Adults' Constructions of an Early Childhood Music Class: Lived Experience and Cultural Reproduction

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Abstract

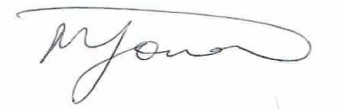
The provision of extra-curricular or enrichment activities for young children has boomed in recent years. This thesis offers an ethnographic study of a specific class in an early childhood music (ECM) program held at a regional Conservatorium of Music, exploring how adult participants (teachers, administrators, and carers) construct the class. Using interviews, participant observation, field notes, questionnaires and video recordings as my primary methodological tools, I present a picture of the construction of the ECM class through adults' diverse expectations, perceptions, life histories, beliefs and behaviours. I look to the substantial body of cultural reproduction literature which has grown from the example of Bourdieu; in particular I make use of the literature on class-specific parenting strategies which are argued to facilitate the "transmission of differential advantages" (Lareau, 2011, p. 5). I seek to contextualise participation in early years' enrichment activities in processes of cultural reproduction without denying the meaningful and affective relationship participants have with the class.

Keywords: extra-curricular activity, childhood, early childhood music, concerted cultivation, cultural reproduction, parenting, music education, class

Statement of Originality

I certify that this thesis, "Adults' Constructions of an Early Childhood Music Class: Lived Experience and Cultural Reproduction," is original research and my own work and that all sources of information and literature used are indicated in the thesis. I also certify that the work has not been submitted for a higher degree to any university or institution other than Macquarie University.

The research embodied in this thesis was approved by the Macquarie University Faculty of Human Sciences Human Research Ethics Subcommittee on June 24, 2015 with approval number 5201500454. See Appendices 3.2 and 3.3 for relevant correspondence.



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CHAPTER ONE

Nine toddlers, sticking close to mothers and grandmothers, wait for the door to their music class to open. As soon as their teacher appears from inside the room, they pull on carers' hands, rushing to sit behind their metallophone[1] and explore its dream-like sounds. Once everyone is seated, the metallophones are quickly put away and the class begins with a well-loved greeting song. Bookended between the greeting song and the final farewell song is a packed half-hour of playing with percussion instruments and parachutes, dancing to recorded music, bouncing up and down on carers' laps, crawling like tigers, and singing popular nursery rhymes. After the class some families play in the park or go to a cafe; all return to their weekly schedules, a full six days until the next music class.

Early childhood music (ECM) classes, such as the one just described, sit in a broad spectrum of extra-curricular or enrichment activities available to children from birth to 5 years, activities which have risen in both popularity and availability over recent decades (Dumais, 2006; Kremer-Sadlik, Izqierdo, & Fatigante, 2010; Lareau, 2011; Vincent & Ball, 2007; Vincent & Maxwell, 2015). The rise in popularity of ECM classes can be explained with reference to various phenomena. For example, it could be attributed to the supposed loss of musical confidence and repertoire amongst parents, and the attendant idea that infants and toddlers are no longer sung to in the home (Custodero & Johnson-Green, 2003; de Vries, 2007). It could equally be attributed to public awareness of recent research which emphasises the importance of the first three years of life for development, meaning that investment in children's early experiences are far better placed than later interventions (OECD, n.d.). A third reason might relate to the isolation felt by many new parents (particularly mothers), and their desire to seek out pleasurable social activities which place them in contact with other new

[1] A xylophone with metal bars.

families (Vincent & Ball, 2007). Finally, in a preview of the theoretical framework of this thesis, the growth of ECM could be explained in reference to prevalent middle class parenting strategies which foreground the importance of children's personal development and enrichment through participation in cultural and educational activities (Bennett, Lutz, & Jayaram, 2012; Kremer-Sadlik et al., 2010; Lareau, 2011; Scherger & Savage, 2010; Vincent & Ball, 2007; Vincent & Maxwell, 2015).

Despite the growth of ECM in Australia (Ferris & Nyland, 2007; Suthers & Larkin, 1998), the sector is highly decentralised and fragmented, with no unifying framework or professional body. To be clear, the kind of ECM to which I refer takes place *outside* of early childhood education and care (ECEC) settings, and generally takes the form of a weekly, fee-for-service class. The majority of ECM classes are run by private businesses, although some take place in universities or Conservatoriums of Music. Australian ECM researchers such as Suthers and Larkin (1998) and Ferris and Nyland (2007) have previously used the term *specialist early childhood music* to refer to this kind of provision, however many teachers (such as myself!) have little specialist training, a reflection of the lack of centralisation and professional development opportunities in this sector. Therefore, I prefer to simply refer to *early childhood music*. Research on Australian ECM education is available but limited, both in terms of scope and theoretical approach. Consequently, this study is intended to complement and extend the existing literature on ECM in the Australian context, as well as lend sociocultural and cultural reproduction perspectives to the ECM phenomenon.

Aims and Rationales

The aim of this project is twofold: I begin here by outlining the the first aim and its rationales, followed by the second aim and its rationales. The first aim is as follows. Through an ethnographic study of one ECM class for toddlers held at a regional Conservatorium of Music, I seek to understand how adult participants construct their involvement in the weekly

class. Through semi-structured interviews, questionnaires and participant observation I explore the various facets of teachers', administrators' and carers' participation, asking: How do carers explain and perform their involvement in ECM? What motivates them to enrol their children? What are adult participants' perceptions of the benefits of the ECM class? How does the class impact upon their lives outside of the allotted half hour per week of structured activity? Why music over other activities? As Vincent and Maxwell have noted, "we still do not know much about why people enrol their children in [extra-curricular] classes" (2015, p. 9). This study is designed to shed some light on a ubiquitous but little-explored area of Australian social life.

I offer two main rationales pertaining to the first aim of this project. Firstly, I believe there is a need for more in-depth sociocultural inquiry into families' musical lives, and their participation in ECM programs in particular. To date research has offered only "glimpses" (Young in Barrett, 2009, p. 118) into familial music-making through survey-based research methods, often with large sample sizes (Custodero & Johnson-Green, 2003; Custodero & Johnson- Green, 2008; Ilari, 2005, 2013; Young, Street, & Davies, 2007). While these studies are invaluable, they do not allow for a complex understanding of the affective and meaning-making aspects of families' musical participation. In an Australian context, studies of ECM programs have generally focused on children's skill acquisition (Suthers & Larkin, 1998) or on assessments of teaching practice (Ferris & Nyland, 2007; Niland, 2009; Suthers & Niland, 2007). Accordingly, there is a need for a complementary exploration of the affective, cultural and ideological elements of the ECM classroom: a space where various perspectives on music, education, childhood and parenting are shaped, performed and contested.

Secondly, it is hoped the data and analyses presented in this study will be of use to ECM teachers and administrators. A widely-accepted sociocultural constructivist principle posits that knowledge of family history, values and cultures should be incorporated into pedagogical practice, ensuring that learning is enacted as a two-way process, and that

educational content and delivery are integrated and relevant (Edwards, 2005b, 2007; Fleer, 2006). This approach has been supported in the ECM literature (Berger, 2003; Custodero, 2006; Gordon, 1997; Ilari, 2005; Koops, 2011), although the mechanisms of transmission of such information from academia to practice are slow and partial (Edwards, 2007; Niland, 2009; Young, 2007). In sum, knowledge of carers' perceptions and expectations can be useful for ECM practitioners in making pedagogical and business decisions, making way for a contextually-responsive ECM practice. (This is not to imply that sound pedagogical decisions are always the same as sound business decisions, but that is a topic for another research project.)

The broad secondary aim of this study is to analyse participants' perspectives and practices with respect to the literature on cultural reproduction processes; in particular, the literature on class-specific parenting strategies and the ways in which such strategies lead to the "transmission of differential advantages" (Lareau, 2011, p. 5) across generations. Lareau (2011) identifies a middle class child-rearing strategy of *concerted cultivation*, in which parents actively nurture and develop children's social, cognitive, cultural, and sporting competencies, partially through busy extra-curricular schedules. I ask how the expressed values, beliefs and practices of the carers of a specific ECM class correlate or deviate from a strategy of concerted cultivation. At the same time, I incorporate insights from feminist writers on the necessity of exploring the affective elements of class processes, particularly the pressures placed on mothers to meet social benchmarks of "good parenting" (Goodwin & Huppatz, 2010; Lareau & Weininger, 2008; Perrier, 2013; Reay, 1998b). The stress associated with performing normative templates of good parenting often lead to conflicted middle class moral identities (Perrier, 2013). Hence I am keen to analyse the ways in which discourses of good parenting are mobilised within the institutional setting of a regional Conservatorium.

A fundamental goal of any cultural reproduction researcher is to denaturalise the

processes by which structural inequality is reinscribed at an unquestioned, daily level. "Self-made man" theories are pervasive in liberal capitalist society, with proponents positing that anyone with a determined, entrepreneurial spirit has the ability to overcome the most abject poverty. Recent cuts to welfare by the current Liberal Party Government push a similar ideology: that disadvantage is a lifestyle choice rather than a structural reality (Garner, 2014). To the contrary, Bourdieu-inspired sociologists such as Lareau demonstrate that various parenting strategies, enabled by socioeconomic position and cultural resources, position children unevenly in social space from the youngest age.

In terms of how I present my data and analysis, however, it is of the utmost importance that I delineate the meaningful and authentic experiences of people living out their day-to-day lives from an understanding of how their lives map onto sociocultural structures and processes. The primary aim of this research project is to understand how carers and staff construct their involvement in ECM, and I have an ethical commitment to participants to understand their experiences and perspectives in-and-of themselves, rather than as fodder for critical analysis of contemporary class dynamics. A nuanced analysis of the interplay between personal agency and structural conditions is necessary so as not to fall into the trap of supposing individual subjects are personally culpable for the reproduction of social inequality. As Bourdieu and Passeron warn, a "moralizing reading" (1990, p. xix) of cultural reproduction texts is misguided, misrecognising the structured, embodied and taken-for-granted ways humans live out their lives.

A quick word on my own background. As a young child I followed my mother around various suburbs of Sydney as she taught her own ECM classes, mostly in preschools and community centres, the content of which were informed by courses and workshops in Kodály and Orff-Sculwerk methods. As I grew up she continued to hold weekly music and movement classes in our living room on the NSW Central Coast, provided for a negligible fee. These

classes did not constitute a significant portion of our household income, and my mother also believed that her classes should be accessible for anyone wishing to attend. For my part, after finishing an undergraduate degree majoring in political economy and music I found work as an (unqualified) ECM teacher, teaching three classes daily for a small company in Sydney's wealthy Eastern Suburbs (Khadem, 2015). This project could be understood as positioned at the intersection of my love of working and "musicking" (Small, 1998) with young children, and my belief in the importance of understanding how quotidian activities are enmeshed in social structures, processes and power dynamics.

Review of Related Literature

Adults' constructions of early childhood music education. Before delving into the literature on adults' participation in ECM, I must briefly define the term *construct.* While the idea of construction may evoke linear, static, individual processes, I wish to emphasise a dynamic and intersubjective definition of the term. In this way I understand individuals' constructions of the world to be constituted at the nexus of sociocultural processes, structures and discourses; localised community or family cultural practices; and individual dispositions, values and beliefs (Rogoff, 2003). The motivating factors behind any practice or decision are varied, layered, and often inseparable. In Reay's research on mothers' involvement in their children's schooling, she foregrounded the complex environment in which parents' educational choices are made, writing:

> It is in the cocktail of teachers' expectations of children, parental expectations of school, differential relationships of power between parents, teachers and children, and the intricate layering of discourses informing both parents' and teachers' understandings of the relationship between culture and educational achievement that a more complete picture of parental choice can be built up. (1996, p. 586)

Accordingly, in my own description and analysis of adults' constructions of an ECM class, I

am keen to avoid positioning personal and familial decisions and practices as atomistic, instead placing them in Geertz's webs of culture (1973, p. 5).

Much research in the field of early childhood music has dealt with children's music-making in ECEC settings (A. P. Smith, 2011; Suthers & Larkin, 1998; Whiteman, 2008), the "musical parenting" of infants and toddlers in the family home (Custodero & Johnson- Green, 2008, 2008; Ilari, 2005; Ilari, Moura, & Bourscheidt, 2011), and teaching and learning strategies in extra-curricular ECM settings (Bartel & Cameron, 2007; Custodero & St. John, 2007; Ferris & Nyland, 2007; Hornbach, 2007; Suthers & Niland, 2007). With regard to understanding parents' perceptions and expectations of formalised ECM education, a small but valuable body of work exists. Koops in particular has cumulatively conducted research on parents' perceptions of an ECM class that she herself teaches. To begin she investigated parent's perceptions of their involvement in the class, finding that parents valued it for the enjoyment it afforded them and their children, for the social connections with other families, for the bonding opportunities between mother and child, and for the musical foundations it laid for children (Koops, 2011). Parents largely expressed satisfaction with their current level of involvement: many were happy to pass on educational responsibility within the class to the teacher, appreciating the respite from their busy home lives. Koops concluded that providing more resources for parents to utilise outside the classroom could lead to a more integrated ECM practice, particularly for musically-inexperienced parents, as well as parents from diverse cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds. Acting on the findings of this first study, Koops then went on to set up an online social media site to actively foster interclass communication between parents and teacher (Koops, 2012).

Young, Street and Davies (2006) similarly share the view that knowledge of parents' musical beliefs and practices is key to creating an accessible, integrated and improved ECM practice. As part of a multi-stage project the researchers interviewed 88 carers from diverse backgrounds about their musical practices, histories and beliefs. The interviewees were not

necessarily already involved in ECM programs. Sparked by a desire to find ways of incorporating research on *communicative musicality* (Malloch & Trevarthen, 2009; Vlismas, Malloch, & Burnham, 2013) into contemporary ECM practice, the project was simultaneously undergirded by a concern that much ECM practice tacitly conforms to socially-sanctioned middle class ideas of good parenting. The researchers therefore hoped to create an evolved ECM practice that accounted for a diversity of parenting styles and cultural backgrounds. As for Koops, knowledge of the life experiences and views of carers and teachers was seen as crucial in creating an integrated ECM practice; "we hypothesised that activity must be perceived as relevant and appropriate if parents are to accept and incorporate elements into their own parenting" (Young et al., 2006, p. 12).

The valuable role ECM programs can play in families' lives is illuminated in Barrett's (2009) narrative inquiry into the musical life of one toddler, William. In a common but under-recognised story, William's mother suffered from post-natal depression, finding the transition from career woman to full-time mother fraught with anxiety. Participation in a Kindermusik ECM class constituted a turning point, through which both she and her husband connected to other families, and learnt invaluable musical resources and skills which were put to use in the family's daily routine. Therefore the Kindermusik class constituted a way for William's parents to construct their parenting identities, and to reestablish their musical selves in a family context. Barrett concluded that music-making in William's home functioned to foster family unity, to contribute to children's language development, to regulate children's behaviour and emotional states, and as a catalyst for children's "self-making" (Barrett, 2009).

