achievement in numeracy and literacy, nor restore the school's reputation with ERO, which was needed for the school to generate enrolments and secure funding. Although other strategies that involved music were used to generate enrolments (these will be discussed in the following chapter), it could be argued that, in a neoliberal context, appeasing ERO had the biggest impact. There were elements however of Kākāpō Intermediate's habitus that music did contribute to, specifically the culture and structure of the school. Given the diverse community to which Kākāpō Intermediate catered, there appeared to be a large emphasis placed on Māori and Pacific cultures. This resulted in school-wide waiata occurring every fortnight and the establishment of cultural ensembles, as outlined in Chapter 6. While music was clearly valued in these contexts, the overarching purpose was not to fulfil the requirements of the New Zealand Curriculum for music, although this may have occurred in the process. Therefore, from these experiences alone, it would be unlikely that children would develop cultural capital in music, or at least the cultural capital that is valued by the dominant class and required for subsequent learning at secondary and tertiary levels.

Pūkeko Intermediate

Pūkeko Intermediate catered to both working- and middle-class families, although the working class were more prominently represented. As such, the aspirations of parents at Pūkeko Intermediate contrasted significantly to parents at the other schools, as they simply wished for their children to be happy, maintain their identity, follow their passions, and find a career that they would be excited about. While parents also discussed the importance of a good work ethic and the values of persistence and commitment, these aspirations were superseded by a desire for their children to overcome their struggles with anxiety and depression and to avoid becoming teenage parents. With parental aspirations being centred around the happiness and well-being of their children, participation in extracurricular activities was dictated by a child's interest, in addition to the overall cost of an activity. This meant that, where financially possible, parents encouraged their children to participate in any activity they were interested in, regardless of whether this was in music, sport, or something else entirely.

Like the other schools, Pūkeko Intermediate offered a wide range of extracurricular activities, many of which had little to no associated cost. Despite this, cost was still a substantial barrier to participation, with some children being forced to choose between different paid activities as their families were unable to afford more than one, while other children were only able to participate in activities that were offered free of charge. When it came to itinerant tuition, parents indicated that they were forced to choose between paying tuition fees or putting food on the table, as instrumental tuition was significantly more expensive than other extracurricular activities. Cost, however, was not the only barrier. With parents working long hours or staying home to look after their other children, transport was also an issue, as parents were unable to pick up or drop off their child to extracurricular activities outside of the school day. While some children were able to bike to and from school, other parents communicated that it was unsafe for their children to do so given the neighbourhood in which they lived. With cost and transport inhibiting participation, children at Pūkeko Intermediate were notably less involved in extracurricular activities than children at the other two schools.

While there was a clear hierarchy of extracurricular musical activities at the other two schools, parents at Pūkeko Intermediate seemed to regard all forms of music-making equally. This meant that learning an instrument was just as valued as participating in the school's kapa haka rōpū. It also meant that children were not strategically enrolled in activities to ensure

that they developed certain skills. Consequently, there was no discussion of music being pursued to stimulate cognitive function; nor was there any mention of music, or any type of activity, being pursued to enhance a child's CV. One parent did, however, share that they thought it was important for their child to develop musical literacy skills, specifically the ability to understand tablature alongside traditional notation. They explained that this would benefit their child if they ever wished to learn a different instrument. There was no evidence to suggest, though, that this parent believed that being musically literate would provide positional advantage or help secure entry to a particular secondary school. In fact, parents rarely discussed what secondary school their child might attend, and overall, they appeared to give little thought to this, seemingly unaware of the strategies that parents at the other schools were using to advantage their children. This finding can be understood through Bourdieu's concept of the field of power, which as discussed in Chapter 3, is governed by a set of unwritten rules. As knowledge of these rules are dictated by the volume of capital possessed, strategic decisions can be made by the middle class to advance their position on the field, while the working class may be unaware that these rules even exist.

Like participation in extracurricular activities, choice of instrument was also dictated by children's interest. This resulted in instruments such as keyboard, guitar, and ukulele being significantly more popular, while classical instruments such as the violin, cello, and flute were less commonly pursued. It is possible that classical instruments were less popular given the cost associated with these instruments; however, this is more likely a reflection of the community's interests and the type of music that was valued. Choice of instrument was also dictated by what instruments families already possessed and had available at home. One parent explained that hiring or purchasing a different instrument was an additional expense that their family could not easily afford. This resulted in their child practicing on an acoustic guitar at home, despite attending tuition for the electric bass. While there are many similarities between a bass guitar and an acoustic guitar, there are also significant differences, including the number of strings, the sound that it produces, the overall shape and weight of the body, and the distance between each fret. This would make it difficult to develop muscle memory and progress at the same rate as other children in the class who were able to practice on the correct instrument at home.

In comparison to the other schools, institutionalised cultural capital around music activities seemed to be less important to families at Pūkeko Intermediate. Examinations in music were

not mentioned by parents and were rarely discussed by itinerant teachers. While there was evidence of some children in the school participating in examinations, this seemed to occur through private tuition, independent of Pūkeko Intermediate. The only evidence of competitions was in relation to cultural activities, such as kapa haka and Pasifika. Both groups had regular rehearsals and worked hard to create a polished performance, particularly leading up to regional and national competitions, with additional rehearsals being scheduled on weeknights or over the weekend. Despite this, there was no overt discussion of winning; nor was there any evidence to suggest that children were motivated to work harder because of upcoming competitions.

Children at Pūkeko Intermediate were not as privileged as children at the other two schools, as the music education of their parents was usually limited to what they had experienced themselves at primary and secondary school. For most parents, this meant that they were musically illiterate, as they were unable to play an instrument and believed that they could not provide support beyond typing questions about music into Google. There were, however, some parents at Pūkeko Intermediate with extensive knowledge and understanding of music who were able to confidently assist their children at home. While most parents were unable to do this, other members of the community occasionally stepped in, particularly those associated with the school. For example, one family was unable to afford itinerant tuition, but their connection with the school's specialist music teacher resulted in this teacher personally funding an entire year of itinerant tuition in guitar. Similarly, the specialist music teacher at the local secondary school also gifted this family a digital keyboard to ensure that their other child was able to practice at home. These social connections significantly benefited this family, giving their children the opportunity to learn how to play an instrument and also to practice this instrument at home, both of which may have otherwise been unfeasible.

Parental aspirations were reflected to some extent in the institutional habitus of Pūkeko Intermediate, specifically through the promotion of culture and identity. Given the diverse community that the school serves, it is hardly surprising that culture was regularly reaffirmed and celebrated, especially Māori and Pacific cultures. What was particularly interesting, though, was that this seemed to be part of a wider strategy, with some participants suggesting that the senior leadership team were trying to specifically recruit children of Māori descent in the hope of transitioning the school to a kura kaupapa. One participant explained that this had resulted in Māori children from a school in another suburb being targeted for enrolment,

despite this school having a purpose-built intermediate directly across the road. If this were the overarching goal, then it makes sense that cultural music-making was regularly featured during school events and encouraged in the classroom. Despite this, cultural music-making did not seem to be universally encouraged or even necessarily valued by some teachers at the school. As discussed in Chapter 7, the specialist music teacher purposely omitted cultural music from their programme, and as previously quoted, one itinerant music teacher problematically indicated that Māori children did not have the capacity to learn any instrument other than guitar. When prompted further, this itinerant music teacher attributed this to Māori children being unable to work independently. Māori children were additionally stereotyped as already being musically proficient and were consequently not given the same opportunities to learn in the classroom; they were also bullied by other children if they did not already know how to play an instrument. It is possible, then, that reaffirming and celebrating culture was simply another marketing strategy used to recruit children and secure funding.

Alongside reflecting parental aspirations, the school's institutional habitus was also influenced by the aspirations of ERO, specifically, the desire to improve student achievement in numeracy and literacy. This seemed to be partially sparked by the appointment of a new principal and a negative ERO review a few years prior. To improve student achievement, there was a renewed focus on raising teachers' expectations and strengthening their practice. This mainly occurred through professional development, with all staff learning about culturally responsive teaching and High Impact Teaching Strategies, otherwise known as HITS. As music did not overtly contribute to student achievement in reading, writing, and mathematics, it was siloed within the technology and arts programme, and extracurricular activities in music were prohibited from occurring during class time.

Discussion

As social class is an intangible concept, it is something that is often ignored or unacknowledged, particularly in New Zealand, a country that supposedly embodies egalitarian values (Crothers, 2013). Despite this, these case studies have illustrated how social class has influenced the provision of music education and children's access to the subject, both in the classroom and through extracurricular activities. This research has

demonstrated a clear relationship between social class and parental values and aspirations, with the middle class commonly promoting ideals of success and excellence in terms of economic outputs, while the working class are often more focused on the happiness and well-being of their children. Children's happiness and well-being are undoubtedly important to middle-class parents, yet, their definition of these concepts seemed to differ significantly, in that they were understood to be dependent on economic success. These class values seemed to dictate school choice, as middle-class parents commonly selected what they considered to be "good" schools for their children to attend. Their definition of a "good" school seemed to be based on whether it reflected the values of their social class and whether it would provide advantage in terms of education or employment and therefore improve their child's position on the field of power. In comparison, working-class parents appeared to give little thought to school choice and were seemingly unaware of the rules of the game, commonly sending their child to the local school.

For the most part, the institutional habitus of these schools seemed to reflect the aspirations of the communities that they served. For example, Tuatara School was focused on student achievement in numeracy and literacy, as this was viewed as a prerequisite to success in a neoliberal society. While Kākāpō and Pūkeko Intermediate also focused on student achievement, this was predominately in response to the performative pressures created by ERO. Being purpose-built intermediates, the operation of these schools were also informed by the traditional structure of intermediate schools, with some subjects being enacted by specialist teachers. As parents at Kākāpō Intermediate aspired for their children to be well-rounded, it is possible that this is why the arts were included in the school's technology programme. However, I suspect that the arts were simply included to increase the school's appeal and ensure that generalist teachers were able to solely focus on numeracy and literacy. Another aspect of institutional habitus that both intermediates shared was the recognition and celebration of culture, presumably due to the diverse communities that both schools served and the high proportion of Māori students. With the institutional habitus of these schools informing the types of activities that were valued and therefore promoted, there were increased opportunities for cultural music-making in the classroom, during school events, and through extracurricular activities. Nevertheless, as outlined, while these activities provided children with rich opportunities to celebrate culture, they did not necessarily meet the music curriculum, nor did they develop cultural capital in music that is valued by the dominant class and ultimately needed to succeed in music within New Zealand's current education system.

Social class became most apparent when discussing extracurricular activities, as it influenced the number of activities in which children were involved, the type of activities chosen, and why they were valued and pursued. On the surface, access to extracurricular activities seemed to be dictated solely by economic capital, as most activities incurred additional costs, particularly those associated with instrumental music-making. However, economic capital was only one influencing factor, with participation being more commonly dictated by the wider and more complex concept of social class. This became particularly apparent as middle-class parents strategically pursued extracurricular activities to ensure that their children developed cultural capital, which could be used to their advantage. This finding not only reinforces previous research but also demonstrates how these strategies are used in a New Zealand context (Lareau, 2011; Trulsson, 2015; Vincent & Ball, 2007) In contrast, participation of working class children in extracurricular activities was usually initiated by the children themselves and simply dictated by interest and cost (Lilliedahl, 2021). For both classes, social capital also improved participation, although the benefits were arguably more pronounced for the working class. For middle-class parents, their social network was expanded through activities external to the school, such as book clubs, where they were informed of activities and opportunities in music that could be pursued in the community. In contrast, the social network of working-class parents was more commonly attached to the school and, in several instances, resulted in teaching staff providing an instrument or personally funding private tuition for their children.

Alongside influencing participation in extracurricular activities, social class also impacted children's success in instrumental music-making by affecting practice routines and the level of support that children received. Middle-class parents understood the importance of a regular practice routine, usually as the result of their own experience learning to play an instrument. Because of this, these parents were also able to support their children more actively during their practice at home. In instances where a middle-class parent felt that they lacked the knowledge to assist their children, they attended each lesson and kept open communication with private contractors. In contrast, working-class parents seemed to be less involved in their children's education. In isolation, this finding may suggest that working-class parents simply did not value education; however, this was hardly the case and was more a reflection of work schedules and the added responsibilities of looking after younger children. Working-class children additionally did not always have the same opportunities to practice, particularly if they did not have access to the instrument that they were learning at home. Although not

overtly apparent in this research, it is also possible that children were limited by space and other resources required to practice, such as an amplifier or music stand.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that social class significantly influenced whether children were able to access music education and the type of education to which they were exposed. With limited opportunities for music education in the classroom, access to the music curriculum mostly depended on participation in extracurricular activities, particularly when it came to instrumental music-making. Yet children's participation in extracurricular activities were not only dependent on their family's economic capital but also their social class more broadly, which informed values and aspirations. From this, it is apparent that economic capital is only one dimension of class and that, while socioeconomic status is commonly used to inform policy, children's access to music education would not necessarily be improved by increased funding alone. To understand the relationship between social class and policy, the following chapter examines themes related to neoliberalism.

Chapter 9: Themes related to neoliberalism

This chapter will explore the neoliberal tendencies across these case study schools, including how the neoliberal policy technologies of managerialism, performativity, marketisation, and privatisation have influenced the provision and enactment of music education. By exploring these policy technologies, this chapter contributes to answering the research questions of “How and by whom is the music curriculum enacted?” “Who gets access to music education and to what extent?” and “What factors enable or constrain access to music education?” The chapter begins by discussing the ‘back to basics’ movement, outlining how concerns of a failing education system were used to reinforce a hierarchy of subjects within the curriculum, which gave precedence to numeracy and literacy. The position of music within this hierarchy is then examined by using a performative lens to explain why the subject was often disregarded, not only by senior leadership teams but also by the government’s external evaluation agency, ERO. The chapter continues by investigating the role of privatisation, competition, and marketisation, and it details the ways in which each school outsourced music to the private sector and also manipulated the subject for marketing purposes. The broader implications for music education in Aotearoa New Zealand will then be briefly discussed to conclude the chapter.

Back to basics

The “back to basics” movement is not a new phenomenon, being present in New Zealand as early as 1916 (Snook, 1990). Concerned with underachievement, this movement advocates returning to the education system of old because it believes that the current system is failing to equip children with basic skills needed for everyday life (M. T. Morgan & Robinson, 1976). What is often debated, however, is what constitutes “basic skills,” as the definition of these skills could vary depending on religious, social, political, and economic interests (Snook, 1990). Through a neoliberal lens, the “basics” are defined as subjects that will develop the skills required for employment, thus leading to better economic outcomes. In this context, the “back to basics” movement advocates for the prioritisation of reading, writing, and mathematics, often to the detriment of the broader curriculum. This was evident in my research, as music was continuously referred to as “extracurricular,” “non-core,” and “a

passion project,” while reading, writing, and mathematics were described as “the basics” and “core subjects” in the curriculum.

As discussed in Chapter 5, reading, writing, and mathematics occurred every day at Tuatara School, being prioritised above other subjects in the curriculum. The significant time dedicated to these two learning areas was often justified by participants, who believed that exposure to numeracy and literacy would develop skills that children needed for employment. This argument was also used to rationalise the limited time dedicated to music, with one generalist teacher asserting that music education was only necessary for children who wished to be professional musicians or music teachers:

You don't need reading, writing, and maths to survive either, but you know, those are more general life skills that they'll need for so many jobs and so many paths in their lives, but they don't need to, like, play an instrument ... unless they want to be in a band or be a music teacher or be in an orchestra or whatever. (Generalist Teacher 2)

This comment seems to articulate the perception that the wide range of skills associated with music were somehow irrelevant to any other type of employment, while skills associated with numeracy and literacy would be applicable to all professions, not just mathematicians and writers. The emphasis on numeracy and literacy was further highlighted at Tuatara School, as children were unable to attend private music tuition if classes occurred during one of these two learning areas. When I questioned the narrow curriculum that was being enacted at Tuatara School, the principal shared that parents had high expectations and that generalist teachers were pressured to ensure that student achievement in “the basics” was upheld. But while parents did refer to reading, writing, and mathematics as “the basics,” they also criticised the lack of music within generalist classrooms:

If you looked at the amount of time in a day or a week that they [are] spending on sports, why are they not prioritising music as well? Do you know what I mean? The flip side of that? Why is there no emphasis on that as well? (Parent 1)

Another common argument made by teachers was that additional time needed to be dedicated to reading, writing, and mathematics, given that children were entering early childhood education and primary schools without any prerequisite skills, as evidenced by low levels of achievement. The principal at Pūkeko Intermediate suggested that this was most likely due to children spending more time on devices and not having the opportunities of the previous

generation to converse with others. In contrast, a specialist teacher questioned whether this was a consequence of traditional pedagogies, such as rote learning, being abandoned, while a generalist teacher blamed ITE programmes and indicated that teachers no longer had the opportunity to develop content knowledge. Generalist teachers from Pūkeko Intermediate also shared that they felt pressure from parents to prioritise numeracy and literacy. Like Tuatara School, however, there was no evidence of this from parents who participated in this research. Rather, parents expressed frustration that reading, writing, and mathematics were prioritised in lieu of a broader curriculum. While parents did believe that the purpose of education was to prepare children for employment, their idea of what skills were needed were far broader than just two learning areas. Instead, parents promoted music, science, and sport to ensure that a range of holistic skills were developed.

At Kākāpō Intermediate, the principal similarly argued that reading, writing, and mathematics needed to be prioritised, given that children were entering school below the expected levels of achievement. Generalist teachers at Kākāpō Intermediate also indicated pressure from parents to prioritise these subjects, and they explained that the inclusion of music in the timetable was even critiqued by some parents. While there was some evidence of this, it did not seem to be a widely held belief amongst parents who participated in this research, although this may be the result of these parents having an affinity for music. As outlined in Chapter 6, the promotion of numeracy and literacy at Kākāpō Intermediate was mostly driven by ERO, the impacts of which will be explored in more detail later in this chapter. After Kākāpō Intermediate received statutory intervention, there was an expectation that reading, writing, and mathematics would be taught every day and before any other subject in the curriculum. This expectation was surprisingly supported by the specialist music teacher, who agreed that numeracy and literacy needed to be prioritised, given these subjects are required at secondary school for NCEA. This response illustrates the impact of assessment and how it is often used to determine the curriculum, rather than the other way around. It is however important to note that NCEA standards in music do not currently involve numeracy and literacy, such as solo and group performance, this may change as the achievement standards are revised. Therefore, while the specialist music teacher's argument is somewhat plausible, I find it particularly interesting that they are the one continuing to reinforce the notion that some subjects are more valuable than others.

The most peculiar justification for why numeracy and literacy should be prioritised came from the principal at Pūkeko Intermediate. When explaining the disproportionate hours allocated to reading, writing, and mathematics in comparison to other subjects, the principal insisted that children were unable to progress in any subject without an understanding of numeracy and literacy (quoted in Chapter 7). There is, however, no evidence that suggests children are unable to progress in music without an understanding in reading, writing, and mathematics. If this were true, children would be unable to sing, listen, move, or explore the different elements of music before they could read and write their name or count their age on their fingers. This would additionally mean that the early childhood curriculum, *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017), would be focused exclusively on numeracy and literacy. This argument also raises the question of when children are considered to have this understanding, as it could be claimed that, by intermediate, most children are already numerate and literate. Perhaps, then, it is not possible to make sense of this argument or understand the rationality behind it. As Ball (2021) explained, it may simply be that it is an illogical justification which illustrates just how absurd policy enactment can be.

Music as a poor investment

The “back to basics” movement was fixated on ensuring children were equipped with the skills needed for employment, and music was not considered to develop any of these skills. The subject was therefore viewed as a poor investment, bringing little to no measurable benefit. This belief was evident at all three schools, as principals and generalist teachers commonly argued that there was simply not enough time in the day to enact music within the classroom. Externally, this seemed to be a valid issue, as generalist teachers attempted to enact what was often described as an overcrowded curriculum. Upon further analysis, however, it became clear that the lack of music in the curriculum was not necessarily an issue of time, or lack thereof; rather, music education was not seen to be the best use of time, implying that time would be more wisely invested into other subjects. Interestingly, the limited enactment of music within the classroom was even justified by some participants, who maintained that the subject would not develop the skills needed for employment, particularly in comparison to reading, writing, and mathematics. Clearly, each subject develops a different set of skills; but the transferable skills associated with music and the arts, such as creativity, do in fact contribute to a knowledge economy (P. O’Connor, 2020a). The

problem is that these transferable skills are more difficult to measure, and they are therefore not seen as a worthwhile investment through a performative lens (Elliott, 2001).

In addition to time, cost was often discussed as being a significant barrier to enacting the music curriculum. Given the expense of purchasing and maintaining musical instruments, alongside the ongoing cost of possibly employing a specialist music teacher, this was a valid concern. Like the issue of time, however, this barrier was far more complex than it initially seemed, and it would not be solved by simply increasing funding. The underlying issue was not that schools were unable to invest in music but that the outputs from the subject did not justify its expense. This became apparent when the principal at Tuatara School argued that it was not financially viable to hire a specialist music teacher to “just run around,” implying that a specialist teacher would be of little value and therefore not worth the financial investment. Through a performative lens, this is a logical argument, as music does not directly contribute to either a school’s strategic goals for reading, writing, and mathematics or its achievement targets. With achievement data in these subjects being used by ERO to evaluate school performance, and ERO reviews commonly informing the reputation of a school, it could be argued that investing in subjects outside of reading, writing, and mathematics may even threaten a school’s roll and thus the funding that it receives.

When viewed through this lens, it is hardly surprising that the arts are sidelined and reduced to a luxury item, something nice to have, yet non-essential (Eisner, 2002; Koopman, 2005). Accordingly, music is positioned as an extracurricular activity, occurring outside of the curriculum and, for the most part, outside of the school day. This may explain why music was used by generalist teachers at all three schools to supplement other learning areas, enhance concentration, or even just provide enjoyment. Positioning music as an extracurricular activity, however, is problematic, as the subject is no longer seen as the responsibility of schools and is instead dependent on each child and their parents. This means that parents are required to pay for any associated costs, rather than these costs being covered by a school’s budget. In terms of access, this shifts music education from being a universal right that is accessed in every state school to one that is dependent on geographical location, interest, or personal resources and which can only be accessed by attending certain schools or through private music tuition.

The notion that children’s access to music education was dependent on the school that they attended was particularly evident at Pūkeko and Kākāpō Intermediate. As both of these

schools followed a traditional intermediate model, they were able to offer a range of specialist subjects through the technology and arts programme. Children were consequently given access to timetabled music classes at both of these schools. In contrast, Tuatara School, was a contributing primary school and therefore did not employ a music specialist, as the subject was instead the responsibility of each generalist teacher. Subsequently, the enactment of the music curriculum differed significantly between classes, as it was dependent on each teacher's confidence, skillset, and interests. Generalist teachers who did have an affinity for music were also restricted by performative pressures, which diminished music to an activity that mostly occurred at the end of the day when children were tired or restless and that was enacted for social objectives rather than musical ones. While music education could also be accessed through private music tuition, this was an optional activity for which parents were required to pay, further restricting participation. Music education at Tuatara School was therefore predominately an optional extracurricular activity that was only available to some children.

Education Review Office (ERO)

While subjects that were perceived as leading to measurable outcomes were clearly more valued at these schools, the value attributed to each subject was ultimately determined by ERO through school evaluations. The role of school evaluations has changed significantly over the years. Historically, they were conducted to determine the needs of each school and ensure appropriate support was provided. Now, evaluations are focused on measuring performance and reviewing whether a school is performing at the expected standard (Wylie, 2012). As these reports are publicly available online, a negative review can have significant consequences, impacting a school's reputation, roll, and funding, in addition to trustees being stripped of their governance responsibilities or the board being dissolved entirely (S. F. Cook, 2021). As ERO solely uses student achievement in reading, writing, and mathematics to determine educational success, other subjects, such as the arts, are relegated to the periphery.

This was evident at Pūkeko Intermediate when the specialist music teacher indicated that only one music lesson had been observed in the past 20 years as part of an ERO review, while the specialist dance teacher disclosed that dance had never been observed. The specialist music teacher added that the principal had even invited an ERO officer to visit the

technology and arts programme, but the officer was not interested, indicating that this was outside the scope of their review. This may explain why Tuatara School had a long history of positive reviews and had even been used as an exemplar for learning, despite minimal provision and enactment of music within the school. The impact of ERO, however, was most prevalent at Kākāpō Intermediate, given the school had received statutory intervention and had just come off a longitudinal evaluation. With the responsibilities of the board of trustees being deferred to a limited statutory manager, the principal described ERO as “the driving force” of the school’s practice, which involved focusing solely on improving achievement in numeracy and literacy. A generalist teacher explained that this was one reason why music at Kākāpō Intermediate was given little thought.

With ERO’s focus being limited to reading, writing, and mathematics, it is logical that schools invest more heavily in these subjects to ensure a positive evaluation, particularly given the impact these evaluations have on a school’s reputation. Investing time and resources in other learning areas could be seen to jeopardise this reputation and, as a result, negatively impact a school’s roll and subsequent funding. This may explain why the principal at Kākāpō Intermediate indicated that they were unable to invest additional funds in music unless they were able to demonstrate to the board of trustees how music would improve achievement in numeracy and literacy. While music educators commonly justify the subject by indicating that achievement in reading, writing, and mathematics will improve if children are exposed to music education, this seems to be a flawed argument, as surely investing more time in numeracy and literacy will improve achievement data in these subjects more than investing time in music ever would. The fact that the board of trustees at Kākāpō Intermediate would need to be convinced to invest much needed funds into music, a compulsory subject of the curriculum, reinforces the extent of the performance culture within which schools operate. This also confirms Ball’s (2003b) notion that money will only be invested in areas that bring measurable returns.

To ensure a positive ERO review, all three schools created achievement targets and outlined action plans that involved prioritising professional development for numeracy and literacy and ensuring a certain number of hours were dedicated each day to reading, writing, and mathematics. Student achievement was then tracked, monitored, and analysed to determine long-term trends. At Kākāpō Intermediate and Tuatara School, achievement was mostly measured through overall teacher judgments (OTJs), the 4-point scale associated with the

National Standards policy to measure achievement. As this policy was removed in 2017, schools are no longer required to report student achievement in this way (Wood et al., 2021). But if schools are continuing to adhere to National Standards, the well-documented consequences of this policy (Thrupp, 2018a), such as curriculum narrowing, will also continue. This may provide one explanation for why numeracy and literacy are still being prioritised to the detriment of subjects such as music. It may also explain why student achievement remains central to each school's strategic plan and operational documents, where achievement targets are discussed in-depth, alongside tangible steps that could be taken to improve achievement. With student achievement dominating the focus of these schools, there was little discussion of teaching and learning, arguably the role of a school, in any document.

Curriculum outsourcing

Specialist teachers were employed at Kākāpō Intermediate and Pūkeko Intermediate to ensure that every child was given access to the music curriculum. Despite this, the technology and arts programme at Pūkeko Intermediate was only partially funded by the Ministry of Education (Ministry of Education, 2023h). To compensate, the school operated their technology and arts programme like a private business, offering the programme to primary schools throughout the region. With 12 schools participating, Pūkeko Intermediate generated enough funds to contribute to the expense of employing specialist teachers, which, according to the specialist music teacher, was justified as being a worthwhile investment in the technology and arts programme. In addition to the arts curriculum being enacted by specialist teachers, it was also commonly outsourced to contractors through the Creatives in Schools programme. For example, at Kākāpō Intermediate, professional dancers were contracted to provide dance workshops and choreograph the school's production. While this example is in the art form of dance rather than music, it reinforces how outsourcing the arts was favoured over upskilling generalist teachers. The Creatives in Schools programme, however, is somewhat problematic, as contractors are neither required to meet the arts curriculum nor have any educational background (Amery, 2020; P. O'Connor, 2019). This has left some to speculate that the Creatives in Schools programme was merely established to provide employment for artists rather than to ensure schools are equipped to enact the arts curriculum (G. O'Connor & Rush, 2020). Given the programme is funded in partnership with the

Ministry of Education, the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, and Creative New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 2022b), there could be some element of truth to this speculation.

Like Kākāpō Intermediate, Tuatara School also used private contractors and businesses to provide private music tuition. But itinerant tuition at Pūkeko Intermediate operated slightly differently, as it was offered through the school like a private business (see Chapter 7). The promotion of private music tuition at these schools is particularly interesting, given that funded tuition was available through the Ministry of Education's Out of Hours Music and Arts scheme (OOHMA). This scheme provides schools with additional operational funding to employ tutors and coordinators (Ministry of Education, 2023f), in addition to administration grants to cover the cost of electricity, cleaning, and maintenance (Ministry of Education, 2020d). According to Pūkeko Intermediate's specialist music teacher, applying for this scheme was time-consuming, and funding was not guaranteed as it was dependent on the hours that had already been allocated in each region. This may explain why funding from the OOHMA scheme was provided for group theory lessons at Kākāpō Intermediate but not any other classes. It also suggests that the funding available through the OOHMA scheme is unable to cater to the needs of each school. At Tuatara School, there was no discussion of this scheme, so it was unclear why it was not pursued or if participants even knew that it existed.

There are several implications for education when music tuition is privatised and outsourced. As contractors and businesses set their own fees, private tuition is significantly more expensive. This also means that the cost of tuition differs between teachers, instruments, and schools. In comparison, fees of the OOHMA scheme are set by the Ministry of Education. Schools may additionally use their operational budget to supplement itinerant teachers' wages or subsidise tuition further, making tuition more affordable and thus more accessible (Ministry of Education, 2020d). While participation in the OOHMA scheme is still restricted by a family's financial resources, private tuition restricts this participation even more. The second implication is that, by reducing music education to an extracurricular activity, trained and registered teachers are replaced by musicians, who are not required to have any specific qualifications or experience and, as a result, may have little to no understanding of pedagogy or education more broadly. This was evident throughout this research, as private contractors were often ill-prepared for working with children and failed to cater to their developmental needs. In this context, generalist teachers have not just shifted from professionals to technicians (Gray, 2007; Hlebowitsh, 1990); rather, they have been replaced entirely (Ball,

2017). The final implication of private music tuition is that it is based on a business model, with the overarching purpose of making a profit. As such, the authenticity of teaching is jeopardised, with decisions being driven by financial outputs rather than the educational needs of students (Thrupp, 2018a).

Music as a marketing strategy

While music as a subject was ultimately viewed as a poor investment through ERO's performative lens, music as an extracurricular activity was often sought after by parents who wished to expose their children to a wide range of experiences. Because of this and the ongoing competition between schools for enrolments and funding, extracurricular activities in music are commonly used as part of a school's marketing strategy to enhance their reputation and attract prospective parents (Fiske & Ladd, 2000). This was initially observed at Kākāpō and Pūkeko Intermediate; through the use of pictures, testimonials, blurbs, and videos made by an international marketing company, each school's prospectus, website, and social media accounts showcased the school's performing arts facilities, specialist teachers, and extracurricular activities. While it was encouraging to see these schools focus on music and proudly display how they had invested in specialist staff and facilities, this investment was, in reality, somewhat tokenistic, with the *appearance* of valuing the arts being more important than *actually* valuing the arts.

This became apparent at Pūkeko Intermediate, as music was used during school events through a range of different performances. At the time of my research, the school's orchestra had been invited to perform at prize-giving; additional rehearsals for this were scheduled during the school day, which participating children had to leave class to attend. While it is not unusual for additional rehearsals to be scheduled leading up to a performance, the timing of these rehearsals were, as extracurricular activities in music were usually prohibited from occurring during the school day. What was even more surprising was the fact that one of these rehearsals was attended by three members of the senior leadership team, who, according to the specialist music teacher, had never stepped foot into the music department before, let alone observed a rehearsal. Their presence, in addition to the timing of these rehearsals, suggests a desire to ensure that the orchestra was performing at a suitable standard for the school's prize-giving.

At Kākāpō Intermediate, the role of music in promoting the school and its reputation was centred around the school's annual production. Each year, Kākāpō Intermediate significantly invested in the event, contracting a lighting and sound company, a musical director, and professional dancers to choreograph movement onstage. The school additionally hired costumes and a professional orchestra to accompany the children while they performed. The overall cost of the production was unclear, however targeted funds received from a local trust and the Creatives in Schools programme suggests a minimum expenditure of \$27,000. A significant amount of time was additionally invested in the production, resulting in children missing class to attend rehearsals. When it came to scheduling performances, the senior leadership team discussed targeting potential feeder schools and inviting these children to attend free of charge. This strategy was evidently successful, as parents confirmed that music was one of the reasons that they chose Kākāpō Intermediate for their child in the belief that this would secure entry to private secondary schools.

What was particularly interesting about this event was the overall cost and involvement of a professional orchestra. While it is not unusual for schools to heavily invest in productions (Hallahan, 2012; Thomson, n.d), the sum of \$27,000 contrasts significantly with the \$3,500 that was the annual allocation to the music curriculum. It is worth pointing out that many of the instruments in the music room were unable to be repaired or replaced given the limitations of the allocated budget. The involvement of a professional orchestra also adds another dimension, as Kākāpō Intermediate already had its own orchestral ensemble. While the decision to outsource musicians could be in response to the complexity of the music, or because children in the orchestra had already been given onstage roles, this seems unlikely. Many of the children at Kākāpō Intermediate were performing at a high level. According to the specialist music teacher, some of these students were even meeting the requirements for NCEA Level 2, a standard that was not required until Year 12. Therefore, it seems odd that students were not given the opportunity to perform in the orchestra. Overall, it is apparent that Kākāpō Intermediate's production was not necessarily about teaching or learning, or even about providing students with performance opportunities. Rather, one of the purposes of the production may have simply been to promote the school and enhance its reputation in the community by presenting a polished and professional image to secure enrolments and additional funding.

On the surface, these findings demonstrate the time, resources, and money invested into music. They also suggest that these schools value music and are committed to providing a range of performance opportunities. Nevertheless, these performances were extracurricular and had little to do with the music curriculum enacted in each school. This, coupled with the minimal investment into the music curriculum, indicates that the image these schools portray may not necessarily be a true reflection of their practice or values. This reaffirms previous research that suggests musical performances are often used as “window-dressing” to make a school seem more artistic and desirable (Donaldson, 2012). Therefore, these performances are rarely a result of a school’s music programme (Education Review Office, 1995) and are instead a reflection of how music education may be manipulated in response to market pressures.

In contrast to the two intermediates, Tuatara School did not overtly use music as part of its marketing strategy, and the subject was largely absent from the school’s website. Despite this, it is likely that extracurricular activities in music and private music tuition were used to make Tuatara School more enticing to prospective parents, particularly if they questioned what the school could offer in terms of music. Unlike the other schools, Tuatara School did not have a prospectus. Overall, it seemed that little thought was given to promoting the school, presumably due to its steady roll. This stability, however, was not necessarily a reflection of the education that Tuatara School offered; rather, it reflected the school’s positive reputation and geographical location, being the only school in the vicinity and catering predominantly to affluent white middle-class families. Because of this, Tuatara School was clearly advantaged and did not face the same pressures as the other schools to maintain and grow their roll.