The concerns of ECM literature and the concerns of cultural reproduction literature begin to converge when considering the impact of familial musical histories and experiences on children's music education. It is widely accepted that a strong correlation exists between parents' musical experience and their likelihood of engaging in musical activity with their children (Borthwick & Davidson, 2002; Custodero & Johnson-Green, 2003; Custodero &

Johnson- Green, 2008; Ilari, 2005; Reeves, 2015). A number of studies on the impact of families' musical histories have focused on music-making in the home: for example, whether parents are likely to sing with children, whether parents are likely to listen to classical music, or whether parents feel comfortable making up play-songs for children. In considering parents' proclivity to invest in formal music education, the importance of families' financial position is foregrounded, and the links between ECM literature and cultural reproduction literature begin to emerge. Reeves (2015), for example, established that "high cultural capital parents" were more active than others in pursuing formal musical opportunities for their children, and had the financial resources to do so. However, he also found that parents with musical backgrounds were more likely to perceive their children as innately musical, and hence tacitly encourage a sense of musical entitlement in their children. This behaviour was consistent across all social classes. It can be seen that consideration of both cultural and economic factors is necessary in conceptualising familial musical identity and practice, and the impact that these factors might have upon families' involvement in formal music education.

On cultural reproduction: concerted cultivation and "good mothers." To understand the foundation of much work on the culturally reproductive role of parenting is to understand the far-reaching impact of Bourdieu. The crux of Bourdieu's innovation, and a reason behind his lasting influence, is his ability to override dichotomies of structure and agency, class and culture, object and subject. Through hugely detailed empirical analyses of the "cultural manifestations of class" (Huppatz, 2009), Bourdieu sought to demonstrate how daily practices are positioned in an unequal and competitive field of power. Practices such as listening to classical music, playing rugby or wearing a trucker-cap are all understood as markers of distinction (Bourdieu, 2010), linking the listener, player or wearer to a broad set of collective social and cultural practices. An important concept for this study, Bourdieu's idea of *cultural capital* refers to a set of non-material resources which can be accumulated and

mobilised in order to advance one's social standing. Such resources might include the ability to discuss literature, or to look a potential employer in the eye during an interview (Lareau, 2011). Similarly important, Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* (often tacitly) informs analyses of parenting strategies, describing the naturalised embodiment of classed orientations towards the world. Wacquant writes that "the concept of habitus . . . restore[s] to the socialised body its function as active operator of the construction of the real" (2001, p. 107). In this way Bourdieu overrides a deterministic relationship between society and self, and instead foregrounds a mutually constitutive interaction between the two.

Bourdieu's theoretical framework and conceptual toolkit underlies much of the literature on parenting strategies and the reproduction of social classes. A primary concern of these researchers has been to examine how social advantage is mobilised and reproduced through children's participation in extra-curricular activities, activities which demand financial investment and simultaneously produce valuable cultural repertoires. Some researchers have found that middle class families' lives are characterised by a hectic and stressful pace (Lareau, 2011; Vincent & Ball, 2007); others argue that internal middle class heterogeneity means that hectic schedules are a specific rather than general case, and that a concern with "letting children be children" is also characteristic of the middle class (Irwin & Elley, 2011; Perrier, 2013; Vincent & Maxwell, 2015). Some researchers posit that a strategy of concerted cultivation arises from a specific middle class ideological orientation towards the world (Lareau, 2011; Vincent & Ball, 2007); others argue that concerted cultivation is a universal ideal which is only able to be realised by those with the requisite financial and time resources (Bennett et al., 2012; Irwin & Elley, 2011). Studies of concerted cultivation addressing children under 5 are uncommon, however Vincent and Ball (2007) offer an exception. They argue that products and activities for children under five are generally marketed as both "fun" and "educational," commodifying a common parental desire to provide opportunities for children which are simultaneously enjoyable and developmentally

stimulating. While Vincent and Ball do not decisively delineate the specificity of extra-curricular activity for the under fives, they imply that early childhood is a time of life in which parents are keen to establish "the *foundations* [emphasis added] of a cultural breadth – the beginnings of a 'renaissance child'" (Vincent & Ball, 2007, p. 1068).

A recurring theme in the literature on parenting strategies is the heavily gendered division of labour prevalent in the organisation of cultural and educational opportunities for children (Connell, 2008; Hays, 1996; Lareau & Weininger, 2008; Perrier, 2013; Reay, 1998b). Lareau and Weininger (2008) found that while fathers often took up positions of prominence–for example, as a coach of their child's soccer team–mothers did the vast majority of organisational, communicative and emotional labour. Perrier (2013) describes the stress and ambivalence of middle class mothers as they negotiate normative discourses of good mothering. She found that, contrary to Lareau's (2011) findings, middle class mothers vacillated between concerted cultivation and less interventionist approaches to child-rearing, especially in the early years of children's lives. As well as causing anxiety for individual parents, normative benchmarks of good parenting can discredit (and at times pathologise) poor and working class child-rearing strategies (Dermott & Pomati, 2015; Gillies, 2005; Goodwin & Huppatz, 2010; Lareau, 2011). In identifying the diverse and sometimes negative ways in which these parental benchmarks impact upon middle class mothers, an affective dimension is added to the theorising of class advantage, and the uneven and gendered effects of class privilege can be identified.

The idea of the middle class is ubiquitous but ill-defined, both in cultural reproduction literature and in public discourse. While a "steadfastly economistic conception" (Wacquant, 1991, p. 43) of social class is now widely discredited, practical usage of the term remains a messy endeavour. This is partially due to the vast range of cultural identities and socioeconomic positions that exist in contemporary society, and the concurrent loss of collective class consciousness (Bottero, 2004; Savage, 2000). Indeed, Wacquant argues that

attempts to demarcate the boundaries of social classes do not recognise the ontological status of class as a fluid entity, "constituted through material and symbolic struggles" (1991, p.57). This study is predicated on a dynamic conception of class that accounts for the complex interrelationship of the cultural, ideological and material. However, in practically defining "middle class" for the sake of identifying the social position of fieldwork participants, I have turned to a necessarily simplified definition of middle class, following Lareau (2011). This conceptualisation takes into account both degree of authority in the workplace, educational qualifications required to fulfil one's job, participation in cultural activity (such as the ECM class), and the presence of one or two parents in the household. This criterion is reductive; however it is beyond the scope and aim of this study to mobilise a more subjective and nuanced system of class categorisation.

A Note on Childhood Studies

I must briefly make mention of the growing body of childhood studies literature which has made strong interventions into traditional sociological concepts of children and childhood since the late 1980s. The childhood studies paradigm positions children as active and knowledgeable social actors, and acknowledges the constructed and situated nature of the concept of "childhood" (Corsaro, 2015; Holloway & Valentine, 2000; James, 2007; James & Prout, 2002; Mayall, 2002). The emergence of this paradigm represented a substantial epistemological break from the socialisation and social reproduction approaches of the fifties and sixties, as well as a synthesis of divergent approaches to studies of childhood in the seventies (James & Prout, 2002). This interdisciplinary paradigm shift has also had substantial impact outside of the academy: The Australian Early Years Learning Framework (EYLF), released in 2009, is heavily influenced by this paradigm. A corollary of these reformulated concepts of children and childhood has been an ethically-motivated research focus on listening to children's voices and perspectives, often through ethnographies of children's

cultures (Campbell, 1998; Clark & Moss, 2011; Froerer, 2009; James & Prout, 2002).

It can be seen that my own work is awkwardly positioned in relation to the childhood studies paradigm. I am writing about a child-specific activity, without focusing on the children themselves. I am writing about socialisation processes, against a childhood studies paradigm which partially emerged as a challenge to socialisation approaches. While I do not underestimate the importance and utility of including children as core participants of this study, unfortunately time did not allow for their inclusion. In framing this study around adult participants I do not wish to suggest that carers and practitioners are in any way more significant as social actors in the ECM context than children. Indeed, it would be impossible for me to understand adult participants' beliefs and behaviours without considering the role of children in the classroom and in families' lives in general. When I write, for example, about "parents deciding to enrol in ECM," I am aware that children may have played an extremely active part in making that decision. As Scheper-Hughes and Sargent state, "children are actively involved in the construction of their lives and their worlds, and at the very least we should treat them as people of substance and not simply as the receptacles of socialization and education by adults" (1998, p. 15). It is my hope to be able to specifically research children's experiences and perceptions of ECM classes in the future.

Conclusion

The primary task of this thesis is to explore the varied ways in which carers, teachers and administrative staff construct a weekly early childhood music class. I position the music class as a site of meaning-making in which the tacit, explicit and embodied contributions of all participants intersect to constitute and reproduce the class. A secondary task of the thesis is to analyse how participants' explanations of their involvement in ECM reflect or undermine characterisations of middle class child-rearing strategies of concerted cultivation (Lareau, 2011). Therefore I seek to understand how participation in an ECM class engenders the

accrual or transmission of certain forms of cultural capital. Attendant concerns include an acknowledgement that the “dirty work of class” (Reay, 1998b, p. 162) is often undertaken by mothers, who must perform the complex organisational and emotional labour involved in nurturing children's social and cognitive development.

The following chapter will outline the methodological tools and processes mobilised in the course of this research project. The third chapter will offer an in-depth description of my fieldwork site, and present data from surveys, interviews and participant observation as a means of exploring how adult participants construct their engagement with the ECM class. The fourth chapter will contextualise data using a cultural reproduction framework. I conceive of theory and data as “bouncing off one another”: I am certainly not attempting to use Bourdieusian concepts or Lareau's idea of concerted cultivation as a wholesale explanation for participants' perceptions and experiences. Finally I will make some brief comments on the potential implications of this research for future ECM research and practice.

CHAPTER TWO

This study mobilises an ethnographic method in order to "uncover and explicate the ways in which people in particular . . . settings come to understand, account for, take action and otherwise manage their day-to-day situation" (Van Maanen in Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 8). I understand ethnography, firstly, as a process of cultural interpretation and representation, through which the researcher participates in a given sphere of daily life in order to make sense of how "locals" construct and perform their worlds. Secondly, ethnography can also be understood as the written interpretations and representations resulting from the fieldwork process: the final product. As such, ethnography is both process and product (Van Maanen, 1995). While both Chapter Three and Chapter Four draw on ethnographic data, Chapter Three is positioned as an analysis of how people personally "manage their day-to-day situation," whereas Chapter Four turns to an external theoretical framework. In other words, in Chapter Four participants' *emic* perspectives interact with an *etic* cultural reproduction worldview. In the current chapter I detail my fieldwork process, the methodological tools used, and the process of analysis employed to interpret and arrange data made[2] during fieldwork.

Method and Fieldwork

As someone who works as an ECM teacher, and as someone who has many friends at baby-bearing age, I was able to construct a list of potential research sites based on personal knowledge and the recommendation of friends or colleagues. When approaching potential sites I found having a personal connection–no matter how tenuous–extremely useful in fostering trust. The site I finally decided upon, the Southtown Conservatorium of Music

[2] Richards and Morse (2007) argue that data must be conceptualised as "made" rather than "collected." To talk of "collecting" implies that data is ready-made, ripe-for-the-picking, rather than co-constructed through active engagement between researcher and participants.

(henceforth “the Con”), valued research and was keen to encourage investigation into the ECM sector; hence, our relationship was understood as mutually beneficial from the outset.

After discussing and arranging my research over email with the ECM program coordinator, Jackie, I spent one day per week over five consecutive weeks at the Con. The first week involved being shown around and interviewing Jackie about the ECM program, while the following weeks involved recruiting and then conducting fieldwork with participants of the Rosellas class. This class consisted of nine children aged 2 to 3 and their carers, eight of whom were mothers and one of whom was a grandmother. I took care to arrive at least half an hour before class each week to have time to introduce myself to carers and children, explain my research and what participation would involve, and answer any questions. This time was invaluable in terms of building rapport with children and adults, so that when I began to participate in class children were more or less used to my presence. I emphasised to all potential participants that involvement in the study was strictly voluntary. In the end all nine carers consented to having the class and their children video-recorded, and seven agreed to complete questionnaires and attend interviews. Despite the clearly active and constructive role children played in the class, for the sake of this study only carers and Con staff were considered “participants.”

Three main methodological tools were used to make data. Firstly, short-response questionnaires were handed out to all consenting carers. These questionnaires contained 18 questions, intended to elicit basic demographic data as well as short descriptions of the participant's history of involvement in ECM (see Appendix 1.1 for full list of questions). Responses from questionnaires were used as conversational springboards in subsequent interviews. Secondly, I observed four and video-recorded three regular classes, writing detailed field notes directly after each class. Participant-observation and video-recording were designed as the primary means of making data to facilitate my developing understanding of the intersubjective dynamic between teachers and carers within the classroom environment.

Thirdly, I conducted semi-structured interviews (see Appendices 1.2 and 1.3 for guiding questions) with both carers and staff in an attempt to come to an understanding of how adult participants understood their relationship to, and participation in, the ECM class. In acknowledgement of the busy and stressful schedule of many carers, participants had the choice of sharing their thoughts via group interview *or* individual interview, as suited their schedule. These interviews ran between 20 minutes for individual phone interviews, to 45 minutes for group interviews. Children made use of the pencils and paper I had brought along while I interviewed parents.

It is simplistic to suggest that each methodological tool purely elicited a specific type of data; rather responses and data constructed from each process bled into, supported and/or contradicted one another. Denzin and Lincoln's (1998) assertion that the qualitative research can be understood as a process of *bricolage* is apt here. Through this process the researcher or *bricoleur* constructs a "complex, dense, reflexive, collage like creation that represents the researcher's images, understandings, and interpretations of the world or phenomenon under analysis" (1998, p. 4). In other words, I do not conceive of the three methodological tools outlined above as atomistic strategies, but rather various collaborative means to construct an ethnographic picture of the Rosellas class.

Validity

Since the "paradigm wars" (Adams & Roulston, 2006, p. 674) of the 1980s, researchers engaged in ethnography, phenomenology, critical theory and other qualitative fields have sought to construct their own evaluative criteria; criteria which constitute a robust alternative to the highly-valued quantitative principles of scientific rigour, generalisability, replicability and objectivity. Debates around adequate qualitative criteria continue to this day (Hammersley, 2008; Schwandt, Lincoln, & Guba, 2007). However, Lincoln and Guba's (1985) guidelines for *trustworthiness*, which seek to maintain the *credibility, transferability,*

dependability and *confirmability* of a study, remain widely used, if contested. Below I outline the measures taken in this study to ensure its trustworthiness.

To ensure the *credibility* of this specific inquiry I used methodological triangulation (through the bricolage of differing methodological tools, as specified above), peer debriefing (with my thesis supervisor as well as ECM colleagues), member checking (through sharing and discussing written interpretations and analyses with participants) and prolonged observation in the music class. To enable the possibility of *transferability* I made sure to provide rich and detailed descriptions of the behaviours and beliefs of adult participants of the music class, taking into account the specificity of their social, cultural and geographical context. Further, I made sure to interview as many adult participants in the class as possible, to allow for a wide range of responses and world-views, whether typical or atypical. For *dependability* I recorded the research process every step of the way, with both "raw" data such as video and audio-recordings, as well as field notes, memos and working interpretations. Finally, my approach is self-reflexive, and I have taken care to acknowledge the interpretive frame constructed by my personal and political subject position. Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that researcher reflexivity helps shore up the *confirmability* of any qualitative inquiry.

The above criteria have allowed me to construct an interpretation of the Rosellas class that I believe is robust and faithful to the information, ideas and experiences offered by participants. However, I will also briefly refer to Lincoln and Guba's characterisation of critical theory-based evaluative criteria. The authors posit that for critical theorists, the quality of any research should be judged by "the extent to which the inquiry acts to erode ignorance and misapprehensions, and the extent to which it provides a stimulus to action" (Guba & Lincoln, 1998, p. 213). Kincheloe and McLaren further argue that critical researchers should foremostly act to "confront the way power reproduces itself in the construction of human consciousness" (1998, p. 288). While I do not imagine this project will inspire readers to

emancipatory action, a critical and activist thread runs through my research. In particular, I hope to contribute to knowledge of how class positions and social inequality are reproduced, transformed or subverted through everyday activities such as music education. That is to say, I understand the quality of this project as dependent on both its trustworthiness *and* its ability to confront individualist liberal worldviews that underpin much public discourse.