These findings illustrate that, while the schools gained reputational value by appeasing ERO, other strategies were also used to attract prospective families. What is interesting is that strategies involving music, particularly instrumental music-making, seemed to predominately attract white middle-class families at both Kākāpō and Pūkeko Intermediate. According to an itinerant teacher at Pūkeko Intermediate, the specialist music teacher seemingly confirmed that a certain type of child participated in music tuition and that these were the children that teachers would want to teach. While this comment was made in reference to the well-behaved nature of the children involved in music tuition, I cannot help but wonder whether this opinion was also partially informed by race. Given that some itinerant teachers overtly stated that Māori children did not participate in music tuition and remarkably concluded this was

because they “lacked the capacity” to participate, perhaps children involved in music tuition were not just of a certain socioeconomic status; they were also of a particular ethnic background. It is therefore also possible that music was used not simply as a marketing strategy to secure enrolments but also to secure a certain type of enrolment, specifically children of European or Asian descent whose parents’ social and economic capital could benefit the school.

While music education may have been used to attract middle-class families at both Kākāpō and Pūkeko Intermediate, the limited provision of music at Tuatara School is intriguing, particularly given the school predominately caters to middle-class families. On the surface, this could suggest that families at Tuatara School did not value music education; therefore, it would not be beneficial for the school to overtly use music as a marketing strategy. If this were the case, it would challenge scholarly and popular assumptions that music education is valued and pursued by middle-class families, as well as the notion that schools with a high socioeconomic status provide better opportunities in music. The parents from Tuatara School who participated in this research did, however, value music, although this seemed to be limited to classical music and instrumental music-making. Therefore, while it is possible that the parents who participated in this research did not represent the beliefs of the school community, it is also possible that it would not be beneficial for Tuatara School to invest in or market the school’s provision of music, simply because this was not the type of music that parents valued. As themes related to neoliberalism and class intertwine, this idea will be explored in more detail in the following chapter.

Conclusion

By exploring the neoliberal tendencies of each school, this chapter has outlined how notions of competition, efficiency, and free choice have redefined the role of music and its position in the curriculum. Although music was once considered an essential subject of the curriculum (Braatvedt, 2002), the chapter has detailed how music has been reduced to an extracurricular activity, which has been outsourced, privatised, and deregulated as schools continue to embrace a culture of performance. Music is therefore not esteemed for its inherent value as a subject; instead, it is valued as an extracurricular activity, which promotes cognitive development and ensures that children develop a wide range of skills that will be beneficial

for employment. Because of this, these schools used music and the arts as part of a broader marketing strategy to enhance their reputation and attract prospective parents. With the provision and enactment of music education being dictated by neoliberal ideologies, access is restricted by choice, interest, financial resources, and geographical location and is also dependent on each individual teacher and school. Also important to note is that the provision of music education is clearly linked to the structure of a school, specifically the technology and arts programmes available through the intermediate model. The following chapter discusses this structure in more detail, examining how the structure of school provision influences children's access to music education.

Chapter 10: Structure of school provision

Contributing primary schools, full primary schools, and intermediate schools all operate within the primary sector. While different in structure, these schools all follow the same curriculum and, depending on the year levels they cater to, adhere to the same general funding model. Despite this, the provision and enactment of music was influenced by the structure of each school within this study, specifically whether specialist teachers were employed and whether a technology and arts programme was offered. To understand how the provision of music education is influenced by a school's structure, this chapter will explore the history of intermediate schools in New Zealand, alongside the role of the technology and arts programme and how this has developed over the years. The provision of music education at Tuatara School, Kākāpō Intermediate, and Pūkeko Intermediate will then be discussed in relation to each school's structure before the broader implications for music education in Aotearoa New Zealand are explored. This chapter contributes to answering the research questions of "How and by whom is the music curriculum enacted?" "Who gets access to music education and to what extent?" and "What factors enable or constrain access to music education?"

History of intermediates

Since intermediate schools were first introduced to New Zealand's education system, their existence and function have been widely debated. As discussed in Chapter 2, the intermediate structure evolved from the American junior high school model that was adopted in 1922. By offering a broader and more vocationally focused curriculum, junior high schools were intended to prepare children for the workforce, particularly those who were not intending to pursue further education (Lee & Lee, 1996). Despite this, junior high schools were also promoted for children who were intending to pursue secondary education. On one hand, it was argued that the purpose of junior high schools was to provide children with the opportunity to explore the full curriculum before subject specialisation. On the other hand, it was argued that the purpose of junior high schools was to provide early subject specialisation. Without any clear government directive or guiding policy, the purpose of junior high schools continued to be debated until 1932, when the 3-year structure was replaced by a 2-year structure, and junior high schools were renamed as intermediates (Beeby, 1938).

With newly established guidelines, intermediate schools were largely considered to be a transition between primary and secondary schooling because they adopted elements of each school structure. Intermediates could offer technology and arts programmes (previously known as manual and technical instruction) onsite. They therefore had specialist teachers and purpose-built facilities like secondary schools (Nolan & Brown, 2002). Like primary schools, however, children continued to work closely with a generalist teacher in a homeroom-like environment (Dinham & Rowe, 2008). By catering to a large group of children around the same age, it was also argued that intermediates could better accommodate the needs of emerging adolescents by investing in furniture, resources, and professional development specific to this age group (New Zealand Association for Intermediate and Middle Schooling, n.d).

Manual and technical instruction

Manual and technical instruction was introduced to the curriculum in 1900, and it was intended to equip children with practical skills needed for the home and employment (Harwood & Compton, 2007). Defined as “exercises [that] shall train the hand in conjunction with the eye and the brain” (New Zealand Government, 1900, p. 216), manual instruction usually consisted of metalwork and woodworking for boys and cooking, sewing, and/or laundry for girls (Mawson, 1998). These subjects were strategically restricted to Year 7 and 8 children, thus targeting those who would be entering the workforce (Compton, 2001). As secondary education was not yet compulsory, nor government funded, these subjects were commonly associated with the working class.

As manual and technical instruction required specialist facilities and were only intended for a small number of students at each primary school, it was more cost-effective to establish manual training centres, rather than equipping each primary school with the resources that would be needed. This resulted in Year 7 and 8 children travelling from their primary school to their local manual training centre to attend manual classes with a specialist teacher (Watson, 1964). While this was more economical, travel was time-consuming, and specialist teachers were geographically removed from each primary school, which restricted opportunities for curriculum integration and for relationships to be established within each school’s community (Watson, 1964). With the introduction of junior high schools in 1922 and intermediate schools in 1932, children who attended these schools could access manual and technical instruction without having to travel to manual training centres, as these schools

were purpose-built and already employed specialist teachers (Butchers, 1930). With 25 hours in the school week, it was expected that children would receive manual and technical instruction for an hour and a half. Seventeen hours were required to be allocated to English, mathematics, history and civics, geography, science, singing, drawing, and physical education, while the remaining hours could be allocated to subjects that were not outlined in the curriculum (Beeby, 1937). For most intermediates, this resulted in just under an hour being dedicated to singing each week (Beeby, 1938).

Over the years, there were several noteworthy changes to manual and technical instruction, including art being added as the fifth manual subject in the 1960s, in addition to craft as a sixth subject at a handful of schools (Milburn et al., 1977). It is unclear, however, why art and craft were chosen over other subjects such as music, science, or physical education (Watson, 1964). Some have speculated that this was the result of intermediate schools being supplied with a specialist art room after a change in regulations (Milburn et al., 1977). While art and craft were not necessarily encompassed by the Manual and Technical Instruction Act (1900), incorporating these subjects into existing manual programmes seemed to be more convenient in terms of timetabling. It also provided an opportunity to reduce class sizes, with children being divided amongst five or six rotations instead of four (Milburn et al., 1977). When schools were unable to find a specialist art teacher, this rotation was replaced by either music or science, with a generalist teacher from the school volunteering to take one of these subjects, depending on their interest and skills (Milburn et al., 1977).

Another significant change to manual and technical instruction occurred in 1975, when girls and boys were given access to the same subjects (Harwood & Compton, 2007). This was followed by another notable development in the 1980s, when there was a renewed interest in science and technology. With the technological developments of the time, in addition to the introduction of neoliberal ideologies, science and technology were seen as essential for enhancing the country's economy (Davies, 1999; Jones, 2006). This renewed interest, alongside international trends in education, saw technology being introduced in 1993 as an essential learning area in New Zealand's curriculum framework, 2 years before the official technology curriculum was released in 1995. This was a significant development for several reasons. Firstly, introducing technology as an essential learning area made the subject compulsory for children at all year levels, while in the previous syllabus (Department of Education, 1986), workshop craft was only compulsory for children between Year 7 and 10

(Haggo, 2011). Secondly, this new curriculum positioned technology as a far broader and more holistic concept (Connolly, 2000), thereby encouraging integration rather than the development of practical skills in separate siloed disciplines (Compton, 2001). Some argue that the removal of siloed disciplines was necessary to remove the stigma attached to these subjects and their association with the working class (Mawson, 1998). With changes to the curriculum, visual arts became categorised within the learning area of the arts, and cooking became part of health and physical education (Ministry of Education, 2007). Despite these changes, manual programmes have continued to be a feature of intermediate schools and are sustained by ongoing funding from the Ministry of Education (Lucic, 2013), despite technology now being an essential learning area for all ages (Ministry of Education, 1993).

Funding

As discussed in Chapter 2, state and state-integrated schools receive three different streams of government funding, which account for the maintenance of property and buildings, the operational costs of running a school, and staff salaries (Ministry of Education, 2022e). The level of funding that schools receive within these different streams is dictated by a range of different factors, including a school's structure and the year groups that are taught. In terms of property funding, intermediate schools receive more funding than contributing and full primary schools of a similar size under the 5-year agreement. This agreement allows schools to repair, replace, or modernise existing buildings, both externally and internally (Ministry of Education, 2021a). Intermediate schools additionally receive more funding for furniture and equipment (Ministry of Education, 2023c). While no justification is given, this is presumably the result of the specialist spaces needed for technology programmes at Year 7 and 8. Although full primary schools also cater to Year 7 and 8 students, these schools are not allocated the same level of funding for property, furniture, and resources that intermediate schools receive.

Operational funding is more difficult to compare owing to its numerous components, only some of which are influenced by a school's structure and the year levels that are taught. One component of operational funding is the per-pupil funding that schools receive to cover the cost of curricular enactment. There are four different rates of this funding, as the cost of enacting the curriculum varies between year levels (Ministry of Education, 2023f). As such,

the per-pupil funding is set at a higher rate for children in Year 7 and 8, specifically to fund the cost of equipment and resources associated with the provision of technology for this age group (Ministry of Education, 2023h). This means that schools such as intermediates and full primary schools receive a higher rate of per-pupil funding for children in Year 7 and 8. As intermediate schools cater exclusively to this age group, it is likely that they will receive a higher level of operational funding per pupil in comparison to a full primary school. As indicated above, intermediate schools already receive a higher rate of property funding to account for furniture and equipment. This seems to imply that intermediate schools receive two streams of funding for equipment.

In addition to operational funding, schools receive staffing entitlements, which dictate the number of salaried positions that are funded for guidance, management, and the curriculum. Curriculum staffing consists of three different components – primary, secondary, and technology – all of which are calculated based on teacher-to-student ratios that were set by the Ministry of Education in 1995 (Ferguson, 2009; Pūaotanga Independent Review Panel, 2021). All schools will receive either the primary or secondary component of curriculum staffing, or a mixture of both depending on the year levels taught (Ministry of Education, 2023a). But only schools with Year 7 and 8 students are eligible for the technology component, with one full-time specialist position being funded per 120 students in Year 7 and 8 (Ministry of Education, 2023h). As with the per-pupil funding, because intermediate schools consist entirely of this age group, it is likely that multiple specialist teachers will be funded, depending on the size of the school. In comparison, full primary schools are likely to have a smaller number of Year 7 and 8 students and thus receive less entitlements for specialist staff. Regardless of structure, schools may also choose to use part of their operational funding to finance additional teaching positions (Ministry of Education, 2020b). This means that contributing primary schools, full primary schools, and intermediates could all theoretically use their operational funding to employ a specialist music teacher on either a temporary or permanent basis.

Overall, the current funding model seems to disproportionately benefit intermediate schools by funding purpose-built spaces and specialist teachers, thereby ensuring that intermediate schools can offer a broader curriculum. Intermediate schools are further advantaged by being able to offer their technology programme to full primary schools that lack purpose-built spaces and do not have enough Year 7 and 8 students to fund a specialist teacher. When this

occurs, full primary schools redirect their staff entitlements for technology to their provider school, which is typically an intermediate (Haggo, 2011). This means that the provider school receives staff entitlements for technology from both the number of Year 7 and 8 children in their own school and the number of Year 7 and 8 children from other schools that participate in their technology programme (Ministry of Education, 2023h). Alongside the provider school receiving additional staff entitlements for technology, they are also able to charge schools a rate per student to participate in their technology programme. While the Ministry of Education provides set rates of per-pupil funding that account for the provision of the technology curriculum, provider schools are able to dictate the rate that participating schools are charged (Ministry of Education, 2023h), which theoretically may generate a profit. It is therefore possible for intermediates to run their technology programme as a profitable business at the expense of participating schools. This was the case at Pūkeko Intermediate, as the number of Year 7 and 8 children at the school meant that only four of the eight specialist teaching positions were funded from the school's staff entitlements for technology. To compensate, Pūkeko Intermediate operated their technology and arts programme like a private business, with this programme being attended by 12 other schools in the region. As quoted in Chapter 7, the specialist music teacher confirmed this:

We've got eight tech and arts teachers, and the outside schools basically pay for about three of those teachers, I think. Something like that. If we didn't have those outside of schools, well, our tech and arts programme would get smaller. (Specialist Teacher 2)

As analysed in Chapter 9, the business-like operation of Pūkeko Intermediate's technology and arts programme provides an example of how the arts may be outsourced and privatised to justify their expense. In the context of manual and technical instruction, the notion of children travelling from their primary school to an external venue for technology instruction is not a new development, as it occurred long before the systematic adoption of neoliberal ideologies in the 1980s. It could then be argued that the outsourcing of Pūkeko Intermediate's technology and arts programme to other schools is simply the result of the historic Manual and Technical Instruction Act (1900). While this is entirely plausible, there is little evidence to suggest that schools were previously using this programme to benefit their own budget, staffing entitlements, or provision of the curriculum. Therefore, while the continuation of technology and arts programmes and their funding may be the result of previous educational

policy, how it is currently being enacted seems to be more reflective of the current education climate.

Technology and arts programmes

There are many similarities between the historical manual and technical instruction programmes and the technology and arts programmes of Kākāpō and Pūkeko Intermediate. Firstly, subjects within these schools’ technology and arts programmes are still being enacted as separate disciplines and have continued to be led by specialist teachers. While it could be argued that this is because specialist knowledge is needed to enact these subjects, it is more likely the result of the Ministry of Education continuing to fund specialist teachers as part of the technology provision for Year 7 and 8 (Ministry of Education, 2023h). Secondly, while the provision of subjects offered through the technology and arts programmes at Kākāpō and Pūkeko Intermediate have expanded from the initial four manual subjects, iterations of woodwork and cooking have remained. The provision of technology and arts subjects at Kākāpō and Pūkeko Intermediate are shown in Table 17 below.

Table 17. Technology and arts provision at Kākāpō and Pūkeko Intermediate

Kākāpō Intermediate		Pūkeko Intermediate	
Technology	Arts	Technology	Arts
Health and physical education	Music	Food technology	Drama
Hard materials	Visual arts	Digital technology	Dance
Digital and visual communication		Hard materials	Music
Science		Computational thinking	Visual arts

Most notable, however, is the inclusion of arts subjects, specifically music. While funding for specialist teachers at Year 7 and 8 is clearly intended to ensure the provision of the technology curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2023h), it is interesting that other specialist subjects may be approved by the Secretary for Education (Ministry of Education, 2015b).

Although there is no specific mention of the arts, the inclusion of these subjects within the technology and arts programmes of both schools (and the evidence for this in a previous report; Haggio, 2011) suggests that this funding may be extended to the arts.

The earliest account of specialist teachers being used for music was between 1944 and 1946, when eight specialist music teachers were appointed throughout the country to work in up to four schools in each educational district. These roles were not restricted to intermediate schools, or even primary schools, but also encompassed district high schools and training colleges (Baatvedt, 2002). In terms of the intermediate structure, there is evidence of music being taught at some schools alongside other manual subjects; nevertheless, music was never officially part of manual programmes, nor was it taught within these programmes by specialist teachers (Milburn et al., 1977). Instead, historical reports illustrate that music was taught at intermediate schools by generalist teachers (Milburn et al., 1977; Watson, 1964), although it is likely that support would also have been received from local music advisers and various schemes, such as the composers in schools and musician-teacher programmes (Baatvedt, 2002).

Baatvedt (2002) suggests that it was not until after the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools policy that specialist music teachers began to be appointed in primary and intermediate schools, as boards of trustees could now choose how to allocate operational funding. This would also align with the changes to funding and staff entitlements made by the Ministerial Reference Group in 1995 (Ferguson, 2009). The emergence of specialist music teachers in the 1990s would additionally align with the findings of this research, as the specialist music teacher position at Pūkeko Intermediate was established in 1998. The principal of Kākāpō Intermediate additionally stated that,

over the last 22, 23 years, in every intermediate I've been in has a technology arts department. (Principal 2)

While the employment of specialist music teachers may have been a by-product of Tomorrow's Schools, it seems that these roles have been sustained by the additional staff entitlements for technology at Year 7 and 8. Despite this, not all intermediate schools in New Zealand offer music as part of their technology programmes, nor do they employ a specialist music teacher. As staff entitlements for technology are dependent on the number of Year 7

and 8 students at a school, it is likely that smaller intermediates do not receive enough entitlements to employ specialists outside of the technology curriculum.

Regardless of how music is funded for Year 7 and 8 children, children’s access to music education has clearly been strengthened by the employment of a specialist music teacher and by the time allocated to music within each school’s timetable. At Kākāpō Intermediate, this resulted in 16 hours being allocated to music each year, and 15.5 hours at Pūkeko Intermediate. As shown in Table 18 below, this contrasted significantly with Tuatara School, which did not allocate any hours to music and instead left this subject to the discretion of each generalist teacher.

Table 18. Total hours per year allocated to music education

Tuatara School	Kākāpō Intermediate	Pūkeko Intermediate
0 hours	16.5 hours	15 hours

Despite set hours for music at Kākāpō and Pūkeko Intermediate, student attendance in technology and arts classes were disrupted by absences and the COVID-19 lockdowns and restrictions. At Pūkeko Intermediate, this resulted in some children only receiving 4.5 hours of music education, while others missed out entirely. The technology and arts programme at these schools also resulted in generalist teachers being less likely to include music within their classroom, as they indicated that this was the responsibility of the specialist music teacher.

While having 15 to 16.5 hours each year dedicated to music is clearly more desirable than having none, it is still a small allocation of hours. Some participants justified this as being in response to an increasingly overcrowded curriculum, which has also been previously identified as one of the barriers to music education in New Zealand (Beals et al., 2003; Carson & Rodgers, 2016; Donaldson, 2012; Rohan, 2004). Given that the curriculum has continued to expand, this argument is entirely plausible. As previously discussed, technology was introduced as the seventh learning area in 1993 (Ministry of Education, 1993), and language and languages were split into two separate learning areas, known as “English” and “learning languages” in 2007 (Ministry of Education, 2008). The four arts disciplines were merged into one learning area in 2000, shifting music from being a stand-alone subject to a

mere quarter of a learning area. Despite these developments, there is little evidence to suggest that timetables at Kākāpō and Pūkeko Intermediate were overcrowded from these additional learning areas. Instead, timetables seemed to be dominated solely by reading, writing, and mathematics. At Kākāpō Intermediate, generalist teachers were expected to allocate at least 13.5 hours per week to numeracy and literacy, while at Pūkeko Intermediate, generalist teachers were expected to allocate between 13.5 and 18 hours per week to these subjects. This means that, in one week, children may experience the same number of hours for reading, writing, and mathematics as they would experience over an entire year for music. This is not to suggest that numeracy and literacy are not important learning areas; rather, it is to suggest that the intention of intermediate schools to offer a broader curriculum is clearly being undone by performative pressures to improve achievement in reading, writing, and mathematics.

Conclusion

The intermediate structure continues to be unique to Aotearoa New Zealand (R. Martin & Williams, 2012), even being described as “unusual” for adhering to a 2-year period rather than 3 or 4 years like the middle schools in other countries (Dinham & Rowe, 2008, p. 10). While the purpose of these schools has been widely debated, the intermediate structure has become integral to the provision of technology and arts programmes and, therefore, to the improvement of children’s overall access to music education. From this analysis, the following chapter examines these findings in relation to the research questions, before discussing the broader implications of this study.

Chapter 11: Discussion and conclusion

This thesis examined how music education is accessed and enacted at three different primary and intermediate schools in Aotearoa New Zealand. Through multiple case studies, the provision and enactment of music both in the classroom and through extracurricular activities was explored in order to determine children's access to the subject and the various factors that enabled and constrained this access. While New Zealand literature discusses the role of ITE programmes (Trinick & Joseph, 2017), professional development (Ministry of Education, 2016, 2022a), resourcing, the curriculum, and various educational policies (Irwin, 2018; Webb, 2016), the present study has revealed more enduring mechanisms that impact children's access to music education. The purpose of this chapter is therefore to discuss these mechanisms and to illustrate the relationship and complexities between social class, the persistence of neoliberal ideologies, and the relevance of school structure. While the role of performativity, privatisation, and social class have been explored in international literature, this study highlights the relationship between these mechanisms and how they operate at a local level. The chapter begins by returning to the research questions that prompted this study. The implications for music education are then discussed, alongside the limitations of this study and opportunities for future research. The chapter concludes by considering the future of music education.

Research questions

1. How and by whom is the music curriculum enacted?

Across the three case studies, music was often omitted in generalist classrooms, with reading, writing, and mathematics taking precedence. When music-making did occur, it was taught by **generalist teachers**, mostly through short periods of group singing, as children sung along to pre-recorded songs on YouTube. With little to no guidance given to children, these activities seemed to have neither clear learning objectives nor any overt connections to the New Zealand Curriculum for music. Instead, generalist teachers shared that singing was simply part of their classroom routine – a fun activity that settled children before timetabled learning began. To some extent, this seemed to signal a desire to return to simpler times, where group singing was considered a worthwhile activity, regardless of the learning objective. In addition to singing, children also had the opportunity to listen to music in the classroom. Like singing

activities, however, these periods of listening also lacked any clear musical learning objectives. Instead, music was played to enhance concentration and keep children quiet and focused, particularly during writing activities. On occasion, music was also used to supplement other learning areas. These activities were usually spontaneous, being prompted when children were struggling to engage. Nevertheless, there were instances of generalist teachers being interested in music, voluntarily pursuing professional development, and personally financing musical resources for the classroom. But these teachers were scarce, due to them being constrained by the performative system within which they worked.

As well as being enacted by generalist teachers, the music curriculum was also enacted by highly skilled and qualified **specialist teachers** in some schools. At each intermediate school, specialist teachers operated within the technology and arts programme, and they therefore had a dedicated space, budget, and timetable for their subject. This resulted in a wide range of activities being offered in music, which gave children the opportunity to compose, improvise, and perform on a range of instruments. Through these activities, children developed an understanding of musical literacy, theory, and recording and sound production. As these experiences met the requirements for music education in the New Zealand Curriculum, it was likely that these children would graduate with a range of skills and knowledge in music and would therefore be well-prepared for subsequent learning at a secondary level. While children clearly benefited from the employment of specialist teachers, classes occurred on rotation, meaning that music was not a regular occurrence, being restricted on average to 16 hours per year. For some children, absences, lockdowns, and other implications of the COVID-19 pandemic further restricted the hours dedicated to music and, in some cases, meant that classes in music were cancelled entirely.

In addition to generalist and specialist teachers, private contractors and itinerant teachers also enacted the music curriculum, as children participated in **private music tuition**. As these teachers operated outside of the state system, they were not required to possess any specific qualifications or teach the New Zealand Curriculum. However, as these teachers were typically highly skilled and held various tertiary qualifications in music, the curriculum was usually enacted in the process. Tuition occurred on a weekly basis through individual or group lessons that specialised in singing, music theory, or music-making on a specific instrument. These lessons usually lasted half an hour and were held either before school, during class time, or after school. While the content of lessons often varied depending on the

subject and the teacher, children usually developed a good understanding of music as they prepared for examinations, competitions, and performances. In some ways, private music tuition was the most beneficial form of curricular enactment, as it ensured that time was regularly dedicated to music. Overall, private music tuition equated to more hours than what would be received in generalist or specialist classrooms. With lower teacher-to-student ratios, it could also be argued that children would receive increased levels of support. It is worth noting, though, that this tuition was based on a user pays model, which restricted participation to higher socioeconomic groups.

Lastly, the music curriculum was also enacted through **extracurricular activities that were led by a combination of generalist and specialist teachers and, in some cases, private contractors**. Leading a range of extracurricular activities, these teachers either volunteered their time, because they had a specific interest or skill set, or were contracted to fill a need within the school. For the most part, generalist teachers led cultural ensembles, such as kapa haka and Pasifika, while specialist teachers led choral and orchestral ensembles. In instances where private contractors were used, this seemed to be for extracurricular activities, such as rock band and production, particularly when the specialist teacher was unable to assist due to time constraints. On the surface, this seems to suggest that cultural music-making can be led by anyone, regardless of their qualifications or musical skills. In comparison, there seemed to be a notion that other ensembles required leaders to possess specialist skills in performance, musical literacy, and theory. Clearly, it takes skill and expertise to successfully lead any ensemble, yet there continues to be a perception that some forms of music-making are more complex and can only be enacted by certain teachers. In terms of the objectives of extracurricular activities, these clearly differed between activities, with some being focused on social and cultural objectives, rather than musical ones. Despite this, the music curriculum was usually enacted in the process, even if this was not an overt intention or focus. Overall, the range of extracurricular activities available and the frequency and duration of each activity differed between each school.

2. Who gets access to music education and to what extent?

According to the Ministry of Education (2000), “All New Zealanders have a right to an education in the arts as part of their schooling” (p. 10). But as this research has demonstrated, children’s access to music education is significantly influenced by social class, particularly in terms of extracurricular activities. Due to the associated cost of these activities, children’s

participation was predominately informed by finances, followed by the values, interests, and aspirations of each social class. Consequently, working-class children were often excluded from extracurricular activities, or disadvantaged in some other way, as they received notably less support at home due to their parents having to negotiate work schedules and other caregiving responsibilities. In comparison, middle-class children usually participated in a wider range of activities, as their parents wanted them to develop the type of cultural capital that would be advantageous for education and future employment. Some extracurricular activities, such as orchestra and rock band, required children to have their own instrument, a privilege that many families could not afford. Participation in other extracurricular activities were additionally restricted by an audition process, which limited participation to those perceived as being skilled or naturally talented. Children's skills and talent were however dictated by previous exposure to music education, which as discussed, was influenced by their social standing. This finding not only reinforces the role of social class, but also illustrates how participation can be restricted by hidden entry requirements (Bourdieu, 2010). In this instance, entry requirements were focused on instrumental proficiency and an understanding of written notation, both of which are unlikely to be developed without the aid of private tuition (Carroll, 2021). Therefore, even if working class families could afford for their children to participate in these activities, it is unlikely that their children would be included.

Children's access to music education was also influenced by the structure of the school: specifically, whether a specialist teacher was employed and whether time was dedicated to the subject within the timetable. On the surface, the employment of a specialist teacher was made possible at both intermediates through the additional funding and staff entitlements for Year 7 and 8 children. As highlighted in the previous chapter, this funding was never intended to be used for music, as it was designated specifically for technology. However, through the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools policy, schools are self-governing and therefore able to choose how budgets are allocated and how operational funding is spent. In this study, this resulted in the two intermediate schools choosing to hire a specialist music teacher to operate within their technology and arts programme. The motivation behind this decision was unclear; however, principals cited that it was common practice for intermediate schools to employ a specialist music teacher.

While this study did not initially intend to explore the structure of school provision, the intermediate model provided unexpected opportunities for working-class children in music education. This study found that working-class children were given access to a specialist music teacher and specialist tuition by simply attending an intermediate school. This provides further evidence that in a New Zealand context, middle-class schools are not necessarily better at providing music. On some level, the intermediate structure ensured that all children were given equal access to music, regardless of their social class. However, as discussed, middle-class children who participated in private tuition from a young age were clearly advantaged by the time they reached intermediate. These children were achieving at a much higher level and were consequently given more complex tasks to complete. Moreover, because there is no official policy or overt statement from the Ministry of Education that advocates for technology funding to be redirected to other learning areas, not all intermediate schools employ a specialist music teacher or even provide specialist provision for subjects outside of technology. From previous reviews, it seems that the Ministry of Education are well aware that schools are choosing to use this funding for learning areas other than technology (Ministry of Education, 2015a). Anecdotally, this has concerned representatives from the Ministry of Education for some time, because the diversion of funding and resources from technology has created inequity between schools. It is possible that the Ministry of Education are unable to respond, as it could set a precedent for closely monitoring all types of funding that schools receive. Not only would this take a considerable amount of resources, but it would also challenge the notion of self-governing schools.

While children's access to music education was clearly linked to social class and school structure, it also occurred in unexpected and, to some extent, serendipitous ways. Tuatara School was an affluent school with a high socioeconomic status and clearly enjoyed many advantages; yet its provision of music education was negligible. The two intermediate schools were of significantly lower socioeconomic status, yet both employed specialist music teachers, had dedicated spaces for music-making, and financially allocated a larger portion of the budget to music. Similarly, middle-class parents who participated in this study overtly encouraged music-making and believed that the subject would advantage their children, but discussions with principals and other staff indicated that other parents did not. Consequently, music education was an asset to some but a liability for others. Children's access to music education is therefore complex and cannot be predicted by social class or school structure alone.

3. What factors enable or constrain access to music education?

This study has identified numerous factors that enable and constrain children's access to music education. Some of these factors have already been discussed in this chapter, therefore this discussion is a brief summary rather than an exhaustive list.

One of the factors that emerged from this research was **social class**, which appears to influence children's access to music education, particularly in terms of extracurricular activities. Nevertheless, the practice of each school was more overtly driven by neoliberal ideologies, with the value of each subject being determined by its perceived economic contribution. This influenced planning, classroom timetables, the budget, resources, and professional development allocated to each subject. Without this support, generalist teachers commonly lacked the confidence and skills required to enact the music curriculum. While a subject hierarchy was reinforced by teachers and senior leadership teams, this became most apparent through the operation of ERO, with the success of each school being primarily informed by the achievement of its students in reading, writing, and mathematics. As ERO evaluations have the potential to impact a school's reputation and ability to self-govern, in some ways ERO has a greater influence on school practice than the social class of the community. Even so, social class was still influential, being closely linked to school choice. This led to some schools using music as a marketing tool to attract middle-class families. While these marketing initiatives did result in more time and resources being dedicated to music at both Kākāpō and Pūkeko Intermediate, children's access to music education did not necessarily improve. This was because musical activities were focused on constructing an image for the school, rather than providing opportunities for teaching and learning. Although middle-class families were clearly targeted by the schools in their marketing strategies, the provision of music education did not seem to influence school choice for parents at Tuatara School, with music-making being more commonly accessed through private tuition.

Intricately connected with social class was **ethnicity**, which in some ways provided opportunities for cultural music-making through waiata and haka. Although these opportunities were more pronounced at Kākāpō and Pūkeko Intermediate, cultural music-making occurred across the three cases, particularly during school events. As already discussed, however, this type of music-making did not necessarily meet the requirements of the music curriculum, as it was commonly enacted for social or cultural objectives or, in the case of Pūkeko Intermediate, as a marketing tool to increase the school's roll. While some

cultural activities did have musical objectives, these were not necessarily valued by the middle class or even required by students to succeed in New Zealand's current education system.

Ethnicity was also however, a constraining factor, as some Māori and Pacific children were stereotyped and discriminated against. Racial stereotypes included the notion that Māori and Pacific children are better suited to certain instruments and specific types and genres of music. There was also a belief that Māori and Pacific children should already be musically proficient and therefore not in need of the same level of support. The problem is that, when Māori and Pacific children *are* proficient in the arts, their associated skills, dedication, and hard work are colloquially disregarded as “natural talent” (Johansson, 2017; Solly, 2020). The most harmful belief, however, was the opinion that Māori children were less competent than other ethnicities, and that these children lacked the “capacity” to participate in some forms of music-making. While these views, which are commonly informed by eugenics (Hoffman, 2018), are not unheard of in music education (Gustafson, 2020), they are nonetheless hugely detrimental, not least because they limit opportunities for learning and support and, as this study has demonstrated, may even lead to bullying and ostracism. Māori children also experienced other barriers in the technology and arts programmes at Kākāpō and Pūkeko Intermediate. As specialist music classes were focused on Western forms of music-making, such as classical, jazz, and music technology, cultural knowledge seemed to be excluded entirely. While this may have been the result of specialist teachers lacking skills and confidence in te ao Māori, the exclusion of cultural music, knowledge, and instruments seemed to imply that this type of knowledge was not valued. These classes were also delivered in English and within a Eurocentric framework, which provided another barrier for children at Pūkeko Intermediate who were enrolled in the full immersion class.

Other influential factors included **school context**, specifically, the structure of a school and the associated funding and staff entitlements. As already discussed, intermediate schools clearly benefited from additional funding for children in Year 7 and 8, which enabled the operation of technology and arts programmes. The operation of these programmes were also affected by privatisation, as they could be manipulated to operate like a business and generate a profit by charging schools around the region to participate. In the case of Pūkeko Intermediate, this strategy was used to benefit both the school's budget and also staffing levels, as it gave the school additional entitlements to employ a wider range of specialist

teachers. By expanding its technology and arts programme, the school was able to offer a broader curriculum, presumably making the school more attractive to prospective parents. Therefore, it is not just the school structure that influences children's access to music education; the way this structure is informed by neoliberal ideologies also impacts how it operates locally.

COVID-19 also emerged as a barrier to music education due to the multiple lockdowns, unequal access to resources, and restricted music-making. During lockdown, extracurricular activities such as private music tuition were either cancelled or conducted entirely online; however, not all students had access to the internet, a suitable device, space to learn, or even an instrument to play. When periods of lockdown ended, a range of health restrictions were introduced, temporarily prohibiting private contractors and itinerant teachers from travelling between schools and restricting activities involving playing wind and brass instruments and singing. Other restrictions prohibited class groups from mixing; as a result, technology and arts programmes temporarily ceased to operate. There were also times when only a certain number of visitors were permitted onsite, resulting in some performances being cancelled. While these restrictions have since been lifted and it is unlikely that COVID-19 will continue to impact education in the same way, disparities among pupils' access to resources remain a significant issue. It is therefore likely that children's access to music and education more broadly will continue to be impacted.