Ethical Considerations

Despite the social justice orientation of many qualitative researchers (Lincoln, 2010), the practice of ethnography is shot through with ethical and political dilemmas. The "crisis of representation" of the 1980s brought to light the colonialist power dynamic entangled in the researcher-subject relationship. However, even after decades of reformulation of the researcher-subject relationship, the ethnographer's power to (mis)represent others remains fraught. For example Lareau–whose aim it was to make "a contribution to the broader, ongoing process of making invisible inequality more visible" (2011, p. 265)–was met with serious discontent from research participants due to charges of misrepresentation. Geertz frequently characterised the task of ethnography as "making small facts speak to large issues" (in Stauffer & Robbins, 2009, p. 85). While I agree with Geertz wholeheartedly, I also believe that it is often in this extrapolation of the meaning and context of people's everyday lives that representation becomes messy. For example, Lareau (2011) frequently interspersed descriptive passages and quotations with broad-brush characterisations of poor, working class or middle class child-rearing strategies. This had the effect of blurring the line between analysis intrinsic to specific families and analysis of societal trends at large. To mitigate against this kind of confusion I have made use of block quotes to clearly delineate them from my own analysis.

In terms of fostering respectful and ethical relationships, it is worth acknowledging that participants' perceptions of the researcher also shape the research process: the information

and experiences they wish to share, their willingness to participate, and their investment in the process. When participants of Lareau's study were confronted with uncomfortable representations of themselves, one commented: “I felt [the book] was written by three women who were here for three weeks and who didn't have kids” (2011, p.318). The importance of shared life experiences for building rapport between researcher and participants is foregrounded in this comment. To this end, Young et al. (2006) enlisted interviewers whose geographic and cultural backgrounds “matched” those of interviewees, in an attempt to diminish any cultural misunderstandings. Due to our largely similar backgrounds (white, middle class) I perceived the disconnect between myself and Rosellas participants to be minimal, with the fact of my “childlessness” constituting the main point of difference. However, despite the lack of cultural distance between myself and participants, I understand naturalistic inquiry as inherently interpretive, necessarily directed by the personal and political orientation, as well as structural position (Van Maanen, 1995; Wacquant, 1989) of the researcher. Hence while adherence to a criterion of trustworthiness (discussed above) has allowed me to construct robust and respectful representations and interpretations, I certainly do not claim to offer all-encompassing or unmediated accounts of participants' lives and belief systems (Clifford, 1988; Clifford & Marcus, 2010; Rosaldo, 1989).

Process of Analysis

I used the qualitative analysis software NVivo (Version 10.2.1 for Mac) to collate, categorise, conceptualise and analyse data from my fieldwork. Analysis followed the preferred approach of Miles and Huberman (1994), whereby preliminary codes are constructed based on one's research questions and/or conceptual framework. Because of the two-pronged nature of my analysis, I needed to adopt two distinct but interrelated coding systems. The first, linked to the task of understanding adults' expectations and perceptions of the Rosellas class, involved beginning with germane broad categories, such as “reasons for

participation," "music in the home," and "expectations of ECM." These were then broken down into sub-categories: for example, under "reasons for participation" I identified "fun," "stimulation and school readiness" and "friends attending" as salient reasons. At every step of the analytical process (transcribing an interview, watching a video-recording of class, coding) I wrote memos in an attempt to clarify and consolidate new information, concepts and ideas for the structure of my analysis, hence tying together disparate strands (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 72). These memos were also cross-referenced with handwritten field notes.

The fourth chapter, with its focus on the contextualisation of enrichment activities for young children, interacts much more heavily with a coherent body of literature. Hence, my coding categories for this section were constructed in reference to dominant themes in the cultural reproduction literature alongside emergent themes in participants' responses. "Ideas of good parenting" and "importance of stimulation" are two such examples. Of course, these codes often overlapped with the codes assigned to Chapter Three, and I frequently grappled with where information would be best positioned. The iterative nature of data analysis (Crang & Cook, 2007; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Richards & Morse, 2007) was foregrounded as new insights in the data brought out new aspects of the literature, and vice versa.

As I worked through the data some codes became irrelevant while others gained prominence. Despite the fact I began with broad *a priori* codes reflecting my research question and key themes, I was also keen to ensure that codes were consistent with the ways in which participants understood their own lives. This is the kind of two-level emic and etic analytical scheme described by Miles and Huberman (1994, p.61). For example, while I had predicted that beliefs about the nature of musical ability (e.g. giftedness, natural talent or hard work) would play a role in parents' decision to participate in ECM, this did not appear to be true. Hence I abandoned the code for musical ability and this theme did not play any significant role in my analysis.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the methodological frame and tools utilised in the course of my fieldwork at Southtown Con, and described the fieldwork process. I have further detailed measures employed to shore up the validity of this project, analysed pertinent ethical considerations associated with ethnographic inquiry, and outlined my approach to data analysis. In the following chapter I draw on carers' and staff members' perspectives, as offered through semi-structured interviews and questionnaire responses, to analyse adult participants' constructions of their involvement in ECM.

CHAPTER THREE

In this chapter I draw on my fieldwork at the Southtown Con and the reflections offered by participants to analyse how adults construct the ECM class: their expectations, reasons for attendance, the impact of past musical experiences, and the negotiation of teaching and learning styles within the classroom. Here direct quotation and paraphrasing of participants' comments take centre stage, with key insights from related literature used to "round out" participants' perceptions and experiences. All names, of both places and people, have been changed to pseudonyms in order to protect the privacy of participants. Children's names are omitted, and children are instead referred to in relation to their carer, e.g. "her grandson" or "Renee's daughter."

I wish to reiterate the inherently interpretive nature of ethnographic inquiry. While I sought to identify and draw out the most prominent recurring themes in participants' narratives, inevitably some themes were brought to life at the expense of others. (Should the reader wish to pursue a more thorough understanding of both the fieldwork process and participants' constructions of ECM, transcripts of interviews can be found from Appendices 2.1-2.6.) The order in which the following section unfolds should not be read hierarchically: that is, I do not wish to position any theme as more important than any other. Themes are separated for the sake of analysis but should be understood as interlocking and mutually constituting. Finally, it is important to mention that some recurring themes–particularly those relating to the perceived benefits of music for children's social and cognitive development–are discussed in detail in Chapter Four, and hence are omitted here. I begin with a brief sketch of the history, "key players," demographic makeup and stated pedagogical orientation of the Southtown Con's ECM program and the Rosellas class in particular.

The Southtown Conservatorium and the Rosellas Class

Perched above the city in a leafy, university-centred neighbourhood is the Southtown Conservatorium. The city itself, home to approximately 200,000 residents, is strongly identified with its working-class, industrial history, despite the steady downsizing of its blue-collar industries in recent decades. The Con operates on a not-for-profit basis and receives financial support from the NSW Department of Education (DoE), although the Early Childhood Music Program is self-funded. The program, divided into four stages from young toddlers (1 year olds) through to children in Year 4, is well-established and well-attended, with almost all classes at their ten-child capacity.

As specified in the previous chapter, I conducted my research in the Rosellas class, a toddler class made up of nine children between the ages of 2 and 3, most of whom were accompanied by mothers, and one by his grandmother. I interviewed and surveyed seven of these nine adult participants. Apart from one mother who described her cultural background or ethnicity as English, the rest used the descriptor Australian, which I took to mean Anglo-Australian, although it is possible some parents were of non-Anglo European extract. (I point this out to problematise the equation of "Australian" with whiteness, a necessary task given Australia's colonial history.) All women lived and co-parented with a male partner, and most either worked part-time and/or were stay-at-home mums. Partners' incomes were evenly spread over the two middle income brackets, according to ATO tax brackets ($37,001-$80,000 and $80,000-$180,000), with only one male partner earning over $180,000. Mothers' occupations ranged from teachers to environmental scientists. The tertiary qualifications required for such professions, combined with other basic demographic data submitted in questionnaires, suggest it is safe to position all participants in the broad spectrum of the middle class. A table, outlining interview dates and basic demographic data of participants, is presented below.

Table 1

Basic Demographic Data of Participants

Name	**Interview Date**	**Relationship to child**	**Self-identified occupation**	**Age group**
Jackie	August 5, 2015	ECM program coordinator	ECM program coordinator	46-55
Adele	August 12, 2015	Rosellas class teacher	Rosellas class teacher	46-55
Cassie	August 19, 2015	Mother	Casual environmental scientist/stay-at-home mum	26-35
Renee	August 19, 2015	Mother	Primary teacher (part-time for maternity leave)	26-35
Sally	August 19, 2015	Mother	Sign language interpreter for the deaf/stay-at-home mum	36-45
Belinda	August 26, 2015	Mother	Library technician	36-45
Jan	August 26, 2015	Grandmother	Retired primary teacher	56-65
Grace	August 29, 2015	Mother	Public servant	36-45
Jennifer	September 1, 2015	Mother	Childcare worker	26-35

The teacher, Adele, is an energetic and outgoing woman. Having been heavily involved in music as a child, playing clarinet and singing in the school choir, she put music aside after school and worked for many years as a nurse. After spending nine years as a stay-at-home parent, she became an ECM teacher through mentorships at the Southtown Con, and began her work as a teacher as her youngest child began school. She has now been in her current job at the Con for eight years. Many carers listed Adele as one of the main reasons they loved coming to class, and the ECM coordinator Jackie described Adele as having “a

great rapport with kids . . . the kids just love her.” On Adele's part, she described the Rosellas class in the following way:

> They've been coming, this is the second year I've had them, it's a really peachy class I have to say, parents are brilliant, it's one of my best classes . . . They're very well established, there are groups of friends in it as well.

The pedagogical orientation of the ECM program has changed substantially since its beginnings. The program was initiated by a local woman, who, inspired by years spent in Japan observing the Suzuki method of music education, wished to emulate a Suzuki-style ECM program in the Southtown region. Jackie (who has been involved in the ECM program since its inception in 1981) commented that initially the program was “fairly structured,” emphasising learning to read and play rhythms, lots of singing, and substantial parental involvement. For Jackie, two events crystallised her desire to move beyond a focus on skills- and music literacy-based ECM. Firstly, she received a scholarship to undertake ECM education training in London, where her university education in movement-based Eurythmics and improvisation-based Orff-Schulwerk methods rubbed up against a much more music literacy-based English mode of ECM provision. The programs she was exposed to were “very much about . . . singing accurately and sight-singing,” an approach which did not mesh with her “big love” of movement and rhythm.

Secondly, when she returned to Australia and took over part-time coordination of the Southtown ECM program, the Con received funding to employ someone to collate and report on the latest research into early childhood and early childhood music education. As a result, Jackie and others initiated a “revamp” of the ECM program to incorporate research-based recommendations for child-centred, exploration-driven and play-based learning. Jackie described this pedagogical reorientation as more heavily applying to the preschool-aged children (3-4 year olds). The emphasis for toddlers, while also incorporating creative exploration, has been oriented towards

> giv[ing] parents ideas of things that they can do at home with their child . . . giv[ing] them resources . . . show[ing] them how they can adapt them to different situations in the home, so that they're not just doing music for half an hour, it becomes part of their day.

Consistent with the general nature of the ECM sector, the Con's ECM teachers come from a range of backgrounds: high school teachers, primary school teachers, early childhood educators and professional musicians. Accordingly, the Con's ECM teachers bring various strengths and weaknesses to their classes, and Jackie sees it as her role to "fill in the holes if need be." All teachers program their own classes. It can be seen that the ECM program offers an array of teaching styles and content, and on occasion Jackie will match families with an appropriate teacher.

Joy and Bonding

Adult participants of the Rosellas class constructed their ECM experience in diverse and intersecting ways. While music education was understood as valuable for utilitarian reasons, carers consistently emphasised the fun and enjoyment both they and their child experienced through their participation in the class. Moreover, participation in the class and the playful musical experiences this entailed were seen as a catalyst for bonding between carers and children, teacher and children, children and other children, and carers and other carers. Carers emphasised both the individual joy their child expressed in movement, singing and playing instruments as well as the intersubjective joy of participating in an activity together. Vincent and Ball argue that despite the complex and varied ways in which middle class parents conceptualise extra-curricular activity, "the children's wishes and enjoyment are key" (Vincent & Ball, 2007, p. 1071). The importance of enjoyment as an outcome of music education has been echoed by Koops (2011) and Ilari (2013), and was certainly the case for the carers of the Rosellas class.

Role of the teacher. A number of carers attributed their enjoyment of the class to the skill of Adele as a teacher, as well as her warmth and child-friendly silliness. A conversation between Jan (the one grandmother in the class) and Belinda illustrates the high regard in which many hold Adele:

> **Jan**: I think we're all really positive about it because Adele's so positive, and I know that the teacher that [my grandson] had when he first came, she was really lovely, but . . . I think she babied them a bit, it was a bit cutesy-wutesy sort of stuff
>
> **Belinda**: yeah Adele doesn't talk down to the kids at all, that's really important
>
> **Jan**: and I like that better, that probably suits me better. I like that aspect of it too, so we're all enthusiastic 'cause we have fun too I think

Another mother, Sally, thought that the class balanced "music education and fun really well," adding "I think we are really blessed to have Adele as our teacher. She is an incredible talented musician and teacher and is so wonderful with the children."

Every week the class began with a greeting song that consecutively referred to each child by their name, at which time the child stood up, found a coloured paper elephant featuring their name, and secured the elephant to a brightly coloured board. A number of mothers referred to the pleasure their child felt at such focused, individual attention. For example, Grace commented that her son

> enjoys being engaged with the other kids and the teacher, I think he loves the opportunity to jump up and dance and move around and play instruments and have some focus on him, as well... because he's a second child, it's always usually about his sister. So to have a class where people ask him to do things specifically is quite good.

Barrett (2009) posits that children's independent and joint music-making contributes to a process of "self-making," in which children actively construct their identities in collaboration with those around them. As Adele facilitated opportunities for children to meet challenges (such as being brave enough to put one's elephant on the board!) and to engage musically with

their parents, this process of self-making arose.

Bonding between carer and child. The utility and importance of musical communication between infant and mother has been well-explored and documented (Custodero & Johnson- Green, 2008; Malloch & Trevarthen, 2009; Vlismas, Malloch, & Burnham, 2013). Vlismas et al. argue that *communicative musicality*–musical vocalisations, rhythmical movement, gestural expressions and intentional touch between mother and child–can stimulate "pleasurable emotional dyadic exchanges from which a positive dyadic mood state occurs" (2013, p. 1670). Further, they posit that pleasurable embodied musical interactions provide for children's emotional and developmental needs, and establish foundations for positive mother-child interaction throughout life. Much research on both communicative musicality and ideas of *musical parenting* (Barrett, 2009; Custodero & Johnson-Green, 2003; Custodero & Johnson- Green, 2008; Ilari, 2005; Ilari, Moura, & Bourscheidt, 2011) have applied to infants, rather than toddlers and preschoolers. Barrett's (2009) longitudinal narrative inquiry into the musical life of young William is one exception. Through a detailed study of William's music-making between the ages of 18 months and four years, the author found that musical activity wove through William's family life in diverse ways. Music-making ameliorated menial domestic tasks such as eating breakfast or driving in the car, and often opened up emotional space for parent-child and sibling-sibling bonding.