The **agency** of generalist, specialist, and private contractors, as well as the agency of parents and children themselves, emerged as a factor that enabled children's access to music education. Children's access was also enhanced when teachers pursued professional development, purchased or repaired musical resources, and volunteered to lead extracurricular activities in music. Children similarly benefited when teachers provided scholarships and paid fees for private music tuition, particularly when families were financially unable to do so themselves. Access also improved when parents provided a rich musical environment for their children by exposing them to a range of different genres and encouraging listening, playing, and singing within the home. While these actions were likely informed by the values and aspirations of each social class, children's access to music education improved nonetheless. There was also evidence of children exercising their own agency by choosing to listen to music, teaching themselves how to play instruments, creating ensembles with their peers, and even busking to raise money for additional music resources.

Implications

These findings bring to the forefront an ongoing debate about whether music education should be the responsibility of generalist or specialist teachers. As generalist teachers have historically been found to lack the confidence and competence to enact the music curriculum (McGee et al., 2004; Ministry of Education, 2016, 2022a), there is certainly merit in having the curriculum enacted by highly skilled specialist teachers. As demonstrated by both intermediate schools, having a specialist music teacher ensured that all children were able to access music education, with a set number of hours being allocated to the subject each year, even if this was minimal in comparison to other subjects. But it became evident from this study that, by employing a specialist music teacher, generalist teachers felt exonerated of any responsibility to teach music. This meant that music was siloed from the broader curriculum and remained restricted to the hours allocated through the technology and arts programme. Subliminally, this also seemed to signal to students that music is not a universal experience but, rather, an activity reserved for those who are talented or qualified in some way.

Nevertheless, it could also be argued that the findings of Tuatara School provide a cautionary tale of what may occur when music education is left up to generalist teachers, particularly when they lack the skills to enact the curriculum. Given the ongoing truncation of ITE programmes, this is an important consideration, as it is unlikely that generalist teachers will be able to develop the skills required to enact the music curriculum from the 12 contact hours allocated to music within ITE programmes (Carson & Rodgers, 2016; Mansfield, 2010). While there was a clear difference in terms of the depth and breadth of curricular enactment, and children's access to music education did improve when specialist teachers were employed, simply employing more specialist teachers will not balance New Zealand's increasingly narrow curriculum. With increased competition and school choice, and with educational excellence being determined by student achievement in numeracy and literacy, there are high stakes for schools, making it a risk to invest in subjects other than reading, writing, and mathematics. This means that, regardless of whether a specialist teacher is employed, timetables will continue to prioritise numeracy and literacy, making it unlikely that the provision of music education will dramatically improve. This is not to encourage deficit thinking, or to suggest that staffing has no impact; education is far more complex than

that, and it is therefore somewhat redundant to continue arguing about who should enact the curriculum while ignoring other contributing factors.

While these findings align with previous research that claims the introduction of neoliberal ideologies have narrowed the New Zealand Curriculum (P. O'Connor, 2014; P. O'Connor & McTaggart, 2017), it would be wrong to assume that a hierarchy of subjects did not exist prior to the Tomorrow's Schools policy. In fact, even when the first national curriculum was introduced in 1878, it was common for music to be sidelined in favour of assessed subjects, such as reading, writing, and arithmetic (Ewing, 1970). Despite this, music was a popular subject. It was inherently valued by many children, teachers, parents, and even governmental inspectors as it was seen to contribute to happiness, well-being, and the prosperity of children and society more broadly. Because of this, children commonly had access to a broad curriculum and were even encouraged to engage with learning areas outside of numeracy and literacy (Braatvedt, 2002). Therefore, while subject hierarchy is not a new phenomenon, it has clearly been intensified by neoliberal ideologies. This has resulted in the broader curriculum being significantly reduced and, to some extent, even eradicated, depending on the interests of each school's community.

This leads to an important distinction made in this research: while neoliberal ideologies were prominent, significantly impacting the provision and enactment of the curriculum, these ideologies were neither all-consuming nor the sole determinant of children's access to music education. New Zealand's education system is complex and continues to be informed by a range of policies, both present and historic. Some of these policies were examined in Chapter 10, such as the introduction of manual and technical instruction and the intermediate structure. The continuation of these policies, however, remains somewhat unclear. Technology has been an essential learning area for some time, and as such, it is compulsory for all children from Year 1–10, and across all social classes. Children are additionally no longer entering the workforce after intermediate and are instead legally obliged to participate in secondary education until the age of 16, or in some cases 15 (Ministry of Education, 2023e). Consequently, the ongoing operation and funding of a programme intended to provide working-class children with practical skills for the workforce appears to be nothing more than a hangover from the previous system. This illustrates that the current practice of schools is not entirely dictated by neoliberalism; instead, neoliberal ideologies were introduced over an

existing system that is complex, fragmented, and informed by a range of policies, values, and ideologies.

Although this study is focused specifically on music education, the intensification of numeracy and literacy has implications for other subjects across the curriculum. Like music, there is evidence of health and physical education being enacted for social objectives that do not necessarily meet the New Zealand Curriculum (Dyson et al., 2018). Science has also been sidelined within the curriculum (Education Review Office, 2012; Hume, 2016), with, on average, only 6% of classroom timetables being dedicated to the subject (Chamberlain & Caygill, 2012). Like music, subjects such as drama, dance, visual arts, science, social science, and environmental studies have been similarly de-emphasised, either being omitted or pushed to the end of the day when children are tired and unfocused (Thrupp, 2018a). The dilution of learning outcomes and the omission of subjects has serious implications for children in Aotearoa New Zealand, restricting their skills and knowledge while also reinforcing the inequalities of society.

Looking forward

New Zealand policy context

Since conducting this study between 2020 and 2021, several changes have been made to New Zealand's education system that may influence children's access to music education. These changes include the introduction of an equity index system, a refresh of the national curriculum, and most recently, a change of government.

The equity index was introduced in 2023, replacing the previous decile system and providing schools with additional funding to compensate for socioeconomic barriers (Ministry of Education, 2023b). Unlike the five indicators that were used to calculate decile ratings, the equity index draws upon 37 different indicators, theoretically providing a more nuanced and accurate depiction of socioeconomic barriers (Ministry of Education, n.d.-b). Equity funding additionally increased by 50% when the index was introduced (Ministry of Education, 2022c). While this additional funding could potentially support music-making in low socioeconomic communities, it only equates to under 4% of the total funding that a school receives (Neilson, 2022). As with other types of funding, it is up to each individual board of trustees to

determine how this is allocated. Given the ongoing focus on numeracy and literacy and how educational success is measured, it seems unlikely that any of the additional funding will be used for music.

Another significant development was the change in government, as the New Zealand National Party were elected in coalition with two minor parties, ACT and New Zealand First, following the 2023 election. This has various implications for education; leading up to this election, National campaigned on the education policy, “Teaching the Basics Brilliantly.” This policy is described by National as a “plan [that] will set every child in New Zealand up for success and restore excellence to the heart of the education system” (New Zealand National Party, 2023c). Through this policy, all primary and intermediate schools would be required to dedicate at least 1 hour per day each on reading, writing, and mathematics, equating in total to approximately 15 hours per week (New Zealand National Party, 2023c). This policy would also mandate standardised assessment in numeracy and literacy, with achievement data being communicated to parents at least twice per year (New Zealand National Party, 2023b), akin to the reporting requirements of National Standards. While it is unknown whether this policy will be introduced in its current form, both coalition partners appear supportive, with aspects of the policy being included in the government’s 100-day plan and coalition agreements (New Zealand National Party & New Zealand First, 2023; New Zealand National Party & ACT New Zealand, 2023). Regardless, this policy predicts a bleak future for music and the arts more broadly, as it is likely that it will reinforce a hierarchy of subjects within the curriculum and further position subjects such as music as extracurricular.

Another significant development was the reintroduction of charter schools, as outlined in the coalition agreement between National and ACT (New Zealand National Party & ACT New Zealand, 2023). Charter schools, formerly known as partnership schools or *kura hourua*, were introduced to New Zealand’s education system as an alternative school structure in 2013 and were promoted to improve student achievement (Martin, Jenkins & Associates, 2015). Although partnership schools were publicly funded, these schools differed substantially from those in the state system, as they were governed by private sponsors. Being independently contracted, private sponsors were given a considerable amount of flexibility and were able to determine all aspects of their school’s operation (P. O’Connor & Holland, 2013). This resulted in special character schools being established, including ones that focused on science and technology, sustainability, and even military training (Ministry of Education, 2022d).

While the partnership model was positively reported upon (Gerritsen, 2023), there was no evidence to suggest that these schools were superior to those in the state system (Courtney, 2017). As a result, the partnership model was removed by the Labour-led government in 2018, with the remaining partnership schools being converted to state-integrated schools (Wood et al., 2021).

At the time of writing, it is unclear whether amendments will be made to the partnership school model, or whether the former policy will simply be reinstated. Nevertheless, it is possible that the reintroduction of partnership schools could improve children's access to music education, particularly if the special character of the school is focused on music or the performing arts. As these schools do not adhere to the state system, it is possible that highly skilled musicians could be employed as specialist music teachers, even if they do not hold teacher registration. While this is entirely possible, musicians and other highly trained specialists can already be employed as teachers within the state system by obtaining a LAT (Limited Authority to Teach), even if this is somewhat cumbersome to obtain (Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand, n.d.-a). Regardless of the special character of the school, or the teachers employed, it is important to note that when the policy was last enacted, contracts with private sponsors were determined by student achievement, specifically in relation to National Standards and NCEA (O'Meara, 2013). While National Standards have since been removed, it is clear from the educational policies discussed above that educational excellence will continue to be dictated by student achievement in numeracy and literacy. This suggests that even if children's access to music education improves, it is likely that reading, writing, and mathematics will continue to be prioritised to the detriment of the broader curriculum.

The coalition agreement between National and ACT signalled another change to education that may influence the provision of music education (New Zealand National Party & ACT New Zealand 2023). This change relates to clause 127 of the Education and Training Act (2020), which outlines primary objectives for boards of trustees. This clause was amended in 2020 to indicate that objectives such as providing a safe and inclusive environment, ensuring that diverse needs are catered for, and upholding Te Tiriti of Waitangi are just as important as student achievement (Ministry of Education, 2020a). The coalition government, however, have agreed to reverse this amendment, placing "educational attainment as the paramount objective for state schools" (New Zealand National Party & ACT New Zealand, 2023, p. 8).

This implies that less emphasis will be given to Māori culture, thus potentially reducing opportunities for cultural music-making such as waiata and haka. It is likely that educational attainment refers exclusively to numeracy and literacy, rather than attainment across the entire curriculum. Therefore, depending on how schools choose to respond, music could be further sidelined within the curriculum.

Lastly, the refresh of the New Zealand Curriculum has several implications for the future of the arts. According to representatives from the Ministry of Education, the refresh is intended to provide teachers with “greater clarity and guidance on what to teach and when” (Davis & Tinetti, 2021), strengthening the arts as a learning area (Chumko, 2021a, 2021b, 2022). Given the ambiguous nature of the current document – which is often criticised by generalist teachers, including the ones in this study – it is possible that the refreshed curriculum will assist generalist teachers in all learning areas. It is also likely that, when the curriculum is released, supporting resources will be developed and there will be increased opportunities for professional development as teachers seek to understand the new document. However, as the arts curriculum is still in development, the contents of this document remain unclear. It is also unclear how much of this document, alongside the broader curriculum framework, will be retained by the new government, given that the curriculum refresh was initiated under the previous Labour government.

Contributions to the field

While the findings of this study are intricately bound to each case and cannot provide generalisations, the structures that were explored have various implications for understanding children’s access to music education and therefore make a substantial contribution to the field.

Firstly, New Zealand shares many similarities with other countries in the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). With the intensification of performative measures, standardised tests such as the Programme for International Assessment (PISA) are commonly used to measure student achievement and compare data with achievement from other countries using league tables (Lingard & Sellar, 2016). At the time of writing, the latest data from PISA demonstrates a dramatic decline in achievement across countries in the OECD. This decline has been partially attributed to the ongoing impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic; however, declining achievement has been a long-term trend for many countries, including New Zealand (OECD, 2023a). While the public may be led to believe that declining achievement indicates a failing education system (Sjøberg, 2015), it is important to

note that these tests do not measure either children's development against the curriculum or the quality of a country's education system (Sjøberg, 2015). Despite this, the PISA data are commonly used to inform educational policy (Meyer & Benavot, 2013). This is particularly problematic when assessment is restricted to a small number of subjects in the curriculum. For example, PISA is focused entirely on reading, mathematics, and science on the basis that these subjects are "essential for full participation in social and economic life" (OECD, 2023b, p. 38). The inclusion of some subjects and exclusion of others has contributed to the prioritisation of assessed subjects and a hierarchy of subjects being reinforced, not only in New Zealand's education system, but in education systems throughout the OECD (Berliner, 2011; Lilliedahl, 2023).

Despite this, the current state of music education and children's access to it is not solely constrained by neoliberalism. In fact, the widespread adoption of neoliberal ideologies have in some ways enabled children's access to music education, particularly within education systems that have been decentralised. When schools are positioned as independent and self-governing entities, school leaders have a considerable amount of agency. Decisions can be made as to how the budget is allocated, the type of professional development that is offered, and even the type and number of resources that are purchased. Staffing decisions can also be made, which as this research has demonstrated, may even dictate whether specialist teachers are employed, and the number of hours that are allocated to subjects in the timetable. While decentralised education systems have also created a considerable amount of inequity between schools (Richmond, 2012), neoliberalism is not all consuming, nor the only factor that influences children's access to music education.

Secondly, this study has reaffirmed the role of private tuition and how children may be unable to succeed in music education from experiences in the classroom alone. To some extent, this is due to the unequal provision of the subject (Hennessy, 2012; Philpott & Wright, 2012), in addition to music being enacted to meet social objectives rather than musical ones (Beveridge, 2010; Green, 2001; Jeanneret & DeGraffenreid, 2012). Private tuition for music is however also somewhat unique, and unlike tuition that may be sought for other subjects when children are struggling or falling behind their peers. Instead, private tuition for music is sought from a young age and continued, often to improve the skillset of those that are already proficient (Creech & Gaunt, 2012; Philpott, 2001). While this is one of the many strategies that middle class families use to positionally advantage their children, I cannot help but

wonder whether this advantage, to some extent, is dependent on inequitable access to music education. For instance, if all children were able to access private tuition, then children would likely possess similar knowledge and skills in music. Similarly, if all children had musical activities listed on their CV, private tuition would theoretically provide the same advantage. It is then quite possible that the value attributed to the subject is partially informed by the restricted access to it.

Thirdly, this study illustrated that cultural capital may vary between contexts. The literature highlights that music education is valued by the middle class and that musical taste, knowledge, and skills are important markers of class. It is therefore logical to assume that a school's provision of music education will inform decisions about which school middle-class parents will pursue. This study demonstrated that, while middle-class families did seek schools that would positionally advantage their children, a school's provision of music education did not necessarily influence this decision. Instead, some middle-class parents were more focused on a school's provision of numeracy and literacy. This suggests that, in a New Zealand context, music was not a universally valued form of cultural capital. It appears that the type of cultural capital valued by the middle class is dependent on context and cannot be universally assumed.

There were however aspects of this study that related specifically to the New Zealand context, and which contrasted with the international literature. These include the establishment of intermediate schools, the development of manual and technical instruction, and the inclusion of Māori culture, where music is commonly celebrated. The New Zealand context also illustrates the role of the curriculum, as the New Zealand Curriculum gives schools the autonomy to craft their own local curriculum, and teachers the flexibility to meet the needs of their learners. While the document has been described as “world-leading” (Hughson, 2022) and even “the envy of educators in other countries” (Education Review Office, 2018, p. 12), there are several problems associated with adopting a flexible model. Because generalist teachers commonly lacked skills and confidence in music due to the limited time dedicated to the subject in ITE and professional development, they were unable to make sense of the broad concepts presented in the New Zealand Curriculum. The vague nature of the curriculum was often discussed by teachers that participated in this study, alongside a desire for a syllabus that clearly outlined musical activities and learning objectives for each year.

Ultimately, this study has demonstrated that policy enactment cannot be understood without acknowledging the role of context. It did so by exploring the enduring mechanisms of social class and neoliberalism, structures that, to some extent, influence every education system. Yet, this study has also revealed that depending on the context, these structures may operate in unexpected and even unintended ways that challenge widely held assumptions about music education. For instance, the introduction of neoliberal ideologies are often considered to be responsible for the decline of music education, yet the adoption of these ideologies have provided some opportunities to improve the provision of the subject. Additionally, while music can be expensive and require numerous resources, affluent schools do not necessarily provide better opportunities in music education. Furthermore, music education is not universally valued by the middle class, meaning that the provision of the subject may not have any influence on school choice. This is because each context is intricately unique and is informed by a range of values, beliefs and ideologies, all of which are constantly evolving. When policy is introduced to these contexts, it is introduced over these values, in addition to other policies, both existing and historic. This context will then influence how a policy is interpreted, and fundamentally, how it is enacted. Context therefore must be taken seriously and cannot be assumed, or underestimated.

Limitations and future research

While every effort was made to ensure that this research was rigorously conducted, it is important to acknowledge several limitations. As this research consisted of several case studies, its analysis of children's access to music education is limited to these three different contexts. This design gave rich opportunities to explore this phenomenon in depth; at the same time, these findings are intricately bound by the context of each school and cannot be generalised or applied to other settings. Nevertheless, this methodology allowed valuable insights to be uncovered that may have remained concealed in larger quantitative studies. For instance, a national survey may provide insight to how music education is enacted more broadly across the country, but this would not capture the complexities that influence this enactment. To understand the provision and enactment of music education more widely across Aotearoa New Zealand, further research is needed, as children's access to the curriculum may be influenced by other contextual factors that were not present in this research. A larger sample size with a wider range of case studies would support the

examination of school structure in more detail. This would deepen understandings of the additional funding and staff entitlements at Year 7 and 8 and how this may impact the provision of music education at full primary schools.