The emotional impact of musical engagement between carers and children was evident in the Rosellas class. Carers, in both their observed behaviours and stated beliefs, expressed that they treasured the class for the time and space it afforded them to spend quality time with their child or grandchild. Many commented that in the context of busy lives looking after multiple children, focused time spent with one child was rare and special. Indeed, some chose to enrol in the program for the explicit purpose of creating time to spend with a specific child, as the following conversation demonstrates:

Cassie: [My daughter's] my youngest of three, and I kinda felt she'd just been dragged

to everyone else's activities, and I thought yeah it would be nice to do [the music class] with [Renee and Renee's daughter]

Miriam: Had you already thought music was something you wanted to do, or did you just want something that was specifically for her?

Cassie: Oh I thought music would be good for her too, but yeah, something specific for her as well.

Belinda offered similar thoughts: "I just thought it would be a fun thing to do with her, just to expose her to music and other kids, and for me as well, something for us to do together." Grandmother Jan drew on her experience as a parent bringing her daughters to music, as the basis of her decision to bring her grandson to the program: "as a parent I really enjoyed it, and [my daughters] had a great time, and they both went on to do music, so I gave [my grandson] music lessons for his birthday so we could come together." Jennifer commented that she believed her daughter enjoyed her "focused attention" rather than the "distracted attention" she received at home. While none of the carers in the class expressed an overt lack of musical confidence, many lamented the lack of time they had at home to engage in music-making with their children (as found by de Vries, 2009). As such, the Rosellas class constituted a pre-planned weekly time dedicated to the carer-child relationship and to musical activity.

Within the class, Adele programmed activities which fostered enjoyable physical and emotional interaction between carer and child. One rhyme which was regularly repeated (unlike many of the other activities, which Adele took care not to repeat in consecutive weeks) seemed an overt example of positive carer-child interaction:

Children sitting in "their adult's" lap.

Adele: Criss Cross, Apple Sauce *(adults draw a cross on children's backs)*

Spiders up your back *(adults tickle up and down children's spines)*

Cool breeze *(adults blow on children's necks),* tight squeeze *(big cuddle)*

And now you've got the..... shivers! *(adults tickle children all over while*

children squirm and squeal with joy)

The regular repetition of this rhyme meant children eagerly anticipated the tickly sensations and the tight squeezes from their mother or grandmother. Rather than constituting a pleasant side-effect of the music class, opportunities for carer-child bonding were intentionally factored into the program through measures such as a free child-minding service for siblings. Coordinator Jackie explained: "we introduced free child minding for parents so they could focus on their child in the class . . . we wanted to keep that philosophy going of that child-parent interaction."

Enjoyment experienced by both parents and children in the Rosellas class evidently arises out of the positive relationships enacted within the classroom. While dancing, singing, moving, using instruments and playing games clearly afford children much pleasure, it is within the context of affirming, playful and affectionate interaction between parents, teacher and children that this joy is brought to life and made meaningful. Moreover, the space for these kinds of interactions is actively created through parents' decisions to seek out opportunities for quality time with their child, through the teacher's programming of specific activities which facilitate bonding, and through institutional measures such as free child-minding. As Barrett argues, joint music-making functions "in the regulation of children's behaviour and emotional states" as well as "in fostering family unity" (2009, p.130). Despite the short, weekly nature of the Rosellas class, carers stated and performed interaction with their child within the class affirm the positive emotional benefits of joint music-making.

Parents' Musical Histories and Music in Daily Life

It is widely recognised that parental attitudes towards music and parental musical histories affect children's musical involvement (Custodero & Johnson-Green, 2003; Custodero & Johnson- Green, 2008; Ilari, 2005, 2005, 2013; Koops, 2011; Reeves, 2015). However, the motivating factors behind parents' decisions to involve their children in musical activity are

complex and disputed. While Reeves argues that a strong sense of familial musical identity leads parents to pursue musical opportunities for their children, others writing in a cultural reproduction framework argue that musical education is understood by middle class parents as a means to advance cognitive and social competencies (Lareau, 2011; Vincent & Ball, 2007) and to cultivate a cultured self (Bourdieu, 2010; Cho, 2015). Both Ilari (2005) and Custodero and Johnson-Green (2003) found that parental musical experience increased the likelihood of parents singing and playing musically with infants, although the nature of this activity (e.g., whether parents were happy to improvise new songs or not) was dependent on the detail of parents' musical histories.

No matter the complex and varied reasons behind parents' behaviours and attitudes, parental musical experience frames children's musical lives. Given the narrow social sphere in which young children move (Bronfenbrenner, 2005), it can be argued that this is particularly true in the early years of life. Stories of adults' personal musical history continuously emerged organically in my conversations with the mothers and grandmother of the Rosellas class. Five out of seven carers had formally learnt an instrument or singing for a period during their childhood, and memories of these experiences ranged from painful to very positive. Moreover, adults both subtly and overtly linked their own musical experiences to the way they conceptualised their child's immediate and future musical education. Consistent with Custodero and Johnson-Green's (2003, 2008) findings, parents' musical pasts also influenced the way music played out in family life outside of the ECM class.

Memories of music education and musical identity. A number of parents recounted either ambivalent or negative experiences of childhood music learning. The seeming arbitrariness of moving systematically through Australian Music Examination Board (AMEB) exam stages and a dislike of practice were two recurring motifs, and influenced how parents perceived their child's continuing music education. Cassie's memory of learning piano was the least positive:

> I did piano for a year or two, and I absolutely hated practising, to the point where, as an adult I was not long ago walking past where they practise piano, I got this sick feeling in my stomach and this sense of intense boredom.

Renee similarly recounted a dislike of piano practice and AMEB exams, and a lack of personal interest in playing piano. Reflecting on her own experiences, Renee commented: “I don't know, I'm not thinking I'll pursue an instrument with [my daughter]. I think she really does enjoy the classes and likes it but I think that's 'cause she's a conformer,” adding “in some ways I was similar to [my daughter] in that I just kinda did it 'cause I was told to.”

Grace, who brings both her children to the ECM program, had a more ambivalent relationship with her musical childhood. Like Renee, as a child she did not perceive formal examinations as musically meaningful, instead moving through the motions because of an expectation that that was how one learnt music:

> I did the AMEB exams and that sort of thing and it was always, it was almost just like another school subject in a way, like oh I've gotta practise this for the exam, and you've gotta do the exam, and I remember when we moved to Melbourne, my teacher there didn't do that sort of thing . . . and then in fact when I moved overseas with my family my other teacher certainly didn't do it, and I was kinda lost in a way, like I was like, how do I play this instrument if you don't want me to prepare for an exam? I didn't have that sense of just enjoying it and playing it for playing's sake.

However, although Grace stated that she didn't “really [enjoy the violin] until afterwards when I looked back,” music was clearly a strong part of her identity, and this influenced her participation in the ECM program. Having participated in orchestras, quartets and choirs all throughout her schooling life, Grace felt strongly that music should also be part of her children's lives as, saying “music's always been the priority . . . for us.” Having attended an earlier version of the Con's ECM program herself, she commented: “I decided to enrol both of my children [in the ECM program] because I'd done it, and I suppose . . . those music classes

had instilled a love of music and a real understanding of music, I suppose, in me." She added: "I wanted my kids to do that as well and start to get an early appreciation of music. My husband's fairly musical, plays the guitar and used to sing and that sort of thing..." Despite Grace's ambivalent recollections of her own musical past, she and her husband clearly felt a strong musical identity which they actively sought to transfer to their children.

Music at home. While no generalisations can be drawn from such a small study, it is interesting to note that two of the carers with the most positive recollections of music in childhood were the two who described the most active musical home lives currently. Jan never formally learnt an instrument growing up, but always sang in choirs, attended music concerts through school and learnt to play recorder as a tertiary student studying primary education. As a mother she saw her two daughters through violin and piano lessons, both of whom remain musically involved. Jan lamented the expense of music education, believing that "music should be part of everybody's life." We had the following conversation about music in the home:

> **Jan** (to grandson): And we have the band sometimes, don't we, with Mummy, [your sister] plays the bells, yeah, it's fun, it's good, it's sort of part of our usual thing during the day.
>
> **Miriam**: Will he initiate any of the songs?
>
> **Jan**: Yeah sometimes he will. We've got a song for, we're one of those families that have a song for any occasion, break into song for any reason

For Sally, although she hated practising piano as a child, upon entering boarding school as a high school student she began to learn flute and loved it. Without the pressure of doing exams she was motivated to practise most days, and joined every ensemble possible. As with Jan, Sally described a current family life full of singing:

> I always, I think for my own sanity, I sing anything. I sing the washing up . . . I go "I'm going to the bathroom now, doo di doo" just making up silly songs, and [my

> children] do that as well . . . And when he was a baby he was very difficult to get to sleep, 'cause he was crook, he was allergic to things, and I used to just sing him off to sleep. So quite often it was the songs from Adele's . . . yeah, I think more just to sort of, for my benefit, to get through the fact it took him an hour to get to sleep, but I would enjoy singing him off to sleep.

Consistent with Barrett's (2009) study, music was a resource used by Sally to mitigate against the stresses of motherhood, and musical content from the Rosellas class made its way into her daily routine. The reflections of William's mother in Barrett's research offered a parallel to Sally's experience: "you [become] tired of the rituals and a lot of the day-to-day caring for someone on a 24 hour basis. [Music] just makes it a bit interesting for me and for them" (2009, p. 123). For other families of the Rosellas class, flow-on effects from class varied: some reported singing only "a little bit" during the week while some sang "all the time." Adele herself was invested in music-making continuing outside of the classroom, remarking: "if there's a chance they'll sing it in the car on the way home, I mean you've won really haven't you?" While carers integrated rhymes, songs and activities from the Rosellas class into their daily life to differing degrees, it is clear that carers' personal musical histories also strongly influenced the way in which this occurred. For this reason, it is impossible to demarcate exactly *how* the music class impacted upon home life, as opposed to other familial musical experiences and histories.

A Collective Desire for Structure

The Rosellas class is a well-oiled machine; as much as any activity involving small children can be. At a brisk half an hour, songs are repeated no more than twice in a session and each activity swiftly transitions to another. Adele, who described herself more than once as obsessively organised, has laboriously created a two year program, with a theme for every term over the two year period. Each lesson has been tried, tested, tweaked and added to a

folder where the source, activity, required props and any other pertinent information for each song is kept in order. All activities and songs are led by Adele, and parents follow her lead to ensure the smooth running of the classes. For parents this might mean enforcing a rule ("only one castanet!"), encouraging a child to participate ("are you wearing spots?"), or enthusiastically modelling an activity for their child ("you probably noticed I have to get up and waddle like a penguin and whatever, 'cause he's kinda a bit sit-back"). Parents regularly sing along to songs, with varying degrees of gusto, but less frequently stand up and participate in movement activities. The teacher-led nature of the Rosellas class is characteristic of many ECM classes which take place outside of ECEC settings (Niland, 2009; Young, 2007; Young, Davies, & Street, 2006).

I perceived the general atmosphere of the class to be one of great enthusiasm and energy from the children, and a calm, understated enjoyment from the parents. However, I was struck by the disjunct between Jackie's characterisation of the reorientation of the program towards child-centred, play-based learning (although she did emphasise that this reorientation was largely directed towards the preschoolers rather than the toddlers), and the highly structured, teacher-led nature of Adele's class. Jackie had alluded to the teacher-led nature of Adele's class during our interview:

> I do a welcome to the ECM program letter for the parents, and some of that stuff [about child-centred, play-based learning] is articulated, but not hugely so. So I pretty much leave that to the teachers, again 'cause some of them do it more than others . . . Adele's is a subtle thing, but you might find that she's a little more prescriptive, she's the focus, than say Sandra, but Sandra's working with older kids.

On Adele's part, she explained that she believed "the little ones have not got that attention span, they've had it. [The Rosellas are] better because that age group is ready to go on to [the next stage] which is 3-4 . . . [so] I've found that structure works." She went on to recount a story of a mother who found the class too structured:

> it was too, she felt that it was too structured. But, if she wants to go to playgroup that's fine! That's what you do at playgroup. Anyway she went to someone else's class and maybe that was a little less structured and that's fine . . . but I was pretty hurt at the time.

Upon interviewing parents it became clear that the structured nature of the class was both expected and highly valued by most parents. Sally, mother of two boys (one of whom she had taken through all stages of the ECM program and one of whom was currently in the Rosellas class), felt that the structured nature of the class was particularly beneficial for boys:

> they'll naturally kinda run around and do lots of physical kind of things, I think it's really nice for them to have something a little bit calmer and structured and sort of, makes them sit down and listen and follow instructions and things like that.

Renee, also a mother of two, had been bringing her daughter to class for a year and a half, and had participated in an earlier version of the ECM program herself as a child. As someone who lives twenty minutes drive away from the Con, she had researched options for closer classes before deciding on the Con program:

> I always, I thought here [the Con] would be good, but because we live North, I did keep my ears open for the classes that were at the Community Centre and stuff . . . but, a few girls from my mothers group [went] and they were like oooh it's really kinda crazy, and the kids just get in and play all these instruments kinda thing, so I wasn't that keen on that.

A colleague recommended Adele's class at the Con to Renee. The desired structured nature of the class, combined with the fact that close friend Cassie also attended, meant that the 40-minute round trip was worthwhile. Jennifer, who began bringing her daughter to the class because of her own perceived lack of musical ability, explained:

> I kept going 'cause there was rules, like they had to sit in the circle, and Adele had expectations of them which I thought were valuable for her to learn as well, but that

wasn't my original reason for going.

While it is clear that carers of the Rosellas class valued its teacher-led, structured nature, the literature on early childhood education is almost unequivocal in its advocacy of a child-centred, play-based learning (Brooker, Blaise, & Edwards, 2014; Dewey, 1956; Moore, Edwards, Cutter-Mackenzie, & Boyd, 2014; Niland, 2009; C. M. Smith & Montgomery, 2007; Yelland, 2011). This was evidenced in the Con's inquiry into contemporary early childhood research. Further, the literature emphasises the importance of integrating children's existing knowledge and life experiences into the classroom context (Edwards, 2005b, 2007; Fleer, 2006). These recommendations pose a few problems for research into extra-curricular ECM classes such as those at the Southtown Con. Firstly, the literature largely deals with long day care or preschool settings, in which educators spend full days, weeks, months and years with children: an invaluable way to come to an understanding of children's life experiences, interests and preferences. In these ECEC settings there is time to undertake creative, exploratory, child-centred music-making. For the Rosellas class, at half an hour a week for 40 weeks a year, the time and space for the teacher to get to know the children and parents intimately is clearly not available. This is not to suggest that Adele has no understanding of the children's preferences–Adele pointed out, for example, that many in the class are “tiger mad”–but this understanding is necessarily limited. In sum, there are structural limitations in moving towards child-centred, play-based learning in an extra-curricular context. (For discussion of Young et al.'s (2006) response to this dilemma, see Chapter 4.)

Secondly, the ECM literature is almost silent on the ways in which teachers must unlearn received modes of teaching in order to embrace the current orthodoxy, although the disjunct between academic theory and practice has been explored in broader music education and ECEC contexts (Edwards, 2005a, 2007; Fleer, 2006; Shively, 2015). In the case of ECM teaching, for which there is no centralised formal training, many teachers do not have the kind of research-based knowledge prevalent in ECEC settings. Moreover, the literature is *certainly*

silent on how parents' expectations play an important role in constructing a class, again partially due to the fact that parents are not present in ECEC settings. While many researchers note the importance of parental involvement in early years music education (Berger, 2003; Koops, 2011, 2012; C. M. Smith & Montgomery, 2007), parents are often construed in a decontextualised scaffolding role (for example see Hornbach, 2007; C. M. Smith & Montgomery, 2007), omitting an analysis of how parents' perceptions, beliefs and life histories also impact upon their children's music education. In the case of the Rosellas class, it seemed to me that Adele and participating parents have arrived at a kind of *equilibrium* within the classroom–whether this equilibrium is serendipitous or negotiated is unclear–in which parental expectations and the teacher's preferred teaching style are largely in harmony. Further, children evidently enjoy themselves immensely, diminishing any motivation to shift teaching styles.

Thirdly, the Rosellas class illustrates that "teacher-led" and "play-based" learning environments need not be opposed; indeed both constitute "elements of a professional philosophy that can be held together because both are necessary to support children's learning" (Thomas, Warren, & deVries, 2011, p. 74). Adele's class is illustrative of the issues surrounding the intentional-teaching/play-based debate. While the class is rigidly structured (Adele commented that she almost never changed the run-sheet of songs and activities within the class), activities are certainly playful within set parameters. Children pretend to be animals, get tickled by their carers, squeal as they run under the parachute and ask for more as carers swing them into the air. Moreover, carers recounted the ways in which children incorporated activities from class into their own play at home, again muddying the boundaries of "artificial" teacher-led scenarios and "natural" play-based scenarios (Thomas et al., 2011).

Conclusion

The above description of the ways in which adult participants of the Rosellas class

construct and perceive their participation is by no means exhaustive. However, salient and recurring themes arose in interview conversations and questionnaire responses. Firstly, both carers and children found the classes fun and enjoyable, and many carers nominated this as a primary reason for their continued involvement. This enjoyment was multi-faceted: the enjoyment a carer felt in watching their child have fun, the intersubjective joy of carer and child engaging in musical activity together, the joy of spending focused, unhindered time together, and the child's joy in "self-making" (Barrett, 2009).

Secondly, carers' past musical experiences and histories informed the way they conceptualised their child's music education, and hence their participation in the class. Negative experiences of seemingly-arbitrary practice routines made some parents wary of perceiving involvement in ECM as the first step towards instrumental lessons. Some felt a strong musical identity which they were keen to share with their children. Others, who had positive experiences of listening to and participating in musical activity, wished their children or grandchildren to develop a similar musical sensibility and appreciation from a young age so that they too could have musically rich lives. To varying degrees, carers also understood the class as linked into their family's musical lives at home. Thirdly, both carers and teacher had stated expectations that the class would be teacher-led and structured. Reasons for this expectation related to specific understandings of toddlers' developmental capabilities, and a belief that quality education implies a structured program. Further, many carers expressed a belief in the value of children learning to participate in a classroom-like environment, especially for those who did not attend preschool or long day care.

The above exploration of adults' constructions of the Rosellas class–their expectations, perceptions, beliefs and behaviours–illuminate some gaps in the current ECM literature. For example, exploration into the emotional and cognitive effects of musical parenting and communicative musicality beyond infancy would be useful. Secondly, parents' reflections indicate that further research into the impact of familial musical histories on children's music

education is needed: while much research has been conducted in this area (see for example Borthwick and Davidson, 2002; Custodero & Johnson-Green, 2003; Custodero & Johnson-Green, 2008; Ilari, 2005; Reeves, 2015), little has attempted to untangle the emotional content of parents' musical memories, or how these memories and experiences shape parents' perceptions of the role of music in their children's lives. Finally, ECM literature which advocates for child-centred, play-based learning rarely addresses the specificity of an extra-curricular ECM context, in which time is limited and carers–who bring with them a preconceived set of expectations–are present. Moreover, it is clear that a binary between teacher-led and play-based learning contexts is artificial in many contexts, and denies the possibility of teacher-led activity facilitating exploratory musical play both within and outside of the classroom.

CHAPTER FOUR

Using Bourdieu as a point of departure, a great deal of research in recent decades has been dedicated to exploring the links between participation in extra-curricular activity, parenting strategies, class position, and social mobility (Bennett et al., 2012; Chin & Phillips, 2004; Irwin & Elley, 2011; Lareau, 2011; Scherger & Savage, 2010; Vincent & Ball, 2007; Vincent & Maxwell, 2015). It is generally accepted that participation in organised cultural and sporting activity is linked to the reproduction of a stratified society. The cultural, educational and social resources participants accrue through their extra-curricular experiences can be mobilised in educational and employment contexts in diverse ways: in "hard" form as specific skills and knowledge, or in "soft" form as character traits such as perseverance, communication skills and a team-work mentality (Vincent & Maxwell, 2015, p. 7). Although most cultural reproduction research has taken place in the USA and England (see above), some researchers have conducted comparative studies across cultures (Ilari, 2013; Kremer-Sadlik, Izqierdo, & Fatigante, 2010) while others have explored parenting strategies in East Asia (Cho, 2015; Han, 2012). It seems that there has been little work undertaken in this area in Australia.

Given the obvious limitations of a small ethnographic study such as this one, my research does not attempt to evidence the links between extra-curricular activity, its educational or economic benefits, and the reproduction of social classes. Nor does it seek to draw comparisons between working class and middle class approaches to music education. Rather, my aim is to explore carers' and teachers' diverse constructions of ECM, and contextualise their participation in ECM through a specific cultural reproduction interpretive frame. In this chapter I firstly seek to identify and analyse the ways in which "parents' expressed cultural logic" (Bennett et al., 2012, p. 132) conforms to, complicates or challenges

existing accounts of the *concerted cultivation* (Lareau, 2011) child-rearing practices of middle class parents. Secondly, I look to the related literature on societal standards of "good parenting" and "good mothering". These standards are both powerfully ingrained and elusive, and while they serve to validate middle class parenting norms, they also exert pressure on all parents, particularly mothers, to meet specific expectations. As Perrier (2013) and Reay (1998b) argue, the affective element of "making up" the middle class child (Vincent & Ball, 2007) must be taken into account, not least to highlight the heavy labour undertaken by mothers to facilitate children's participation in extra-curricular activity. Finally, I analyse the ways in which musical experiences and education are conceived of as a form of cultural capital, both by carers and staff at the Con, and explicate the intricate relationship of cultural to economic capital.

Concerted Cultivation

Cognitive and Social Development. The naturalised middle class approach to parenting, according to Lareau (2011), encompasses an idea that children should be provided with diverse and continual stimuli in order to locate and cultivate personal preferences, as well as to enhance social and cognitive development. Extra-curricular activity is seen as the primary mechanism to broaden children's social spheres: hence, activities such as music are understood to offer value beyond the acquisition of specific skills. Accordingly, in questionnaire responses, only one carer (interestingly the only grandmother in the class) responded to the question "Why do you bring your child to this class?" with purely musical reasons. The majority of mothers referred to the utility of the music class in terms of developing children's social skills, and many expanded on this idea during interviews. Participation in the music class was understood as a way to teach children to respectfully interact with others (through behaviour like turn-taking), and a way to familiarise children with a formal classroom environment. For example, Sally commented:

> I think [it's] good . . . [for] the kids that are not in formal care, 'cause it is that real structure, it's almost classroom kinda structure, and it is interesting to see them at the beginning just “oh Mummy Mummy” because they're not used to that from a day care or preschool or whatever structure, it is interesting that they kind of, they do warm to it and become a little bit independent, I think it's really good for that

After my interview with Grace, she sent me a follow-up email to elaborate on our discussion:

> I touched on the point of the social benefits of music classes–but I have thinking about this more and I reckon that the social skills the children learn in music classes go such a long way to assisting them become well rounded little individuals throughout life. The idea of listening to the teacher, to other students, creating music together and appreciating the benefits of working together–all so important.

Both Sally and Grace project the social benefits of participation in the music class into the future, anticipating that familiarity with a classroom environment and structured interaction with others will help their children become “well rounded little individuals throughout life.” In a related fashion, a few mothers mentioned the confidence their children had gained through the Rosellas class. For example, Belinda said:

> she was really shy, when we first started, and she wouldn't go up and get an instrument, she'd just wait for all the other kids to go and then she'd be last. And now she's, well you've seen her . . . it seems to have helped her confidence

Since the mid-nineties the “Mozart Effect”–the idea that exposure to classical music from a young age is linked to high academic performance–has engendered a sizeable industry in children's musical products and services (Custodero & Johnson-Green, 2003; Young, Davies, & Street, 2006). While the truth content of Mozart Effect ideology is contested (Custodero & Johnson-Green, 2003), its marketing has given rise to a popular connection between music and academic ability in the public imagination. A number of mothers in the Rosellas class cited connections between music and the brain as a benefit of the class. In

specific relation to linguistic development, Jennifer recalled: “[I] always sang, always, I always knew the importance of that for language development.” Renee, in describing her conceptualisation of the class, said: “I guess at the moment I'm looking at it as an activity and a brain stimulation thing for this age.”

Carers of the Rosellas class clearly understand their participation in ECM as a means to develop their children's cognitive, social and emotional capabilities, although this is by no means the only reason for their involvement. Consistent with a concerted cultivation approach, the child is understood as “soft, malleable and able to be developed and improved, with the 'good parent' presenting a myriad of opportunities and support for the child to have a range of learning experiences” (Vincent & Ball, 2007, pp. 1065–1066). Moreover, as described by Lareau, formalised interaction with adults in extra-curricular contexts is seen to endow children with personal resources such as “confidence.” Interaction with adults in an egalitarian environment helps children develop a sense of comfort and entitlement around adults, an advantage in schooling and employment environments (Lareau, 2011; Vincent & Maxwell, 2015). It is worth reiterating here, however, that there are ongoing debates as to whether a concerted cultivation approach is merely a function of financial position, rather than a function of specific middle class values and preferences. That is, some researchers have found that working class parents also express the desire to “concertedly cultivate” their children, but their capacity to do so is severely constrained (Bennett et al., 2012; Chin & Phillips, 2004; Irwin & Elley, 2011). Nevertheless, it is clear that an uneven “social distribution of possibilities” (Wellman in Bennett et al., 2012, p. 132) impacts upon families' opportunities to engage in extra-curricular activity, consequently limiting or enabling opportunities further on in life.

Following Children's Tastes and Preferences. In a comparative study of working and middle class parents' perceptions of extra-curricular activity, Bennett et al (2012) found that parents from both classes valued the social, personal and academic flow-on effects of

their children's extra-curricular participation. However, a key difference between working and middle class parents' expressed cultural logic was the emphasis middle class parents placed on customising their children's opportunities according to preferences and dispositions. In the discourse of carers of the Rosellas class, the idea of locating children's preferences and talents was often prevalent. The young age of Rosellas children meant that such preferences and talents were not yet clearly defined, and hence carers keenly observed and analysed how their children responded to music and other activities. Below Belinda describes her daughter's potential and burgeoning interests in relation to her disposition:

> I would like her to do music in some, at some level, I don't know what . . . she's very energetic so I don't know how she's going to focus on an instrument (laughing) so I don't know how that's going to work out, maybe she'll do dancing or something. We're actually starting a dance class, a movement class on Thursday this week.

Sally recalled observing her son's musical behaviour as an infant:

> I remember when this friend of mine mentioned music I was like “oh yes my son would like that” 'cause I remember when he was like 7 months old, I always just for my own sanity sang songs while I was feeding him, and he would sit in his high chair and he would tap his feet along to the songs, and he would change the beat to go with the songs, and he was actually in tune with it. And like now, at 6, the other morning he woke up, Saturday morning he woke up and he's got a ukelele, and he's like “hey I've worked out how to play Twinkle Twinkle,” like just on one string but he can listen to it and he can get the right note with it, so I look at that and see yeah there is, definitely it's some natural ability.

Partially as a corollary of mothers' wishes to follow and nurture their children's interests, mothers' comments were often imbued with ambivalence. While many expressed a desire for their children to continue on with music education in the form of instrumental tuition, they were quick to qualify that this would only be their case if their children showed

personal interest (Ilari, 2013; Koops, 2011). The following conversation is illustrative of this attitude:

> **Jennifer**: That's my hope is that she'll, that there's an instrument she'll like, and we can follow through on that.
>
> **Miriam**: So you'll take her to the [program where they try lots of different instruments]?
>
> **Jennifer**: I don't know anything about it, I was just playing it by ear, but yeah I am open to all of that and I want her to experience as much music as possible, 'cause it's so good for the brain. Yeah but I'll only do it if she wants to.

Sally expressed her belief that "if [children] actually get to choose and they choose something they enjoy," children's willingness to practise and sense of ownership over their instrument would significantly increase.

The prevalent liberal attitude regarding the importance of individual choice and self-actualisation is at play here. Lareau (2011) argues that middle class children often learn a "robust sense of self-entitlement" (2011, p. 2) as a result of having their desires and preferences constantly met. Of course, this is not to accuse any specific carers of over-pampering or of consciously nurturing a sense of self-entitlement in their children. Rather, as with all analyses of cultural reproduction processes, it is to shed light on quotidian, taken-for-granted ways-of-being which tend the invisible fires of class and culture. Specific socioeconomic locations spawn specific cultural practices and collective embodied dispositions. Such processes are structural and cultural, not personal. On the contrary, generalisable class behaviours are tempered by personal and familial history and experience. Hence, carers' ambivalence around their children's continued music education, and their desire to honour their children's preferences, can also be understood in light of carers' personal negative experiences of instrumental lessons, as discussed in Chapter Three.

The Good Mother

Over recent decades feminist theorists have been concerned with untangling the ways in which discourses of "good parenthood" and in particular "good motherhood" serve to both constrain and enable various modes of child-rearing (Goodwin & Huppatz, 2010; Hays, 1996; Reay, 1998b). Goodwin and Huppatz (2010) characterise the various strains of this scholarship as addressing both the social location of the archetypal good mother (white, heterosexual, middle class), and the ways-of-being that good mother discourse circumscribes (for example, nurturing and selfless). Writers such as Perrier (2013), Reay (1998b), and Lareau and Weininger (2008) have argued that it is overwhelmingly mothers who undertake the unrecognised organisational and emotional labour required to manage children's extra-curricular schedules (Gilding, 1997; Lareau & Weininger, 2008; Uhlmann, 2006). A case-in-point was made during my fieldwork, when one mother commented: "anything structured is our role, [our husbands] reap the benefits when it's fun and the kids can play instruments, then it's their idea." The other two mothers within the group laughed and nodded in agreement.

Perrier puts forward that "whilst middle-class discourses of parenting might be assumed to provide middle-class women with a protected moral status they actually generate more ambivalent moral positions" (2013, p. 657). Moreover, she argues that the standard Bourdieusian analytical toolkit is not equipped to account for the psychological, affective and gendered dimensions of class. In her study of mothers' ambivalent moral identities, she found that her participants were caught between two undesirable mothering constructs: on one side, the pushy, interventionist (middle class) mother, and on the other, the neglectful, disinterested (working class) mother. The coercive presence of these two undesirable mothers was evident, to some extent, in interviews with both carers and staff; however, it was the pushy mother who most obviously played on participants' minds. For example, Adele recounted a story of some parents she had observed at a recent symphony orchestra concert:

> we went to see the [orchestra] on Friday night at Southtown Town Hall, and there was a violinist, and there were a lot of, a certain demographic group with their very small children watching the solo violinist, and I thought, they're all sitting there dressed up to the nines, they're saying, you practise four hours a day and you too will be like that. I mean it should be about the joy of dancing to it and enjoying it.