This research was also restricted by the limited research conducted in the New Zealand context, particularly regarding the historic provision of music education, manual and technical instruction, and the funding and operation of technology and arts programmes. As New Zealand is a relatively small country, it is not unusual for its local context to be underrepresented in research. This made it difficult to provide a detailed account of the status of music education prior to the introduction of the Tomorrow's Schools policy. As a result, this discussion relied heavily on a handful of studies that could only be accessed as hard copies. Given the obscurity of some of these studies, hard copies were generally only available upon request, as they were stored within the archives of the university's library. This was an arduous process, as I was unable to browse the archived collection. Instead, I needed to ascertain in advance which studies may be relevant before submitting a formal request, which could take several days to fulfil. It was unclear from this literature alone how manual and technical instruction morphed into the technology and arts programmes detailed in this study. While the Ministry of Education's website provided some information about funding and staff entitlements for technology, details of this information were clarified through conversations with my supervisors, colleagues, and representatives from the Ministry of Education. There is therefore a need for future research to fully understand the history, funding, and enactment of these policies.

Recommendations

The purpose of this study was neither to ascertain best practice nor to comment on the quality of curricular enactment, as quality music education can take many forms. Nevertheless, this study has illustrated that despite teachers' efforts, the provision and enactment of music education within these schools are clearly deficient, with activities often lacking any learning objectives related to music. Instead, education has been focused on numeracy and literacy, with reading, writing, and mathematics dominating ITE training, professional development, classroom timetables, and student reports. Restricted access to music education is additionally not a new issue, as it is highlighted throughout various reports (Ministry of Education, 2016, 2022a). Therefore, it seems unlikely that the Ministry of Education would attempt to address this issue now, particularly given how educational excellence continues to

be measured and compared throughout the OECD. While policies such as National Standards and the operation of ERO have clearly reinforced a hierarchy of subjects within the curriculum, it is doubtful whether a change in policy alone would restore the provision of music education or dismantle the well-established hierarchy already embedded in the curriculum. This is because any changes in policy would not occur in isolation, as practice would continue to be influenced by previous legislation and the neoliberal framework within which education still operates. Before any substantial improvements are made, there needs to be a substantial shift in popular and political perspectives about the type of knowledge that is valued.

This is not to suggest that there is no hope, or that things cannot improve. Rather, it is to suggest that parents, teachers, and principals collectively *can* make a difference. As parents are positioned as consumers of the services “sold” by schools, it is important to remember that schools are dependent on parents for enrolments and the funding that they bring. Parents therefore have significant influence. While it would be reasonable to assume that the parents in this study simply did not value music, as reflected by the limited provision of the subject at each school, this was not the case for all parents. Participating parents did value music and, where possible, encouraged their children to participate in the subject, although their motivation for doing so varied. And for some parents, the provision of music education even influenced their choice of school. Given this, why was the provision of music at all three schools relatively poor, and why did parents seemingly accept this? I suspect that parents were simply unaware. Externally, each school did appear to value music, even marketing themselves as offering a wide range of learning experiences across the curriculum. Ensembles were often celebrated in newsletters, and school events such as assemblies, prize-giving, and open evenings regularly featured musical performances. Even annual productions seemed to signal the significance of music and the arts. If parents did realise that schools were failing to meet their legal requirements and were omitting entire learning areas from the curriculum, I believe they would be horrified, as parents generally want the best for their children across all areas. Parents therefore have a duty to question learning across the entire curriculum and to place pressure on schools to improve their practice.

Generalist teachers additionally need to take some responsibility for the children whom they teach. Teachers have a considerable amount of power and influence over what occurs in their classroom and, to some extent, what occurs throughout the school, even if they are

constrained by the system within which they work. While teachers alone are not able to ensure that every child has access to music education, nor to overcome the various barriers that restrict access, they can still make a difference. Teachers can work together, drawing on each other's knowledge, skills, and experience. If teachers are working at an intermediate and have access to a specialist music teacher, they could even collaborate to ensure that learning from the technology and arts programmes is integrated into the classroom. Principals also have a responsibility to advocate for all learning areas and to push back against the demands of successive governments. They need to ensure that teachers within their school are not only encouraged but also supported to teach the full curriculum. Support could be provided by allocating a portion of the budget to resources and professional development for music, thereby ensuring that generalist teachers are equipped with the skills to enact more than just two learning areas. In isolation, these efforts will not dismantle the hierarchy of subjects in the curriculum; however, the combined actions of parents, teachers, and principals have the potential to make real change. If there is enough demand, it is possible that priorities will begin to shift and that policy will eventually follow.

On a governmental level, policy could be amended in several ways to improve the provision of music education. Firstly, amendments could be made to how ITE programmes are monitored and reviewed by the Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand. Currently, ITE programmes are required to meet set standards, including “whether the depth of curriculum knowledge that student teachers will graduate with is sufficient” (Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2019, p. 16). As already discussed, however, the amount of time that ITE programmes allocate to the arts is minimal, making it unlikely that student teachers will graduate with much confidence or knowledge in the arts. If the Teaching Council were to enforce this requirement for the arts, perhaps even setting a minimum number of hours for each subject, there would possibly be greater consistency between ITE programmes, and generalist teachers would be better positioned to enact the entire curriculum.

Secondly, policy changes could be made in relation to professional development. Currently, all teachers are required to engage in professional development for the renewal of their practising certificate every 3 years (Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand, n.d.-b). While this professional development needs to adhere to the standards outlined by the Teaching Council (Education Council, 2017), principals alongside members of the senior leadership team are able to facilitate what this may look like in their context (Teaching

Council of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2021). This flexibility, however, has resulted in professional development focusing solely on learning areas that are recognised and valued by ERO. A more holistic view of education needs to be adopted, and the unique value of each subject needs to be recognised. To equip teachers with the skills to enact the entire curriculum, professional development needs to be equally provided for all learning areas and in all regions. To achieve this, the Teaching Council could make engagement in professional development across the curriculum a requirement for certificate renewal. The Ministry of Education could provide schools with targeted funding for professional development, particularly for subjects such as music that are often excluded. This could be achieved more efficiently if the Ministry of Education were responsible for providing professional development, rather than outsourcing these responsibilities to subject associations through Networks of Expertise funding. As subject associations are usually led by volunteers in full-time teaching roles, these individuals do not necessarily have the capacity or expertise to provide professional development across three sectors. Additionally, there is little accountability for the use of these funds, and as such, some subject associations have anecdotally invested this money in marketing strategies, rather than providing professional development or resources for their subject.

It is also important to consider the role of advocacy and the ways music can be advocated for. As discussed throughout this thesis, numerous arguments are often presented to justify the position of music in the curriculum. These arguments include appeals to the cognitive benefits associated with music-making (A. Collins, 2012) and the theory that exposure to music education can improve achievement in numeracy and literacy (Hodges & O'Connell, 2005). As mentioned in Chapter 8, while numerous studies highlight the cognitive benefits of music-making (Chan et al., 1998; Ebert et al., 1995; Franklin et al., 2008; Fukioka et al., 2006; Gaser & Schlaug, 2003; Orsmond & Miller, 1999; Rickard et al., 2010; Schlaug et al., 1995), there is little evidence to suggest that dedicating time to music would be more beneficial for achievement in numeracy and literacy than simply dedicating more time to these learning areas (Winner et al., 2013; Woodford, 2018). This type of advocacy has additionally been criticised for positioning music as a supplementary subject, with its value being determined by its contribution to other subjects (Lilliedahl, 2022). Another strategy that is commonly used to advocate for music education, focuses on the development of transferable skills such as creativity, problem-solving, and innovation, all of which contribute to a knowledge-based economy (Aróstegui, 2020). The problem with this argument is that these skills cannot be

easily measured (Woodford, 2018), and in some ways, these skills conflict with objective data that are valued in this type of economy (J. Adams, 2013). For example, standardised tests are used to assess the regurgitation of facts and figures through questions that have a clear right and wrong answer. Creativity, on the other hand, can be interpreted in many different ways and does not necessarily fit into this binary (Lilliedahl, 2022). Other advocates of music education have taken the opposite approach, arguing that music is invaluable in its own right, and its place in the curriculum does not need to be justified (Winner et al., 2013). These advocates argue that there is no current justification for the position of subjects such as mathematics within the curriculum; therefore, why should the position of music require such a justification?

Ultimately, I believe that these debates are somewhat unhelpful and, in some ways, reductionist. The sole promotion of reading, writing, and mathematics threatens the position of not only music and the arts but also other learning areas, such as health and physical education, languages, science, social science, and even technology. While music is an important subject, all subjects across the curriculum are valuable, as each makes a unique contribution to a child's development. If children are to flourish, they need to be given access to a wide range of experiences, skills, and knowledge. They additionally need to be given opportunities to explore, discover, and question and to be able to view the world through different lenses. These opportunities should not be the privilege of a select few but the right of every child. Therefore, the argument should not revolve around simply advocating for music but rather advocating for the entire curriculum and ensuring that all subjects are accessible.

Conclusion

By exploring how music education is accessed and enacted in different school settings, this thesis has demonstrated that primary music education is differentially accessed in Aotearoa New Zealand and that children are not given equal opportunities for music-making. The three case studies revealed that children's access to music education is much more intricate and complex than previously thought, as it is informed by various enabling and constraining factors. Through an in-depth analysis of these factors, more enduring structures became apparent, including the adoption of neoliberal ideologies, social class, and a long history of

policy enactment in the New Zealand context. This study has provided insight into these structures, thereby allowing others to better inform future policy and thus improve children's access to music education throughout Aotearoa New Zealand.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Ethical approval from the University of Waikato

Te Kura Toi Tangata
Division of Education
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand, 3240

DivEd Ethics Committee
fedu.ethics@waikato.ac.nz
07 8384500 ext. 7870
www.waikato.ac.nz/education



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

18/5/2020

Dear Jade Browne

Division of Education Ethics Application Approved FED U029/20

I am pleased to advise you that your ethics application for the project entitled "Differential access to music education in New Zealand primary and intermediate schools" was approved by Te Kura Toi Tangata Division of Education Ethics Committee on May 18th, 2020.

Please be aware that the Te Kura Toi Tangata Division of Education Ethics Committee must be advised (by memo) of any changes to the details recorded in your ethics application. Please send any such advice to fedu.ethics@waikato.ac.nz. You will receive a memo of approval once the change(s) has been considered.

Kind regards

Two handwritten signatures in black ink. The first signature is on the left and the second, larger signature is on the right.

Co-chair

Te Kura Toi Tangata Division of Education Ethics Committee

Appendix B. Amendment of ethical approval from the University of Waikato

Pro Vice Chancellor's Office Phone +64 7 838 4500
Division of Education www.waikato.ac.nz
Te Kura Toi Tangata The University of **MEMORANDUM**
Waikato Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand



To: Jade Browne

From: Dr Noeline Wright, Co-Chairperson, Research Ethics Committee

Date: 3 February 2021

Subject: Research Ethics Memo amendment FEDU029/20

The Division of Education Research Ethics Committee has considered your application for an amendment to your Approved research ethics application FEDU029/20

Differential access to music education in New Zealand primary and intermediate schools

It is noted that you wish to add items to a survey and broaden the scope of possible children and itinerant teachers as participants.

I am pleased to advise that this extension/alteration has received approval.

Please note that all researchers are asked to consult with the Division's Research Ethics Committee in the first instance if you wish to propose further changes to the approved research design.

The Committee wishes you all the best with your research.



Dr Noeline Wright
Co-Chair
Education Research Ethics Committee

Appendix C. Information letter for schools

REQUEST FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPATION

To whom it may concern,

My name is Jade Browne and I am an experienced music teacher, having worked in the education sector over the last decade. During this time, I was privileged to work as a specialist and itinerant teacher, teaching the music curriculum in early childhood centres, primary and intermediate schools and charitable organisations. I am currently undertaking doctoral research on “*Differential access to music education in New Zealand primary and intermediate schools*” at the University of Waikato. This research will explore how the music curriculum is enacted in primary and intermediate settings in order to understand factors which enable or constrain access to the music curriculum.

The design of my research involves conducting multiple case studies of four primary and intermediate schools within a sixty kilometre radius of Hamilton city. It is with great respect that I invite [insert name of school] to participate in this research project.

Should you agree for your school to participate, it would require the following involvement:

- **Principal:** Your participation in this research is invited, through a thirty minute semi-structured interview to understand music education within your school context. Fifteen minutes will be required to amend and approve the transcript. In total you will be required for forty-five minutes. Should consent be given for the school to participate, a separate letter of invitation for your participation will be given.
- **Teachers:** I seek your consent to invite all teaching staff to participate in an online questionnaire to understand how the music curriculum is enacted in their teaching practice. This would require sharing a survey link for teachers to complete, or obtaining access to staff email addresses. The questionnaire itself, will take approximately fifteen minutes and is voluntary, so participants may choose not to participate. Three of these teachers who have indicated an interest to participate further will then be selected based on their stated confidence level, to participate individually in an forty-five minute semi-structured interview to explore these concepts further. Prior to these interviews, teachers will be asked to share lesson planning, in relation to music which is expect to take approximately five minutes. The will occur outside of school hours at a location of the candidates preference. Teachers will additionally be required for twenty minutes to approve or amend their interview transcript. In total teachers involved in the semi-structured interviews will be required for one hour and twelve minutes. Teachers involved in the semi-structured interviews will be asked for permission to observe the enactment of the music curriculum in their context. This may be a music lesson, a rehearsal, performance or an assembly which features music. Each observation will take appropriately thirty minutes and will occur during school hours, providing an understanding of how the curriculum is enacted. In addition to classroom teachers, itinerant teachers will also be invited to participate in a semi-structured interview lasting thirty minutes. These interviews will also occur outside of teaching hours at the school, at a location of the candidates preference.
- **Students:** I seek your consent to invite fifteen students to participate in a thirty minute focus group, to understand how the music curriculum is experienced. All students will be invited to participate, via a pre-printed letter to obtain student and parental permission. This focus group would require a room provided and occur during school hours, in negotiation with the classroom teacher to ensure minimal disruption. Being a practicing educator, I have police clearance and extensive experience working with children and young people, in addition to child protection training. If possible, I would ask whether I could leave a box at reception for students to return their forms.

This research has been approved by the University of Waikato Faculty of Education Ethics Committee on 18/5/20. Approval number: FEDU029/20.

- **Parents/caregivers:** I seek your consent to invite five parents/caregivers to individually participate in a thirty minute semi-structured interview, to understand their child's involvement in musical activities in the school and wider community. Parents/caregivers of students involved in the focus groups will be invited to participate, via a pre-printed letter to obtain parental permission. If possible, I would ask whether I could leave a box at reception for students to return their forms. Participants will be selected based on their child's involvement in extra-curricular music activities. These interviews will occur outside of school hours, at a location of the candidates preference. Each parent will additionally be required to approve their transcript which may take up to fifteen minutes. In total, parents/caregivers will be required for up to forty-five minutes.

Important Information for Research Participants

All participation in this research is voluntary and participants may choose to withdraw. Those involved in interviews may choose to withdraw up until transcripts are approved and participants involved in the online survey may choose to withdraw up until the completion of the survey. On the day of the focus group, students will be given this opportunity to withdraw before the data collection takes place.

Every effort will be made to ensure all participants and each participating school remains anonymous. To ensure anonymity pseudonyms will be used and identifiable features such as geographical location will be concealed. Upon completion of the research, participants will be provided with a one page summary of findings and access to the completed thesis.

Supervisory Team

The contact details of my supervisory team are provided below, if you have any concerns or questions that you are unable to discuss with me directly.

Chief Supervisor

Dr Donella Cobb
Senior Lecturer
Division of Education
University of Waikato
Email address: donella.cobb@waikato.ac.nz
Work phone: +6478384466 ext 8385

Associate Supervisor

Professor Martin Thrupp
Professor
Division of Education
University of Waikato
Email address: thrupp@waikato.ac.nz
Work phone: +6478384466 ext 4907

I would be grateful for the opportunity to discuss the details of this research project and answer any questions in person.

I look forward to hearing from you soon and thank you for your kind consideration of my request.

Sincerely,

Jade Browne, PhD Candidate, University of Waikato.

Email: jadebrowne@outlook.co.nz

Phone: 027 8440 403

This research has been approved by the University of Waikato Faculty of Education Ethics Committee on 18/5/20. Approval number: FEDU029/20.

Appendix D. Consent form for schools

CONSENT FORM FOR SCHOOLS

I acknowledge that I understand and have been given the opportunity to discuss the school's participation in the research titled "*Differential access to music education in New Zealand primary and intermediate schools*" undertaken by the researcher Jade Browne.

I understand that the school has been invited to participate in the following:

- The principal will be invited participate for a total of 45 minutes, including 30 minutes for an interview and 15 minutes to amend and approve the interview transcript.
- All teaching staff will be invited to complete an online survey of approximately 15 minutes.
- All teaching staff will be invited to participate in an observation of the music curriculum being enacted, for a total of 30 minutes.
- Three teachers will be invited to participate for a total of 100 minutes, including 5 minutes to share planning of the music curriculum, 45 minutes for an interview, 20 minutes to amend and approve the interview transcript and 30 minutes for observation.
- All itinerant staff will be invited to participate for a total of 45 minutes, including 30 minutes for an interview and 15 minutes to amend and approve the interview transcript
- Fifteen students will be invited to participate for 30 minutes in a focus group.
- Five parents/caregivers will be invited to participate for a total of 45 minutes, including 30 minutes for an interview and 15 minutes to amend and approve the interview transcript.