Here Adele distances herself from the "wrong" kind of middle class parents, perceiving that their overly-zealous attitude is stifling their children's ability to enjoy musical experiences in a more organic manner.

Similarly, a number of mothers expressed ambivalence and concern about finding the right balance of structured, adult-led activity and free play. Jennifer explained that after moving house, she had unenrolled her daughter from a number of activities, with music remaining as their only structured activity. Describing her decision to drop ballet classes, she said: "she liked it but it wasn't, she didn't love it, she preferred the park. I'm not going to be one of those pushy mums with a two year old." Another mother, Cassie, showed uncertainty as to how she would approach the issue of practice with her children, saying:

> my husband's quite musical and definitely wants our kids to definitely do some sort of instrument. So although I won't be pushing it he probably will be . . . It's tricky though 'cause I've sort of said to my husband oh you know, if we have to push push push, is it worth it? But he's like well my mum push pushed me, and I'm grateful, but I don't know, it depends on the . . . the child I guess.

Here the dynamics of the gendered division of labour are foregrounded. While my research did not allow for an understanding of the division of labour within the households of participants, it is not unreasonable to expect that Cassie would be the one to undertake the complex emotional labour of "pushing," just as her husband's mother was the one to push him. In Reay's study of both working and middle class mothers' involvement in their children's schooling, she observes that middle class mothers in particular are "at the front line

of cultural reproduction, investing heavily in time and mental and emotional labour" (1998b, p. 162). While carers of the Rosellas class both described and performed their enjoyment of the class, this enjoyment is made possible by taken-for-granted gendered labour. Moreover, carers connected their current involvement in ECM with potential future instrumental tuition and the attendant stressful emotional labour required to encourage children to practise and maintain enthusiasm.

Young, Davies and Street (2006) speak directly to the prevalence of good parenting discourses in ECM contexts, stating: "we are flagging up our anxieties that music in early childhood may be founded on an ideology which prizes middle class models of parenting and presents them as a norm against which other versions are viewed as deficient" (2006, p. 38). With these anxieties in mind, the researchers ran a series of trial ECM sessions which departed from the usual 30-45 minute structured group lesson, instead offering two hours of both structured and unstructured musical play. Young et al. had observed that modes of ECM provision which were premised on carers assuming a "playmate" role with their children a) often resulted in carers becoming the active participants rather than children, and b) alienated carers from certain social groups for whom the playmate role was not customary. For this reason the researchers purposefully chose to avoid overly playful songs with stylised actions, instead opting for activities in which the carers' role was clearly defined (e.g. pushing their child on a cloth hammock.) The expectation was that carers would feel comfortable to interact with the class in ways that suited them; space was provided for baby-changing, feeding, crying, as well as opportunities for carers to talk amongst themselves.

Certainly ideas of what constituted appropriate parental participation were prevalent at the Southtown Con. Within the Rosellas class, Adele's own experiences as a mother informed her template of appropriate parenting. When I asked about her training in ECM, she responded: "I don't have formal qualifications in early childhood music apart from the fact I have two children and I take my parenting very seriously and I stayed at home with my

children for nine years and did a lot of music with them." While she described the carers and children of the Rosellas class in glowing terms, she offered a comparison to a "crazy baby class" she teaches on another day, saying: "it staggers me that these people need to be told how to parent you know, don't let them run off . . . keep them close to you, make eye contact, and sometimes they've not thought this through." Consistent with Young et al.'s analysis, the role of the enthusiastic playmate was held up as the ideal, with Adele commenting:

> some just come for the sheer joy of it 'cause they want to make music with their children and they're totally involved, totally interactive experience, and those classes are just such a joy to do. 'Cause the parents will crawl on the carpet, the parents just love watching their children develop as little people and little musicians, and then there are the ones who come and sit and think ooh that's the music box ticked.

The quotes above demonstrate a common constructed hierarchy of various modes of parenting. As Perrier (2013) argued, this hierarchy does not conform to a simple middle class/working class dichotomy, but rather demonstrates internal middle class heterogeneity, with some modes of middle class parenting (getting involved and crawling around) positioned favourably over others (box-ticking). However, at times Adele also acknowledged the difficulty of encouraging one's child to conform to socially-normative behaviour, and the attendant pressures placed upon carers:

> I mean my children are teenagers now, but my daughter when I used to bring her, she'd be the one who sat, my son was the one who wouldn't sit. I was very much aware that I didn't want him to disrupt, I used to take him out all the time, I used to have him in headlock half the time, 'cause I was aware that it was disruptive, both to the teacher and to the other parents and students, so I was just always as a parent very mindful of it, I struggle when parents aren't.

It seems that Adele holds other parents to the same standards she applies to her own parenting, hence universalising her own experience and upholding a culturally-specific

approach to child-rearing. After Young et al. (2006), the point of such analysis is not to critique hard-working individual practitioners, but instead to critique the broad contexts in which they work and to explore the ways in which power functions through discourse and the most quotidian of social relations. It is also to illuminate how institutional settings (such as a half hour music class at a Conservatorium) function to constitute and reinforce specific norms and values, simultaneously excluding others (Lareau, 2011).

Musical Cultural Capital and Distinction

In an oft-quoted passage of "Distinction" Bourdieu wrote: "nothing more clearly affirms one's 'class', nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music. This is of course because, by virtue of the rarity of the conditions for acquiring the corresponding dispositions" (2010, p. 10). In the following section I will discuss both the complex ways in which music functions as a marker of distinction within the Rosellas class, as well as the specific conditions within the class for acquiring musical dispositions. With regard to the latter, Bourdieu believed that the rarity of acquiring musical cultural capital (skills, knowledges, embodied dispositions, classificatory codes) could be attributed to the early age at which "domestic, practical acquaintance" (2010, p. 69) with music needed to occur. Bourdieu delineated between the cultural capital of early domestic learners and latecomers, arguing that:

> the embodied cultural capital of the previous generation functions as a sort of advance . . . which, by providing from the outset the example of culture incarnated in familiar models, enables the newcomer to start acquiring the basic elements of the legitimate culture, from the beginning, that is, in the most unconscious and impalpable way. (2010, p. 63)

As discussed in Chapter Three, carers constructed their participation in the ECM class in light of their own musical identities and histories. A number of carers stated that although

they no longer played musical instruments, they still appreciated and valued being able to read and understand music, perceiving musical knowledge as a "useful" and "good" skill in life. While the reason for valuing being able to read or understand music was not made explicit by carers, this orientation was prominent. Sally's comment was characteristic:

> I mean I would like the boys to do an instrument, yeah, I mean I grew up always learning an instrument, I learnt piano and then I learnt flute . . . I don't play it now, but I appreciate being able to read music and recognise music and listen to music and know whether it's being played correctly or whatever, and I do think that it's a good skill to learn

Grace spoke of the way in which her accrued musical knowledge enhanced her participation as an audience member in musical theatre or orchestral performances:

> I like the fact that when I go to see an orchestra play, I know what it feels like to play in an orchestra, and I can understand what the conductor's doing, and I can understand how the different instruments blend together and work and I like that. So I'd kinda like my children to have that knowledge as well

Both Sally and Grace understand musical competence as a resource which has been beneficial throughout their lives, and they wish for their children to attain similar competence and accrue similar benefits. The ability to decipher musical code is valued in-and-of-itself, without recourse to any utilitarian benefit of musical knowledge. Jackie similarly positioned the purpose of music education as providing the tools to comprehend musical experiences, stating: "We need audiences. We need people who know what they're listening to." While processes of cultural reproduction or concerted cultivation are often described in almost clinical, mechanistic terms, the acquisition of cultural capital is often intricately bound up in the pleasure of its acquisition. By "making culture a property of the middle class self" (Skeggs in Vincent & Ball, 2007, p. 1070) children of the Rosellas class are partially acquiring "the ability to enjoy" (Vincent & Ball, 2007, p. 1070). Although framed in abstract

terms, it appears that carers in the Rosellas class perceive musical ability as a marker of distinction, and are keen to provide the necessary conditions for their children to attain technical competence as well as the emotional sensibility to engage in musical experiences. This project is supported institutionally through the Con's ECM program and the beliefs of its coordinator.

An analysis of cultural capital cannot be distinct from an analysis of the institutions or social spaces in which it is attained, cultivated and mobilised. While there are a number of other ECM classes that take place in the Southtown region, the Conservatorium carries weight for its name, its historical connections with the nearby university, its current connection to the Department of Education and the myriad of other musical programs it offers, such as orchestras and instrumental tuition. I asked Jackie how she thought the Con's reputation affected families' decisions to enrol in its programs:

> Yes, it can be a positive and a negative, especially in Southtown . . . there's that working class mentality who wouldn't dream of coming to the Con for their own, because they think it's above them or whatever, and then there are others who will only go to the Conservatorium, because it is the Conservatorium. It's sorta, we've worked really hard to try and get rid of that attitude that we're elitist, because we don't want to be, and we're not, but it can be a very hard perception to knock on the head. There are pockets of Southtown that we just struggle to get parents, and there's the financial side of things too. It's not cheap to come. Music is an add-on in Australian culture, it's not seen as necessary so if they can't afford it that's the first thing to go.

Jackie illuminates the intersection of cultural and financial resources required for families to participate in the Con's programs. She described the efforts the Con's ECM program (under her guidance) had gone to reach beyond a city-based middle class demographic, including running programs in lower socioeconomic towns nearby and taking the ECM program into public schools. However, as Jackie acknowledges, classical music and

its associated institutions have historically been the domain of the upper and middle classes, and this history continues to exert a powerful and divisive force. Jackie's comments show that while the middle class can afford (both culturally and economically) to resource themselves with a musical sensibility, for the working class music is an "add-on" which must compete against more material pressures. Although Jackie describes Australian culture *in total* as denying the importance of music, it is clear that within a stratified society only some have the cultural or economic capital to access this "add-on." This is not to imply that working class people do not have rich musical cultures, but rather that high-status institutions which authorise sanctioned musical activity may be out of their reach.

Discussion

It is clear that diverse resources, practices, values, cultural discourses and identifications permeate all areas of family life (Vincent & Maxwell, 2015), including participation in extra-curricular activity. Following other researchers (Atkinson, 2011; Burke, Emmerich, & Ingram, 2013; Dumais, 2006; Reay, 1998a) Vincent and Maxwell refer to the idea of "familial habitus" to encapsulate the "inherited set of dispositions" (2015, p. 9) which guide families' collective preferences and behaviours. As noted in Chapter One, the Bourdieusian concept of habitus constitutes a useful tool with which to account for the nexus of social structure, cultural discourses and individual dispositions: what Hage calls the internalisation of the external and externalisation of the internal (Hage, 2009). Through an exploration of specific families' orientations towards the world, we can begin to understand the messy, dynamic intertwining of personal preferences, familial history, social structures and discourses.

The carers and staff involved in the Rosellas class variously conformed to and deviated from a logic of concerted cultivation, as outlined by Lareau. On one hand, the music class was valued for the opportunities it afforded children to develop social skills, cognitive

ability and familiarity with a structured, formal classroom context. Further, cultivation of a musical sensibility and set of skills was understood as an important emotional or spiritual resource which would enhance children's lives. In this way, Lareau's characterisation of a dominant middle class parenting strategy of concerted cultivation rang true: children's interests were actively nurtured and developed, and stimulation from an early age was understood as important. The idea of a "well-rounded" child encompassed specific skills (like the ability to understand rhythm), personal dispositions (confidence, respect) and orientations towards the world (the sensibility required to appreciate "good" music).

On the other hand, carers expressed ambivalence towards pushing their children too hard, or overburdening them with too many activities. While they hoped their children would learn a musical instrument or continue their involvement in musical activity, this was universally contingent upon children showing desire and motivation: the children's wishes were key. While a desire to follow children's interests is consistent with a concerted cultivation approach, Lareau characterises middle class parents' lives as marked by a frenetic pace, the result of performing the necessary labour to oversee children's full schedules. She argues that in contemporary society, "the centre of the middle-class home is the calendar" (Lareau, 2011, p.63). To the contrary, a number of study participants stated that they actively fought against impossibly busy schedules. Renee's comment is characteristic: "I don't know if we'll do [music] again for her... because she's really taken to dancing as well and [we] don't really want to do the whole 'let's get in everything and spend all our money and time being crazy crazy busy.'" Further, many predicted that they would find future negotiations over instrumental practice fraught and emotionally taxing, and hence were not convinced that their children would necessarily continue on with music education. However, the specificity of the young age of children in the Rosellas class may imply that greater time pressures are yet to come, as school-work begins to compete with extra-curricular activity. It is also worth hypothesising that the Australian educational landscape, in which university entry is largely

based on academic grades, provides less of an incentive for parents to “develop” a child tailored to tertiary entry specifications. This is opposed to the American university system in which extra-curricular involvement is highly valued.

Lareau demonstrates the importance of critiquing how societal norms are upheld in institutions, showing that “cultural practices in the home pay off in settings outside the home,” and that “institutional standards give some people an advantage over others” (2011, p.257). Of course, the Con is a far less powerful or pervasive institution than say, a public school. Nonetheless it features in some families' lives, not just as a site for music education but as a place in which dominant ideas and discourses around parenting and music education are constructed, upheld and negotiated. As Young et al. (2006) usefully highlight, both the form and content of many ECM classes unwittingly cater to specific parenting styles, and this was certainly the case at the Con. On the part of staff, templates of “good parenting” were used to depict the ideal class. At times, mothers were caught between an aversion to being too pushy and an aversion to being too lax. Hence, the institution of the Con can be understood as a site of negotiation over definitions of good parenting, with specific versions of good parenting carrying far more historical and cultural weight than others. Further, despite Jackie's egalitarian and democratising efforts, she acknowledged that the historical and cultural weight of the Con still held sway over people's perceptions of what a Conservatorium-based education entailed.

In positioning involvement in music education as part of a strategy of concerted cultivation, the links between financial and cultural capital become clear. Carers who themselves held musical cultural capital valued their knowledge, sensibility and skill, and hence wished to facilitate their children's own opportunities to acquire musical competence. The value of music appreciation was expressed in abstract terms, understood as worthwhile and beneficial in-and-of-itself. Others who did not have the necessary musical experience to aid their children's music education hoped the class would fulfil that role. While the half hour

ECM class itself is comparatively inexpensive at $11.50 per session, when placed in the context of continuing music education–longer ECM sessions for preschoolers and individual instrumental tuition–the financial commitment becomes evident. Hence, part of many carers' ambivalence towards their children continuing music education, and their desire to ensure that their children had an active interest in learning an instrument before beginning lessons, related to a concern that their money would not go to waste. Families' varying portfolios of cultural and financial resources placed them differentially in relation to the Rosellas class and the Con even before commencing their involvement.