I also understand that participants have the following rights (please tick):

- **Right to decline to participate in the research or any part of the research.**

Participants have the right to decline to participate in this research or any part of it.

- **Right to withdraw from the research and/or withdraw data**

Participants may withdraw from participation at the following times:

- Interviewees may withdraw before the approval of the final transcript.
- Teachers completing the survey may withdraw before the survey is submitted.
- Children involved may withdraw any time until the commencement of the focus group.

- **Right to access and correct transcripts**

Participants will have the right to access, amend and approve information provided for this research.

- **Right to confidentiality and anonymity**

The school and participants will not be identified or identifiable in the publication or dissemination of any findings arising from this research, without express consent. Instead, pseudonyms will be used and identifiable features will be concealed.

- **Right to receive information about the research and/or its results**

The school and participants will be provided with a one page summary of findings and access to the final thesis through the Research Commons Database

CONSENT

I consent to the school's participation in this research.

Full Name

Signature

Date

This research has been approved by the University of Waikato Faculty of Education Ethics Committee on 18/5/20. Approval number: FEDU029/20.

Appendix E. Information letter for principals

REQUEST FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPATION

To whom it may concern,

My name is Jade Browne and I am an experienced music teacher, currently undertaking PhD research on “*Differential access to music education in New Zealand primary and intermediate schools*” at the University of Waikato. The design of my research involves conducting multiple case studies of four primary and intermediate schools within a sixty kilometre radius of Hamilton city. It is with great respect that I invite [insert name of principal] to participate in this research project.

Participant Activities

I am inviting your participation in:

- One interview lasting approximately 30 minutes. The purpose of this is to gain an understanding of the accessibility of music education at primary and intermediate levels, including the enactment of the curriculum, learning objectives, resourcing and factors which enable or constrain access.
- Checking the transcript, which will take approximately 15 minutes. The purpose of this activity is give you the opportunity to check the accuracy of my record of the interview, and amend if necessary.

In total you will be required for 45 minutes. I am also requesting permission to audio-record the interview. You may choose to consent/not give your consent, and you may have the recording turned off at any time.

Important Information for Research Participants

In line with ethical requirements of the University of Waikato, the following information may be important for you as you consider whether to participate in this research. The researcher is bound by the University of Waikato Ethical Research Regulations as outlined in the following points.

1. *Your right to decline to participate in the research or any part of the research.*

You have the right to decline to participate in this research or any part of it. Your decision not to participate will not impact our relationship in any way.

2. *Your right to withdraw from the research and/or withdraw data*

After you consent to participate in the research, you may withdraw from participation at any time, up until you have approved the final transcripts. Any information you have contributed prior to that point may be withdrawn from the research at your request.

3. *Your right to access and correct personal information*

You have the right to access, amend and approve information you have provided to me for this research. I will provide you with a transcript for your viewing and checking within 3 weeks of the interview. Checking of the transcript will take approximately 15 minutes.

4. *Your right to confidentiality and anonymity*

Yourself and the school will not be identified in the research, pseudonyms will be used and identifiable features will be concealed. While every effort will be made to protect anonymity of all participants, this can not be guaranteed.

This research has been approved by the University of Waikato Faculty of Education Ethics Committee on 18/5/20. Approval number: FEDU029/20.

5. *How you will be informed about the research and/or its results*

As a participant, you will get the opportunity to review, amend and approve the transcript. Upon completion of the research, a one page summary will be provided, including a link to the completed thesis available through the Research Commons database.

6. *Minimising harm to you the participant*

As the researcher, I will make every effort to minimise physical, psychological, social, economic and cultural harm to participants. You will also have the opportunity during our initial meeting to identify any concerns you might have so that we can discuss together how these might be minimised.

7. *How the information will be used*

The information you provide will be used in my PhD thesis and scholarly publications or conference presentations arising from my thesis. The data may also be used for publications including journal articles, books, book chapters and conference presentations.

8. *Resolution of disputes*

As a research participant, please do not hesitate to discuss any matters of concern with me at any time. The contact details of my supervisory team are provided below, if you have any concerns or questions that you are unable to discuss with me directly.

Chief Supervisor

Dr Donella Cobb
Senior Lecturer
Division of Education
University of Waikato
Email address: donella.cobb@waikato.ac.nz
Work phone: +6478384466 ext 8385

Associate Supervisor

Professor Martin Thrupp
Professor
Division of Education
University of Waikato
Email address: thrupp@waikato.ac.nz
Work phone: +6478384466 ext 4907

I would be grateful for the opportunity to discuss the details of this research project and answer any questions in person.

I look forward to hearing from you soon and thank you for your kind consideration of my request.

Sincerely,

Jade Browne, PhD Candidate, University of Waikato.

Email: jadebrowne@outlook.co.nz

Phone: 027 8440 403

Appendix F. Principal participant consent form

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I acknowledge that I understand and have been given the opportunity to discuss my participation in the research titled *“Differential access to music education in New Zealand primary and intermediate schools”* undertaken by the researcher Jade Browne.

I understand that I have been invited to participate in:

- An interview of approximately 30 minutes
- Checking of the transcripts, which will take approximately 15 minutes

I also understand that I have the following rights (please tick):

- **Right to decline to participate in the research or any part of the research.**

I have the right to decline to participate in this research or any part of it.

- **Right to withdraw from the research and/or withdraw data**

I may withdraw from participation at any time. I may also withdraw data at any time up until I approve the final transcripts.

- **Right to access and correct transcripts**

I have the right to access, amend and approve information provided for this research.

- **Right to confidentiality and anonymity**

I will not be identified or identifiable in the publication or dissemination of any findings arising from this research, without my express consent. Pseudonyms will be used to ensure identity remains concealed.

- **Right to receive information about the research and/or its results**

I will be provided with a one page summary of findings and access to the final thesis through the Research Commons Database

CONSENT

I consent to participate in this research.

I consent to audio recording of my interview

Full Name

Signature

Date

Appendix G. Information letter for generalist teachers

REQUEST FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPATION

To whom it may concern,

My name is Jade Browne and I have had the privilege of working in the educator sector as a music specialist and itinerant, teaching the music curriculum in early childhood centres, primary and intermediate schools and charitable organisations. I am currently undertaking PhD research on "*Differential access to music education in New Zealand primary and intermediate schools*" at the University of Waikato. This research will explore how the music curriculum is enacted in primary and intermediate settings in order to understand factors which enable or constrain access to the music curriculum. The design of my research involves conducting multiple case studies of four primary and intermediate schools within a sixty kilometre radius of Hamilton city. It is with great respect that I invite you to participate in my research project.

Participant Activities

I am inviting your participation in:

- One interview lasting approximately 45 minutes. The purpose of this is to gain an understanding of the accessibility of music education at primary and intermediate levels, including the enactment of the curriculum, learning objectives, resourcing and factors which enable or constrain access. This interview will occur in [insert term and week number] outside school hours, at a location of your preference.
- Checking the transcript, which will take up to 20 minutes. The purpose of this activity is give you the opportunity to check the accuracy of my record of the interview, and amend if necessary. In total, you will be required for 65 minutes.
- Sharing lesson planning in relation to the music curriculum used throughout the year. This could be a weekly, termly or yearly plan.
- I am also requesting permission to observe the enactment of the music curriculum in your context, either in the classroom or in the school community through a music lesson, rehearsal, performance or assembly. This will provide an understanding of how the music curriculum is enacted and the resources available. This will take up to thirty minutes.

I am also requesting permission to audio-record the interview. You may choose to have the recording turned off at any time.

- This study will also require interviewing fifteen children from the school and their parents/caregivers. This will require giving students a letter to take home inviting participation of them and their whānau, to be returned to the provided box at the school office. Students will be selected based on their involvement in extra-curricular music activities, to help gain an understanding of the accessibility of music education in New Zealand. Interviews will occur in [insert term and week number] and last up to 30 minutes. This will take place in a provided room on school grounds, during the school day at a time of your convivence, in hope of minimising disruption to student learning. An email reminder will be sent a day before to yourself and parents/caregivers of the selected children.

Important Information for Research Participants

In line with ethical requirements of the University of Waikato, the following information may be important for you as you consider whether to participate in this research. The researcher is bound by the University of Waikato Ethical Research Regulations as outlined in the following points.

1. *Your right to decline to participate in the research or any part of the research.*

You have the right to decline to participate in this research or any part of it. Your decision not to participate will not impact our relationship in any way.

2. *Your right to access and correct personal information*

This research has been approved by the University of Waikato Faculty of Education Ethics Committee on 18/5/20. Approval number: FEDU029/20.

You have the right to access, amend and approve information you have provided to me for this research. I will provide you with a transcript for your viewing and checking within 3 weeks of the interview. Checking of the transcript will take approximately 20 minutes.

3. *Your right to withdraw from the research and/or withdraw data*

After you consent to participate in the research, you may withdraw from participation in the semi-structured interview, up until you have approved the final transcripts. Similarly, participation in an observation may be withdrawn up until the observation itself. Any information you have contributed prior to that point may be withdrawn from the research at your request.

4. *Your right to confidentiality and anonymity*

You will not be identified or identifiable in the publication or dissemination of any findings arising from this research. Pseudonyms will replace names and any identifiable features about yourself and the school will be concealed. Despite every effort being made to protect anonymity of all participants, this cannot be guaranteed.

5. *How you will be informed about the research and/or its results*

Upon completion of my study, you will be provided with a one page summary of findings and access to my thesis through the Research Commons database.

6. *Minimising harm to you the participant*

As the researcher, I will make every effort to minimise physical, psychological, social, economic and cultural harm to participants. You will also have the opportunity during our initial meeting to identify any concerns you might have so that we can discuss together how these might be minimised.

7. *How the information will be used*

The information you provide will be used in my PhD thesis and scholarly publications or conference presentations arising from my thesis. The data may also be used for publications including journal articles, books, book chapters and conference presentations.

8. *Resolution of disputes*

As a research participant, please do not hesitate to discuss any matters of concern with me at any time. The contact details of my supervisory team are provided below, if you have any concerns or questions that you are unable to discuss with me directly.

Chief Supervisor

Dr Donella Cobb
Senior Lecturer
Division of Education
University of Waikato
Email address: donella.cobb@waikato.ac.nz
Work phone: +6478384466 ext 8385

Associate Supervisor

Professor Martin Thrupp
Professor
Division of Education
University of Waikato
Email address: thrupp@waikato.ac.nz
Work phone: +6478384466 ext 4907

Should you wish to discuss the details of this research project prior to making a decision, I am more than happy to discuss further in person and answer any of your questions. I look forward to hearing from you soon and thank you for your kind consideration of my request.

Sincerely,

Jade Browne, PhD Candidate, University of Waikato.
Email: jadebrowne@outlook.co.nz
Phone: 027 8440 403

This research has been approved by the University of Waikato Faculty of Education Ethics Committee on 18/5/20. Approval number: FEDU029/20.

Appendix H. Generalist teacher participant consent form

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I acknowledge that I understand and have been given the opportunity to discuss my participation in the research titled “*Differential access to music education in New Zealand primary and intermediate schools*” undertaken by the researcher Jade Browne.

I understand that I have been invited to participate in:

- An interview of approximately 45 minutes
- Sharing of lesson planning in relation to the music curriculum used throughout the year, which will take approximately 5 minutes.
- Checking of the transcripts, which will take approximately 20 minutes

I also understand that I have the following rights (please tick):

- **Right to decline to participate in the research or any part of the research.**

I have the right to decline to participate in this research or any part of it.

- **Right to withdraw from the research and/or withdraw data**

I may withdraw from participation at any time. I may also withdraw data any time up until I approve the final transcripts.

- **Right to access and correct transcripts**

I have the right to access, amend and approve information provided for this research.

- **Right to confidentiality and anonymity**

I will not be identified or identifiable in the publication or dissemination of any findings arising from this research, without my express consent. Pseudonyms will be used to ensure identity remains concealed.

- **Right to receive information about the research and/or its results**

I will be provided with a one page summary of findings and access to the final thesis through the Research Commons Database

CONSENT

I consent to participate in this research.

I consent to audio recording of my interview

Full Name _____

Signature _____

Date _____

Appendix I. Information letter for private contractors/itinerant teachers

REQUEST FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPATION

To whom it may concern,

My name is Jade Browne and I have had the privilege of working in the educator sector as a music specialist and itinerant, teaching the music curriculum in early childhood centres, primary and intermediate schools and charitable organisations. I am currently undertaking PhD research on "*Differential access to music education in New Zealand primary and intermediate schools*" at the University of Waikato. This research will explore how the music curriculum is enacted in primary and intermediate settings in order to understand factors which enable or constrain access to the music curriculum. The design of my research involves conducting multiple case studies of four primary and intermediate schools within a sixty kilometre radius of Hamilton city. It is with great respect that I invite you to participate in my research project.

Participant Activities

I am inviting your participation in:

- One interview lasting approximately 30 minutes. The purpose of this is to gain an understanding of the accessibility of music education at primary and intermediate levels, including the enactment of the curriculum, learning objectives, resourcing and factors which enable or constrain access.
- Checking the transcript, which will take up to 15 minutes. The purpose of this activity is give you the opportunity to check the accuracy of my record of the interview, and amend if necessary.

In total, you will be required for 45 minutes. I am also requesting permission to audio-record the interview. You may choose to consent/not give your consent, and you may have the recording turned off at any time.

Participant Activities

I am inviting your participation in:

- One interview lasting approximately 30 minutes. The purpose of this is to gain an understanding of the accessibility of music education at primary and intermediate levels, including the enactment of the curriculum, learning objectives, resourcing and factors which enable or constrain access.
- Checking the transcript, which will take approximately 15 minutes. The purpose of this activity is give you the opportunity to check the accuracy of my record of the interview, and amend if necessary.

Important Information for Research Participants

In line with ethical requirements of the University of Waikato, the following information may be important for you as you consider whether to participate in this research. The researcher is bound by the University of Waikato Ethical Research Regulations as outlined in the following points.

1. *Your right to decline to participate in the research or any part of the research.*

You have the right to decline to participate in this research or any part of it. Your decision not to participate will not impact our relationship in any way.

2. *Your right to withdraw from the research and/or withdraw data*

This research has been approved by the University of Waikato Faculty of Education Ethics Committee on 18/5/20. Approval number: FEDU029/20.

After you consent to participate in the research, you may withdraw from participation at any time, up until you have approved the final transcripts. Any information you have contributed prior to that point may be withdrawn from the research at your request.

3. *Your right to access and correct personal information*

You have the right to access, amend and approve information you have provided to me for this research. I will provide you with a transcript for your viewing and checking within 3 weeks of the interview. Checking of the transcript will take approximately 15 minutes.

4. *Your right to confidentiality and anonymity*

Yourself and the school will not be identified in the research, pseudonyms will be used and identifiable features will be concealed. While every effort will be made to protect anonymity of all participants, this can not be guaranteed.

5. *How you will be informed about the research and/or its results*

As a participant, you will get the opportunity to review, amend and approve the transcript. Upon completion of the research, a one page summary will be provided, including a link to the completed thesis available through the Research Commons database.

6. *Minimising harm to you the participant*

As the researcher, I will make every effort to minimise physical, psychological, social, economic and cultural harm to participants. You will also have the opportunity during our initial meeting to identify any concerns you might have so that we can discuss together how these might be minimised.

7. *How the information will be used*

The information you provide will be used in my PhD thesis and scholarly publications or conference presentations arising from my thesis. The data may also be used for publications including journal articles, books, book chapters and conference presentations.

8. *Resolution of disputes*

As a research participant, please do not hesitate to discuss any matters of concern with me at any time. The contact details of my supervisory team are provided below, if you have any concerns or questions that you are unable to discuss with me directly.

Chief Supervisor

Dr Donella Cobb
Senior Lecturer
Division of Education
University of Waikato
Email address: donella.cobb@waikato.ac.nz
Work phone: +6478384466 ext 8385

Associate Supervisor

Professor Martin Thrupp
Professor
Division of Education
University of Waikato
Email address: thrupp@waikato.ac.nz
Work phone: +6478384466 ext 4907

I would be grateful for the opportunity to discuss the details of this research project and answer any questions in person.

I look forward to hearing from you soon and thank you for your kind consideration of my request.

Sincerely,

Jade Browne, PhD Candidate, University of Waikato.
Email: jadebrowne@outlook.co.nz
Phone: 027 8440 403

Appendix J. Private contractors/itinerant teacher participant consent form

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I acknowledge that I understand and have been given the opportunity to discuss my participation in the research titled *“Differential access to music education in New Zealand primary and intermediate schools”* undertaken by the researcher Jade Browne.

I understand that I have been invited to participate in:

- An interview of approximately 30 minutes
- Checking of the transcripts, which will take approximately 15 minutes

I also understand that I have the following rights (please tick):

- **Right to decline to participate in the research or any part of the research.**

I have the right to decline to participate in this research or any part of it.

- **Right to withdraw from the research and/or withdraw data**

I may withdraw from participation at any time. I may also withdraw data at any time up until I approve the final transcripts.

- **Right to access and correct transcripts**

I have the right to access, amend and approve information provided for this research.

- **Right to confidentiality and anonymity**

I will not be identified or identifiable in the publication or dissemination of any findings arising from this research, without my express consent. Pseudonyms will be used to ensure identity remains concealed.

- **Right to receive information about the research and/or its results**

I will be provided with a one page summary of findings and access to the final thesis through the Research Commons Database

CONSENT

I consent to participate in this research.

I consent to audio recording of my interview

Full Name

Signature

Date

This research has been approved by the University of Waikato Faculty of Education Ethics Committee on 18/5/20. Approval number: FEDU029/20.