While the structure of this thesis positions the analyses in Chapter Three and Four as distinct, I understand them as deeply interconnected. If the insights of cultural reproduction theory are to be taken seriously, one cannot answer a question such as “how do adults construct their participation in an ECM class?” without considering the entire spectrum of motivating factors, from expressed individual preferences and personal history to broad structural patterns and discourses. Indeed, perhaps a better research question would have been “how do adults construct their participation in an ECM class, and how is it constructed for them?” Despite its shortcomings (such as its lack of resources to deal with emotional and gendered labour, affect and psychology), the Bourdieusian toolkit allows us to move beyond a dichotomised structure/agency distinction and account for the dynamic, mutually constituting relationship between the two.

Accordingly, carers' and staff members' expressed logic in relation to their participation in ECM (as discussed in Chapter Three) is intimately linked to how that logic is positioned in social space (as discussed in the current chapter). This acknowledgement is particularly important in terms of making recommendations for future ECM practice and research. To date, most studies of ECM classes have remained circumscribed at a decontextualised local level, addressing themes such as the pedagogical content of specific

programs (Custodero & St. John, 2007; A. P. Smith, 2011) and ways in which children learn (Bartel & Cameron, 2007; C. M. Smith & Montgomery, 2007; Suthers & Niland, 2007). The majority of these studies take for granted that carers and children are participants in the class, without any exploration of the diverse factors which motivate them to initially participate, or of how their expectations and perceptions affect their continued involvement.

To understand and act upon the diverse reasons behind families' participation in ECM programs would not only mean constructing more relevant content, but indeed contemplating radical overhauls of contemporary forms of provision. (To be clear, this is not to suggest that Adele and other staff at the Con do not deliver relevant content: indeed they deliver content which meets carers' expectations and which offers joyful musical experiences for both children and carers.) As Young et al. (2006) show, even an acknowledgement of the cultural specificity of the parental "play mate" role can affect both the songs and activities chosen for class, and the mode of delivery. Longer sessions could allow for clearly delineated "structured" and "unstructured" time, meaning diverse modes of parenting and diverse dispositions of children could be catered to. Of course, funding is a huge, often insurmountable issue, especially if the goal of reorienting ECM programs is to make them more accessible. Further, Young et al. did not come to any decisive conclusions as to whether their trial ECM sessions combatted some of the ingrained barriers to participation within ECM provision. Nonetheless, a nuanced understanding of the intersection of families' perceptions of ECM and the social dynamics in which these exist makes way for critical reflection on current practice.

Acknowledging the cultural and historical specificity of a concerted cultivation approach to parenting constitutes a challenge to the idea that early cognitive and social stimulation in formalised environments is the only "good" way in which to bring up a child. While there is a general scientific consensus that the first few years of one's life are a time of extraordinary growth and development, this scientific consensus quickly gives way to

powerful moralising discourses which circumscribe “best practice” child-rearing strategies (Gillies, 2005; Lareau, 2011; Perrier, 2013). In a stratified society, divided by vastly disparate distributions of financial, cultural and social capital in vastly differentiated playing fields, the ability to follow the advice of the experts is restrained by one's social position and resources (Lareau, 2011). While the following comment may appear to go against my own self-preservation as a working ECM teacher, it is therefore important for ECM research to avoid implying that participation in formalised ECM is a necessary part of a program of good parenting.

Implications for Further Research & Concluding Thoughts

This research was designed to address a number of gaps in the existing ECM and cultural reproduction literature, as well as offer a marriage between the two. However, there are still many gaps remaining, not least the lack of children's perspectives. Other than Chin and Phillips' (2004) exploration of children's agency in relation to American summer camp participation, children's voices are sorely lacking in the cultural reproduction literature on parenting strategies and extra-curricular activity. As Corsaro argues, Bourdieusian reproductive theory privileges analyses of socialisation and developmental outcomes at the expense of illuminating “children's actual experiences and participation in family life” (Corsaro, 2015, p. 89). While Corsaro accepts the utility of such frameworks in elucidating causes of inequality, he does not accept that a reproductive framework can account for children's agency, even taking into account concepts such as habitus. A research agenda which combines the insights of reproductive theory alongside a constructivist emphasis on childhood agency would be a welcome addition to studies of extra-curricular activity. In the field of ECM in particular, creative methodological approaches could be mobilised to understand both children's constructions of their musical lives (for example, see Campbell, 2012) as well as their involvement in family practices regarding music education and activity.

To extend and strengthen the findings of this study, two different kinds of comparative study would prove useful. The first speaks to debates around whether parenting strategies stem from values and practices specific to the various social classes, or from differential access to financial and time resources (Bennett et al., 2012; Chin & Phillips, 2004; Irwin & Elley, 2011). I do not see these two positions as necessarily distinct: indeed I believe one of Bourdieu's most important insights is his illumination of the inextricable relationship between the material, the ideological and the cultural. However, a comparative study between the children of poor, working class, middle class and upper class families (or any other taxonomy relating to social position) and their perceptions of ECM would serve to foreground differences and similarities in families' cultural repertoires with regards to music education. This kind of work is inherently messy and divisive, with no clear-cut answers regarding how cultural, social and financial resources flow into one another. Nonetheless, these stories are worth being told, not least as an argument for far greater public support for creative arts programs.

The second comparative study would involve the explication of the specificity of *musical* extra-curricular activity over other activity, for example sports or drama. This might involve interviewing similar groups of carers and children on their relationship to disparate extra-curricular activities, or analysing how cultural and social capital accrued through disparate activities “pays off” in schooling or employment contexts. As Vincent and Maxwell (2015) state, orchestral music demands higher levels of time, cultural and economic resources than perhaps any other activity, and holds a high status position in society. Conversely, while sport is also a high status activity in Australia, its cultural connotations are far more aligned with the working class than with the middle or upper classes. In sum it would be useful to look deeper into the detail of programs of concerted cultivation, asking how the cultural and social capital accrued through participation in diverse activities might be deployed in various institutional and informal contexts.

It feels like an old and tired point to make, but its enduring relevance means it must be repeated over and over: income and wealth inequality in Australia is widening, while funds for social services and public education are diminishing (Australian Council of Social Service, 2015). Education and cultural participation are increasingly subject to a user-pays logic, while employers require increasingly higher tertiary qualifications of their employees, ensuring only those with qualifications and powerful social networks can access well-paid jobs with stable conditions. Sweeping structural statements such as these may appear to bear little relevance to a fun, low-stakes weekly music class for toddlers. However, the prevalent characterisation of Australian society as a classless meritocracy foregrounds the necessity of work which exposes and untangles unquestioned daily mechanisms of cultural reproduction. This kind of work must identify the "processes through which class resources get reconfigured as the result of individual preferences and choices" (Perrier, 2013, p. 657). As Lareau argues, "Bourdieu's work provides a dynamic model of structural inequality; it enables researchers to capture "moments" of cultural and social reproduction" (2011, p.363). This, to some small extent, is what I hope to have done through this research project.

As always with naturalistic inquiry and ethnography, a key concern of this project has been to do justice to participants' meaningful and affective relationships to their daily practices while simultaneously offering critical reflection on how those practices and relationships are situated in social space. Regarding the first aim of this project, through an exploration of adults' beliefs, perceptions, values and expectations relating to ECM, I found that participants explained their involvement in the Rosellas class in diverse ways. Carers almost universally valued the class for the joy it afforded them and their children, and for the opportunities for bonding it provided. The educative benefits of participation were frequently mentioned, both in terms of acquiring specific musical skills and competence, and in terms of preparing children for the structured, social nature of school learning. Carers positioned their

children's music education in relation to their own musical experiences, histories and identities, and some made use of repertoire from class during the week. Others saw the class as a reasonably isolated weekly experience which did not impact much upon their day-to-day lives.

The current chapter has sought to respond to the second aim of this project, employing various facets of a cultural reproduction framework in relation to adults' constructions of ECM, in order to “make the world visible in a different way” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 4). This Bourdieu-inspired framework is just one of many interpretive approaches with the capacity to shed new light on the phenomenon of ECM, contextualising its existence, popularity and role in family life. Through a mobilisation of the theories, concepts and methodological tools of diverse disciplines such as sociology and anthropology, ECM researchers and practitioners can arrive at a more thorough understanding of the social structures, processes and discourses in which ECM is positioned. Moreover, critical reflection on such insights may lead to a contextually-responsive and diversified ECM practice.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1.1: Questionnaire questions carers

1. What is your name?
2. What is your age? (circle one)
   [16-25] [26-35] [36-45] [46-55] [56-65] [66-75] [76+]
3. Where do you live? (Just the suburb is fine)
4. How would you describe your ethnicity/cultural background?
5. What is your occupation?
6. What is your yearly income? (Brackets based on ATO tax categories)
   [0-$18,200] [$18,201-$37,000] [$37,002-$80,000] [$80,001-$180,000] [$180,001 and over]
7. What is your partner's yearly income?
   [0-$18,200] [$18,201-$37,000] [$37,002-$80,000] [$80,001-$180,000] [$180,001 and over]
9. Are you a single parent, co-parent, or other?
10. Do you or anyone else in your household play a musical instrument/sing on a regular basis? How would you describe the role of music in your family's life?
11. When did you start bringing your child to ECM classes?
12. Have you done any other music classes apart from this one? (If so, please specify)
13. Why do you bring your child to this class?
14. Do you do any other extra-curricular activities, with this child or others? (If so, please specify)
15. Do you sing songs from class during the week? If so, how often?
16. What do you think your child likes best about the class?
17. What do you like best about the class?
18. Where do you see your child's musical journey in the future?

Appendix 1.2: Guiding questions for semi-structured interviews with staff

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. How long have you been teaching ECM?
4. How did you come to be an ECM teacher? Are you trained in or influenced by any particular approach (Kodály/Orff etc)?
5. Do you program your own classes? If so, how do you go about programming classes? What are all the factors you take into consideration?
6. How much room do you leave for flexibility within class? To what extent do you follow children's/parents' lead in class? If possible, can you describe circumstances in which you have altered the class's direction in response to children or parents?
7. What do you think parents are looking for in an ECM class?
8. Describe what you think is best for children/what children like best in an ECM class. How have you come to your opinion?
9. What are the biggest challenges of being an ECM teacher?
10. What are the biggest rewards?
11. Do you think the ECM industry should have overarching policy/curriculum frameworks? More centralisation/standardisation?

Appendix 1.3: Guiding questions for semi-structured interviews with carers

1. Why did you initially decide to start ECM classes?
2. If you have a continuing involvement in this class, why did you decide to stay?
3. Is this the first ECM class you've participated in? If not, please tell me about the other class/es and what you liked/didn't like about them?
4. How do you think this class benefits your child?
5. How does this class benefit you as the parent/carer?
6. How do you see your child's musical involvement and education continuing?
7. What do you look for in an ECM class? If this has changed since your initial involvement in ECM, please explain.
8. Do you think it's important to immerse children in music and/or other extra-curricular activities from a young age?
9. How does the class impact upon you and your family during the week? E.g. do you sing the songs and do the activities from the class? Does your child have favourite songs from class?
10. How do you think about musical ability? (E.g. is it a natural gift? Something anyone can work hard at?)
11. How would you describe your own musical confidence?
12. How do you use music at home with your children? (E.g. lullabies, packing-away songs....)
13. What are your expectations of the class? (e.g. What do you expect from the teacher? What do you expect from the experience of participation? What do you hope to get out of the class?)

Appendix 2.1: Jackie Interview Transcript

N.B. Some text has been omitted or replaced in interview transcripts in order to protect the privacy of participants.

Miriam	Obviously there's a big gap in this research because the kids obviously have a really important role in creating the class as well, but it's a year-long thesis and studying the role of the children as well would take it to a whole other level. I don't want you to think that I thought the kids were just passive actors in the class.
Jackie	I must say I was interested in why you were focusing on parents and not children, especially when you talk about that interacting thing, 'cause as you can see that's a big part of what we do, and we had a big shift from when the program first developed, there was a big shift away from the music concept-learning idea to playing, and letting the kids explore, and letting them understand music through doing, just mucking in kinda thing, a bit like with the artwork and that kinda stuff. So that's become a lot more of a focus over time. But you're right, parents vary wildly in their, and you can hear it on the phone, the kind of questions they ask, what sort of things they're interested in. Some can only come on that time, that day, and they can't be flexible to suit the child kinda thing, it's about them. And others just want the best thing for their child, like "I really like this teacher I want that teacher, and I'm going to change everything to get that teacher" 'cause they like that approach. It's a pity you're only going to see one teacher because part of my philosophy is always to have a broad spectrum of teachers with different approaches, and where I can I do sometimes channel them, depending on what I think the parent wants. I might channel them towards a particular teacher, probably more as they get older, than the younger ages, but yeah the different teachers do have very different approaches, and different ways of being involved in the music. As you know, or maybe you don't know, there's no actual training in early childhood music education. I've got teachers who've come from early childhood, I've got teachers who've come from high school teaching, primary school teaching, teachers who've just come from playing an instrument and loved it, and have brought their kids to the program and have thought, mmm I can do this, so they've all come from really different, wildly different backgrounds, and experiences, and so some of them are strong on working with children, some of them are strong on their music, some of them are strong on all of that, and that's really interesting for me to manage. And to try and fill in the holes if needs be. But it does impact on how they run their classes and what they do, and you know with some of them... and you know they're all sensitive souls, which makes sense 'cause they want to work with children and they're working with music, so I need to be very careful with how I help them and their classes. With Amanda she's come through, she was a nurse originally but she plays clarinet, so she's come through from not having any education as such–she has two children–and so it's just been an interest of hers. And so there've been a few holes that we've both recognised, so helping her fill in those holes and get her singing so that she's singing at a pitch that suits them rather than what suits her, those sorts of things... So that's been really interesting. On the other side of that she's got a great rapport with kids and the kids just love her.