Appendix K. Information letter for children

Kia ora,

My name is Whaea Jade and I am a music teacher and student at the University of Waikato. I am studying towards a PhD, which is like writing a big book! My book will be about how music education is taught in New Zealand primary and intermediate schools and whether all children get to experience it.

I'm really excited that your school has agreed to help me and I am now looking for students like you to interview about music education. This means answering questions like "what do you sing at school?" or "what do you listen to music at school?" to help me write my big book for university.

This interview will take place [insert term and week] and take half an hour during school. During the interview, we will talk about your experiences of music education at school and in the community and any groups that you may be involved in. Because you don't know me, this may seem scary, but don't worry this will also involve four other students from the school as well. If you decide you don't want to join in on the day, that's okay. If you don't want to answer a question or even any questions, that's okay too.

When I write my big book, I won't use your name, which means no one will know who you are and when I'm finished, I'll send it to your whānau to read.

If you have any questions, you can ask your whānau to contact me.

If you would like to help me, please write the date and your name below and return this form to the school office.

Thank you!

Whaea Jade



Yes! I would like to help Whaea Jade and be interviewed about music education.

Name: _____

Date: _____

This research has been approved by the University of Waikato Faculty of Education Ethics Committee on 18/5/20. Approval number: FEDU029/20.

Appendix L. Information letter for parents/caregivers requesting child participation

REQUEST FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPATION

To whom it may concern,

My name is Jade Browne and I am currently undertaking PhD research on “*Differential access to music education in New Zealand primary and intermediate schools*” at the University of Waikato. The design of my research involves conducting multiple case studies of four primary and intermediate schools within a sixty kilometre radius of Hamilton city. It is with great respect that I invite you and your child to participate in my research project.

Participant Activities

I am inviting the participation of your child in:

- One interview lasting approximately 30 minutes, in a focus group of four other students from the school. Students will be selected based on their involvement in extra-curricular music activities, to help gain an understanding of the accessibility of music education in New Zealand. Interviews will occur in [insert term and week number] and last up to 30 minutes. This will take place in a provided room on school grounds, during the school day in negotiation with your child’s teacher to minimise disruption to learning. An email reminder will be sent a day before to yourself and your child’s teacher.

I am requesting permission to audio-record this interviews, however your child may choose to have the recording turned off at any time.

Important Information for Research Participants

In line with ethical requirements of the University of Waikato, the following information may be important for you as you consider whether to participate in this research. The researcher is bound by the University of Waikato Ethical Research Regulations as outlined in the following points.

1. *Your right to decline to participate in the research or any part of the research.*

Your child has the right to decline to participate in this research or any part of it. The decision not to participate will not impact our relationship in any way.

2. *Your right to withdraw from the research and/or withdraw data*

After you consent for your child to participate in the research, participation may be withdrawn at any time up until the commencement of the focus group.

3. *Your right to access and correct personal information*

As your child will be in a focus group, they will not be required to amend or check any transcript.

4. *Your right to confidentiality and anonymity*

Your child and your child’s school will not be identified or identifiable in the publication or dissemination of any findings arising from this research. Pseudonyms will replace names and any identifiable features will be concealed. Despite every effort being made to protect anonymity of all participants, this cannot be guaranteed.

This research has been approved by the University of Waikato Faculty of Education Ethics Committee on 18/5/20. Approval number: FEDU029/20.

5. *How you will be informed about the research and/or its results*

Upon completion of my study, you will be provided with a one page summary of findings and access to my thesis through the Research Commons database.

6. *Minimising harm to you the participant*

As the researcher, I will make every effort to minimise physical, psychological, social, economic and cultural harm to participants.

7. *How the information will be used*

The information your child provides will be used in my PhD thesis and scholarly publications or conference presentations arising from my thesis. The data may also be used for publications including journal articles, books, book chapters and conference presentations.

8. *Resolution of disputes*

As a research participant, please do not hesitate to discuss any matters of concern with me at any time. The contact details of my supervisory team are provided below, if you have any concerns or questions that you are unable to discuss with me directly.

Chief Supervisor

Dr Donella Cobb
Senior Lecturer
Division of Education
University of Waikato
Email address: donella.cobb@waikato.ac.nz
Work phone: +6478384466 ext 8385

Associate Supervisor

Professor Martin Thrupp
Professor
Division of Education
University of Waikato
Email address: thrupp@waikato.ac.nz
Work phone: +6478384466 ext 4907

Should you wish to discuss the details of this research project prior to making a decision, I am more than happy to discuss further in person and answer any of your questions.

I look forward to hearing from you soon and thank you for your kind consideration of my request.

Sincerely,

Jade Browne, PhD Candidate, University of Waikato.

Email: jadebrowne@outlook.co.nz

Phone: 027 8440 403

Appendix M. Child participant consent form

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I acknowledge that I understand and have been given the opportunity to discuss my participation in the research titled *“Differential access to music education in New Zealand primary and intermediate schools”* undertaken by the researcher Jade Browne.

I understand that my child has been invited to participate in:

- An interview within a focus group of four other children, lasting approximately 30 minutes

I also understand that I have the following rights (please tick):

- **Right to decline to participate in the research or any part of the research.**
My child has the right to decline to participate in this research or any part of it.
- **Right to withdraw from the research and/or withdraw data**
My child may withdraw from participation up until the commencement of the focus group.
- **Right to access and correct transcripts**
As your child will be in a focus group, they will not be required to amend or check any transcript.
- **Right to confidentiality and anonymity**
My child will not be identified or identifiable in the publication or dissemination of any findings arising from this research, without my express consent.
- **Right to receive information about the research and/or its results**
I will be provided with a one page summary of findings and access to the final thesis through the Research Commons Database

CONSENT

I consent for my child to participate in this research

I consent to audio recording of my child’s interview within a focus group

Full Name: _____ Child’s name: _____

Phone: _____ Child’s age: _____

Email: _____ Child’s class: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Child’s involvement in extra-curricular musical activities:

This research has been approved by the University of Waikato Faculty of Education Ethics Committee on 18/5/20. Approval number: FEDU029/20.

Appendix N. Information letter for parents/caregivers requesting parental participation

REQUEST FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPATION

To whom it may concern,

My name is Jade Browne and I am currently undertaking PhD research on “*Differential access to music education in New Zealand primary and intermediate schools*” at the University of Waikato. The design of my research involves conducting multiple case studies of four primary and intermediate schools within a sixty kilometre radius of Hamilton city. It is with great respect that I invite you to participate in my research project.

Participant Activities

I am inviting your participation in:

- One interview lasting approximately 30 minutes. The purpose of this is to gain an understanding of the accessibility of music education at primary and intermediate levels, including instruction available both in and outside of school and the factors which enable or constrain access. This will take place during [insert month] at a time and location of your preference.
- Checking the transcript, which will take up to 15 minutes. The purpose of this activity is give you the opportunity to check the accuracy of my record of the interview, and amend if necessary. In total you will be required for 45 minutes.

I am requesting permission to audio-record the interview. You may choose to have the recording turned off at any time.

In addition to your participation, I am also requesting permission to interview your child within a focus group of four other students. This will last up to 30 minutes and be used to help gain an understanding of the accessibility of music education in New Zealand.

Important Information for Research Participants

In line with ethical requirements of the University of Waikato, the following information may be important for you as you consider whether to participate in this research. The researcher is bound by the University of Waikato Ethical Research Regulations as outlined in the following points.

1. *Your right to decline to participate in the research or any part of the research.*

You have the right to decline to participate in this research or any part of it. The decision not to participate will not impact our relationship in any way.

2. *Your right to withdraw from the research and/or withdraw data*

After you consent to participate in the research, you may withdraw from participation at any time, up until you have approved the final transcripts. Any information you have contributed prior to that point may be withdrawn from the research at your request.

3. *Your right to access and correct personal information*

You have the right to access, amend and approve information you have provided to me for this research. I will provide you with a transcript for your viewing and checking within 3 weeks of the interview. Checking of the transcript will take approximately 15 minutes.

4. *Your right to confidentiality and anonymity*

This research has been approved by the University of Waikato Faculty of Education Ethics Committee on 18/5/20. Approval number: FEDU029/20.

You will not be identified or identifiable in the publication or dissemination of any findings arising from this research. Pseudonyms will replace names and any identifiable features will be concealed. Despite every effort being made to protect anonymity of all participants, this cannot be guaranteed.

5. *How you will be informed about the research and/or its results*

Upon completion of my study, you will be provided with a one page summary of findings and access to my thesis through the Research Commons database.

6. *Minimising harm to you the participant*

As the researcher, I will make every effort to minimise physical, psychological, social, economic and cultural harm to participants. You and your child will also have the opportunity during our initial meeting to identify any concerns you might have so that we can discuss together how these might be minimised.

7. *How the information will be used*

The information you provide will be used in my PhD thesis and scholarly publications or conference presentations arising from my thesis. The data may also be used for publications including journal articles, books, book chapters and conference presentations.

8. *Resolution of disputes*

As a research participant, please do not hesitate to discuss any matters of concern with me at any time. The contact details of my supervisory team are provided below, if you have any concerns or questions that you are unable to discuss with me directly.

Chief Supervisor

Dr Donella Cobb
Senior Lecturer
Division of Education
University of Waikato
Email address: donella.cobb@waikato.ac.nz
Work phone: +6478384466 ext 8385

Associate Supervisor

Professor Martin Thrupp
Professor
Division of Education
University of Waikato
Email address: thrupp@waikato.ac.nz
Work phone: +6478384466 ext 4907

Should you wish to discuss the details of this research project prior to making a decision, I am more than happy to discuss further in person and answer any of your questions.

I look forward to hearing from you soon and thank you for your kind consideration of my request.

Sincerely,

Jade Browne, PhD Candidate, University of Waikato.
Email: jadebrowne@outlook.co.nz
Phone: 027 8440 403

Appendix O. Parent participant consent form

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I acknowledge that I understand and have been given the opportunity to discuss my participation in the research titled “*Differential access to music education in New Zealand primary and intermediate schools*” undertaken by the researcher Jade Browne.

I understand that I have been invited to participate in:

- An interview of approximately 30 minutes
- Checking of the transcripts, which will take approximately 15 minutes

I also understand that I have the following rights (please tick):

- **Right to decline to participate in the research or any part of the research.**

I have the right to decline to participate in this research or any part of it.

- **Right to withdraw from the research and/or withdraw data**

I may withdraw from participation at any time. I may also withdraw data at any time up until I approve the final transcripts.

- **Right to access and correct transcripts**

I have the right to access, amend and approve information provided for this research.

- **Right to confidentiality and anonymity**

I not be identified or identifiable in the publication or dissemination of any findings arising from this research, without my express consent.

- **Right to receive information about the research and/or its results**

I will be provided with a one page summary of findings and access to the final thesis through the Research Commons Database

CONSENT

I consent to participate in this research.

I consent to audio recording of my interview

Full Name _____

Child's name _____

Signature _____

Email: _____

Date _____

Phone: _____

Appendix P. Semi-structured interview questions for senior leadership teams

Questions for principals and deputy principals
<p>Professional role and understanding:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Please outline your professional background• Can you describe the school community and socioeconomic status?• Can you discuss the school population and the school roll?• Are there any key external factors that influence the operation of the school?• How many teaching staff work at the school and are there any music specialists or teachers who have expertise in music?
<p>Management and organisation of music education:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• How is music education organised in this school and who is responsible?• Who teaches the music curriculum and why?• Is specific time allocated music and is this monitored? If so, how?• What extracurricular music activities are offered and how are these accessed?• Can students experience instrumental music-making at your school? If so, how is this accessed?
<p>Resources and support:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What music resources are available?• Annually, what funds are allocated to music education?• Is professional learning development in music available for staff?• Is any support given from external organisations, such as governmental or private?• How does the board of trustees influence decision making about resource allocation within the school? (particularly in relation to music education)
<p>Current educational climate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• To what extent has the disestablishment of National Standards allowed more time for music education within your school?• Do you believe that the establishment of education hubs will enhance music education at your school? If so, how?• Can you share how the Donations Amendment Bill has affected your school and whether it has changed students' access to the music curriculum and/or extracurricular musical activities?• From a governance and management perspective, what are the barriers for providing music education?

Appendix Q. Semi-structured interview questions for generalist and specialist teachers

Questions for generalist and specialist teachers
<p>Professional role and understanding:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Tell me about your experiences as a teacher• Can you outline your experience or qualifications in music education?• What year levels do you currently teach?• Do you teach music in the classroom? If not, why not?
<p>Management and organisation of music education:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• How do you plan the curriculum in your class? Is this process the same for music?• What is the frequency and duration of music instruction in your class?• What are the barriers for providing music education?
<p>Enactment of the curriculum:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What does a general music lesson look like in your context?• Can you discuss how a general lesson is taught?• Do you use a particular methodology?• In your opinion, does this music instruction meet the curriculum and adequately prepare students for subsequent learning at intermediate, secondary and/or tertiary levels?
<p>Current educational climate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What resources and/or support is offered to teachers?• When was the last time you received professional development for music education?• Can you describe your musical training/support received during initial teacher education? Do you feel that this adequately prepared you to enact the music curriculum?

Appendix R. Semi-structured interview questions for private contractors/itinerants

Questions for private contractors/itinerants
<p>Professional role and understanding:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What instruments do you currently teach?• What schools do you currently teach at?• Can you outline your experience or qualifications in music education?• Can you outline your experiences as an educator?
<p>Management and organisation of music education:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Can you describe the context for your teaching? For example, how many students are involved and in what capacity?• What is the frequency and duration of music lessons?• Can you outline the process of how students get involved in music lessons?• Can you describe the roll/population of students currently involved in music lessons with you?• How do you plan the curriculum in your class?
<p>Enactment of the curriculum:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What does a general music lesson look like in your context?• Can you discuss how a general lesson is taught?• Do you use a particular methodology?• In your opinion, does this music instruction meet the curriculum and adequately prepare students for subsequent learning at intermediate, secondary and/or tertiary levels?
<p>Current educational climate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What resources and/or support is offered?• Do you feel that music education is valued within the school?• What are the barriers for providing music education?• When was the last time you received professional development for music education?• Have you completed your initial teacher education? If so, can you describe your musical training/support received during initial teacher education? Do you feel that this adequately prepared you to teach music?

Appendix S. Semi-structured interview questions for parents/caregivers

Questions for parents/caregivers
<p>Personal background:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Can you tell me about yourself and your whānau?• Can you share your own musical experiences?
<p>Access and participation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What is your child's involvement in music as part of the school curriculum?• What extracurricular musical activities are available for your child and how are these accessed?• To what extent is your child involved in these activities?• What influenced your decision to involve them/not involve them in these musical activities?• Would you like your child to be more involved in music? Are there any barriers which restrain this involvement?• Have you ever had to pay for music instruction inside or outside of school?
<p>Support:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Are you kept informed about your child's progress in school? Does this occur for music education?• Do you feel that you are able to support your child's music education at home? If not, why not?
<p>Child's future:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What are your aspirations for your child's future?

Appendix T. Semi-structured interview questions for student focus groups

Questions for student focus groups
<p>Personal details:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What year are you in?• Which class are you in?• How long have you been at this school for?
<p>Curriculum enactment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Who teaches you music at school?• Who decides when and if you get to do music at school?• Do you listen to music at school? If so, can you give an example?• Do you sing at school? If so, can you give an example?• Have you ever played an instrument at school?• Have you been taught how to play an instrument at school? If so, can you give an example?• How often do you have music at school? (this could be singing, listening or playing)• Are you involved in any extracurricular music activities such as choir, kapa haka, band, orchestra or learning an instrument outside of the classroom? If not, why not?

Appendix U. Survey questions for teachers

Survey questions for teachers

- What is your name?
- Please give your email address.
- What are your qualifications? (include musical if applicable)
- How many years have you worked as a teacher?
- What years do you currently teach?
- Outline your musical experience and skills
- Do you play an instrument? If so, how long have you played for?
- How confident are you teaching music? (Likert scale: 1= not confident, 3 = somewhat confident, 5 = very confident)
- Do students in your class receive music instruction at your school?

If yes:

- Who is responsible for teaching music at your school?
- What support and resources are you given to teach music?
- What further support and/or resources do you need to teach music?
- How often do you teach music?
- How long does each music lesson last?
- What elements do you include in your music lesson?
- To what extent did your initial teacher education prepare you to teach music? (Likert scale: 1 = did not prepare, 3 = somewhat prepared me, 5 = effectively prepared me)
- Has music education ever been included in one of your professional learning goals?
- Would you be interested in being contacted via email to participate further in this research?

If no:

- Why do you not teach music?
- What support and resources are you given to teach music?
- What further support and/or resources would you need to teach music?
- To what extent did your initial teacher education prepare you to teach music? (Likert scale: 1 = did not prepare, 3 = somewhat prepared me, 5 = effectively prepared me)
- Has teaching of the music curriculum ever been assessed or monitored?
- Has music education ever been included in one of your professional learning goals?
- Would you be interested in being contacted via email to participate further in this research?

Appendix V. Observation field notes

School: _____

Date: _____

Location: _____

Key points:	Notes:
Who is teaching? (generalist teacher, specialist teacher)	
Who does it involve? (selection of children, class of children, entire school)	
Context of teaching (music lesson, rehearsal, performance, syndicate singing)	
Resources used (instruments, audio equipment, books, sheet music, technology, etc.)	
Repertoire used (cultural, classical, folk, pop, rock, etc.)	
Lesson content (listening, reading, singing, playing, creating, performing, recording, etc.)	

Lesson objectives (social: confidence, co-operation, creativity, participation, etc.) (musical: literacy, instrumental, ensemble, musical elements, etc.)