	There's that balance between what you do... she focuses on mostly working with the really little ones, and that's what I've found, over the years, the strong teachers with the kids haven't necessarily been amazing musicians, and I don't care, to a certain extent, but they've had a great rapport with the kids, and the parents have known that, so they've been absolutely addicted to being with that teacher 'cause their child loves them, going off into a tangent here, but as I said, they can be really sensitive people...
Miriam	Would you be able to just explain your history of involvement in early childhood music?
Jackie	I was at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music doing the Bachelor of Music Education, which is high school music, and my lecturer Richard Gill was approached by my old piano teacher who had started an early childhood program and she had worked for a long time in Japan, and had worked in the Suzuki system, and saw what was happening with the little kids, and wanted to introduce something like that in [this region] where she was based. And so, she called it pre-music literacy, which I thought was really interesting, and is really interesting... she started them from 3 or 4, so we didn't start the babies program until later. It was about learning to read rhythms and playing rhythms and lots of singing, so it was fairly structured, but a big part of her premise was parental involvement, and that's been a real forte.
Miriam	Is that something from Suzuki?
Jackie	Yes it is
Miriam	Oh yeah I remember from... I learnt Suzuki violin.
Jackie	It's very much about having the parent in the class with you. So she started that program and there was a lot of interest in it, so she contacted Richard to see if there was somebody else, and he suggested that I come down and do it, so I started teaching that program on my off days from uni sorta thing.
Miriam	So while you were still a student?
Jackie	While I was still a student, so I really didn't have any idea what I was doing you know. Not that she'd remember, but there's an old student around here... there's a couple I've met over the years and it's really interesting the things that they remember, so some of them remember us going out onto the grass with ribbons and dancing around with ribbons, and some of them remember making a maypole, and some of them remember my balloon pants, it's really interesting what they remember. Quite a few of them have gone on to become musicians, whatever that means, it's just they're the ones I suppose I've connected with it. But it is interesting to see how many of them now are starting to bring their kids back, they went through the program and now they're starting to bring their children. So that was my beginning, and once I graduated I went off and taught in high schools for a couple of years, and thought this is madness, compared to working with kids
Miriam	Take me back to the 3 year olds!
Jackie	That's right, so I gradually started going back. So I started working in primary schools, working as a music teacher, and was peripatetic, just working in various schools doing bits and pieces of music, and then travelled a lot, got a scholarship to do some music education training in England, and did some work there, and was really fascinated to see, how actually far behind they were. So stuff that we were

	doing was much more radical than what they were doing there. They were just blown out by stuff I was doing, and I was like, well this is just normal, this is what we do
Miriam	In what way?
Jackie	Well at the Sydney Con I was trained in Eurythmics, which is the music and movement stuff, and Richard Gill is big on the Orff as well, and I always loved movement stuff, so a lot of my music teaching was through movement and rhythm. That's a big love of mine as well. That's where my focus was and in England the program that I did was very much about singing, about singing accurately and sight-singing, and I was just like "woah, this is really interesting. When I came back I started developing all those sorts of things, and the program was being directed at that stage by another high school-trained teacher, she was fairly, pretty much about the literacy side of things as well, and then I took over part time coordinating and we decided to do a real revamp of the program, by that time I'd started to introduce toddlers classes.
Miriam	Approximately what year are we talking about/how long ago?
Jackie	Starting the toddlers' class?
Miriam	Yeah and revamping the program
Jackie	Oh ok, the toddlers we started, now that's gonna get me, probably ten years ago, because we got interest, people saying "oh do you have classes for babies?" and now we're down to ones and twos. And I'm regularly getting parents wanting classes for babies, so I started one last term for babies, and I'm starting one this term too for babies. There's just the interest. Sort of based around that... we also got funding to look at the research into early childhood education in general and music more specifically if there was anything (which there wasn't a lot), we employed someone to look into that area of things. Now that was mostly for the later stage, the preschool age, preschool through to school age. The big finding was that it's very much about play, you know it's not about being prescriptive, it's about letting them explore. With the toddlers it's still, there's still obviously the exploration thing too, but our belief has really been to give parents ideas of things that they can do at home with their child, so give them resources, give them materials and songs and things that they can do, show them how they can adapt them to different situations in the home, so that they're not just doing music for half an hour, it becomes part of their day. When they get to the preschool program, it's about the children exploring the music themselves so that they find out that if you hit the drum with this stick it sounds like that and if you hit it with this it sounds like that. They're actually exploring it themselves, working out, learning about the concepts themselves
Miriam	Do lots of kids who start from a young age continue through the different stages?
Jackie	Quite a few do, that's been a bit of a problem. When they started, when we had just the compact program they tended to go right through, but I think it might be the parents who get tired...
Miriam	Lot's of repetition...
Jackie	Yeah well just coming week after week... and the financial side of things too, it's quite depressed here, and it becomes more expensive as they do the longer classes. The toddler classes are quite cheap for the half an hour, but when they're coming for an hour things change, also they end up having another child or whatever, and

	that becomes more expensive. So we introduced free child-minding for parents so they could focus on their child in the class, and the siblings were... we wanted to keep that philosophy going of that child-parent interaction. So we've got free child-minding here. Where was I?
Miriam	Whether the kids continue on...
Jackie	They usually continue through the preschool, and then there's a bit of a slump. So that's my dilemma, what we can do about that. Once they start school, it has to become an afternoon class, or a Saturday morning class, and the kids are exhausted. You know the term starts in January which is summer so they're even more exhausted. So we've been moving things around, I allow some, I give parents the option of taking Term 1 off while they kids are starting school and they come in Term 2 or even Term 4, and finishing off the [preschool] part of the program. And now I'm realising that I need to really encourage the next stage, which we developed maybe 15 years ago, probably more than that, 20 years ago. Which is where they spend a year trying a whole range of different instruments, they spend three weeks on cello, three weeks on violin, three weeks on clarinet, percussion, piano, speech and drama, harp, brass, a whole range of instruments to get an instrument that hopefully suits them. There's been quite a lot of research done on that, matching personality and physical makeup and intellect and all that. We've got a consultant who's very interested in looking at that side of things who started the program, and he's passed that on to his sort-of protege. We give them a huge questionnaire about their child, ask them lots of questions about their emotional, intellectual, physiological development and then she analyses that information and then we get together at the end of the year with the child and the parent and the teacher and the consultant and mull that information together and hopefully come up with something that suits them. So it's a really fantastic program
Miriam	Yeah I've never heard of anything like that
Jackie	It's unique, and it's something that we need to be encouraging more, there was a bit of a slump where we had a change in management and that area, there wasn't a belief in it, and that area sort of lost its momentum. And now that we've had a change I'm sorta going, nuh, this is what we really need to being doing. So obviously that's only really for people who are interested in having their children continue music, and not all of them do. And that's probably the answer to your question, there's quite a big cohort of parents who when the kids are young they want to be doing everything, a bit of everything of whatever, and as they get a bit older they go ok, music's not really my thing, we're gonna go off and do gym or ballet or sport or whatever. So we lose quite a few through that, and the one's who stay are the ones who do want their children to start learning an instrument. So you know, we try to sell the program to both–this is for your child's general interest in music but we can also give you this option as well. And that's tricky because parent's think Conservatorium, it's only going to be about finding the best, and we say no no no it's not, there's potential for that but that's not just what we do. So yeah it's a big world.
Miriam	I was actually going to ask you–its kinda just a tangential question–but I was wondering if you get a sense of how people relate to this program as something that's connected to, like that's part of a Conservatorium and connected to a university, do you think people feel that there's something more prestigious about coming to this program over another one because of its connection to the

	Conservatorium?
Jackie	So we used to be more involved with the uni but we're not now, we don't really relate ourselves to the uni at all. They used to give us some funding but as they lost their funding that's kind of gone away, to a a certain extent. But I know we're trying to redevelop that in different ways, like in partnerships with the [new early childhood centre] thing, so that our names are connected through that. Yes, it can be a positive and a negative, especially in Southtown, because there's not classes, but there's that working class mentality who wouldn't dream of coming to the Con for their own, because they think it's above them or whatever, and then there are others who will only go to the Conservatorium, because it is the Conservatorium. It's sorta, we've worked really hard to try and get rid of that attitude that we're elitist, because we don't want to be, and we're not, but it can be a very hard perception to knock on the head. There are pockets of Southtown that we just struggle to get parents. And there's the financial side of things too. It's not cheap to come. Music is an add on in Australian culture, it's not seen as necessary so if they can't afford it that's the first thing to go, that's what we quite often hear, "oh we really want to continue but we can't afford to," and if they're having more children and with [a big resources company] struggling and things like that. There's lots of answers to that.... But it's less so, and I'm happy to say that too, that it seems to be less of an attitude now. And I try to get out, we're doing an expo that's down in an area that's fairly low, low socioeconomic area, we try to get out and do workshops and be involved in their fairs and festivals and things, so that they see that we're there and doing stuff as well. We do get a few people out of that, it's just an ongoing thing.
Miriam	I noticed on the website that you have the Department of Education and Training, or whatever it's called now, logo somewhere on the Conservatorium website–is there any funding arrangement with the DET, or is the ECM program fully funded by parents paying?
Jackie	The Conservatorium as a whole gets some funding through DET yep. And the last director tried really hard–I'll just say bye to Sandra if that's alright–she's a teacher I'd like you to see, anyway. We can maybe do something about that, 'cause she's here on a Wednesday as well. So the Con as a whole gets funding from the DET, a lot of it's about going out and working in schools, the band programs and things, I've also got an ECM-in-schools program, again funding can be a problem. But it's about getting teachers into schools and working with the teachers to help them to feel more confident about teaching music in schools. That's something that we've been working on as well over the years, and the education training funding is a big part of that. But ECM is pretty much self funded, yup. We're a not-for-profit organisation.
Miriam	So many questions.... so I guess you kinda just touched on this, so could you just describe the demographic of people who come, obviously there's probably a broad range, but if you could make any generalisations, and why do you think people come, and what are they looking for in the program?
Jackie	The demographic is people who can afford to come, you know, that seems to be the bottom dollar, I suppose. There's a lot of people who would like to come and who do come for a while and then can't afford to, as I said before, can't afford to stay. And that's unfortunate but that's just the reality of it. I mean my dream would be that it would be available to anybody. We get lots of–bit tangential again–we get

	lots of grandparents who pay for their children to do music. And that is about them really wanting their grandchild to have access to music and a lot of the time they can sense that they think their child's not getting what they think that they should be getting
Miriam	And they come to the class as well?
Jackie	Yup, quite often. We love grandparents, we really love grandparents, they're fan*tastic*, because they're down to earth, they're grounded, they're a great bunch of people. So there's quite a few grandparents who pay for their grandchildren to come, it might be a Christmas present or whatever, which I think is really lovely. And they can come from right across the spectrum, they might be struggling financially or they might be well educated and aware of the importance of it, and they can be both if you know what I mean. We do have a payment plan for people who are struggling, and we do advertise–do we advertise that?–yeah we do, we advertise that, so I think also a bit of the problem is the location, so quite often the people who might not be able to afford, or might be able to afford but don't have transport, 'cause it's not easy to get here, so that can be a problem. I've had people who would come up on the train and would walk up with their child, or catch a taxi up, or the uni bus and walk across, so I'm aware of that situation, that it's not that easy to get to public transport-wise, and that can be a reason why they stop. And it can be a reason why they stop at school as well, it's just that much harder to do. But year it's across the board, I can't say that it's only the rich who come, which I'm really happy about. It is a limitation, and in the past we've had classes down in [talks about Con-run classes in five different nearby areas] I think that there was a lot of initial interest but everyone's so heavily mortgaged that again it's an add on, unless it's seen as really important it goes. They lasted a while, they lasted three or four years in [nearby town], [another nearby town] was quite well, that's a quite high socioeconomic area, it was quite popular, but we just found that, it's an older demographic, so there weren't many young kids, which was why we moved it to [the first town], thinking, all those young families, but they couldn't necessarily afford it. [A third nearby town] was a great program, but we had financial problems, we just had to pull everything together unfortunately. But they are starting there own program down there now, which is really fantastic, and we've been supporting them to do that, in fact two of them are coming up next week, so I can talk them through the [year of trying out different instruments] part of the program so they can get that started down there as well which is really fantastic. Similar thing in [third nearby town] as well, it was a range of people who were interested, people who were struggling financially but were really committed to music for their child so they'd stick at it, and there's now down there a couple of fairly well-off schools and they do a lot of music as well, so we were losing people to those programs. And that's another thing that happens up here, that once they start school some of the schools have music and have strong music programs, and so parents just stick to those programs, not so much the state schools of course but some of them do have really great programs. And then we've got a couple of expensive schools who have very good music programs from a young age, so we lose those as well. Although some of them do come and do the [year of trying out instruments] program, because they see the benefits of that.
Miriam	So when you say that parents or grandparents can see the importance of music for their kid or their grandchild, how do you think they think about that importance of music, do you think it's because they see their kid dancing around at home, do they

	think “oh my child obviously really loves music,” or do they just have an idea that music's important for everyone, or...
Jackie	Both, some of them come from the conceptual and others, most of the calls are "my kid loves music, my kid loves to dance, my kid loves singing, I want to do some music with them" so it comes from the children which is great, really nice. Both are nice, if you've got that concept that music is good, that's really nice as well, so we get both, which is amazing. Probably with the younger parents it's coming from the children, and with the older parents or the older people it's more conceptual, that music is necessary, and they see that it's not happening in the preschools or in the schools or whatever.
Miriam	And do you think that any parents come for, obviously probably most of them would at least partially come for some music-related reason to a music program, but do you think there are other reasons, like wanting to connect with other parents, or just wanting activities to do 'cause their kids are bored at home...
Jackie	There's a bit of that, some of them will do music for a term and then they'll go and do swimming, or they'll pull out the music because they're doing swimming "oh we're doing swimming this term" so I do get that a bit. It's about filling in the child's day. What was the other thing I was going to say? The connection thing, I think that that becomes a reason they stay, so we've got quite a few cohorts of parents whose children have started as toddlers and they've come through and they want to stick together "I want to be in such and such's class" when I'm doing the timetabling for the next year, on their application form. "I want to be with bla bla bla and bla bla bla" and that can be about the child but it can also be about the parent. Quite often in the grounds here they'll go off and have a picnic together after class. I don't know how often it starts from that point, but quite a few people bring their friends, they'll start doing their music and then they'll tell their friends and their friends want to join the same class. Quite often sisters or siblings will bring their kids together, that's obviously a connecting thing as well, they want to do it with their friends, and playgroup parents will come together, so that's a bit of both I would think, obviously they like each other's company as well as the kids liking each other.
Miriam	I think in my work, 'cause we do baby classes, 6 months to 1 year, I think that's when I most see the parent anxiety
Jackie	“I need to get outta here!”
Miriam	"I need to talk to other people about whether their baby's sleeping," and the “I need to get outta here” thing as well, but I think I've observed as they get older, they get their routine and their confidence so there's less of a need to...
Jackie	Yeah that's a good point, you'll see at the end of the ramp there, at the end of the class there's very often three or four or five parents standing around chatting, the kids are running around, and they're just chatting, I don' know what they're talking about. Obviously there's a social thing there as well, there's no need to get home to get to anything, which is fantastic, I love that, that music's started that, and they've become a group on their own, it's really sweet. So yeah, we don't have them from six months, just for the logistics of it we start them from 1 year of age, so usually it's from February, but then with these babies classes, they need to have turned one by Term 2, just to try and limit it a bit, I've only got two rooms and teachers only available on particular days. I've got six different teachers working with that age group, and other teachers who work with older kids, so it's a nice variety.

Miriam	Sounds like an awesome program
Jackie	Pardon?
Miriam	Sounds like a really awesome program, I guess very established and well thought out.
Jackie	Yes, and developed and evolved as the needs have. As I said we just started with the primary and the preschool, and then there was the demand for the toddlers and we all went “aaaaah I'm not teaching that!” And we've got teachers who focus on the four to fives and teachers who focus on the one to twos and they just like that, and then there's others who don't care, they'll teach the whole range
Miriam	Maybe I'll come back to that question because you've kinda already covered most of that... So do you program other people's classes, or do the teachers program their own?
Jackie	The teachers program their own. That's been one of those questions, what do we do here? I have worked in programmed classes in Sydney, worked for music programs where you teach this this week, you teach this that week, you must teach these songs and I just went nuh! I hated it and I was really bad it, you know I think I'm a good music teacher but I couldn't do it, just hated it. So my philosophy has been to let teachers teach what they feel comfortable doing and to guide them, so we have meetings where we share resources, so if someone... well we used to have them every term but that's for various reasons moved a bit, whenever we can we get together and share songs and games and things like that, email stuff to each other "uh found this great resource," share things around, so there is some commonality, generally they do what they want to do. We've collected together songs and stuff from various resources and just stuck them together and give them out to teachers when they start. So yeah. That's how we do it. The whole idea of writing our own program to me feels a bit like reinventing the wheel, there's lots of great stuff out there and I can't see the point, to a big extent, and also I've found, from looking at different programs, they can be really restrictive, if you've got one composer, then it's really hard for a composer, you know, you've got some amazing composers, but it's really hard for them to get variety across different styles, they do become a bit same after a while. So I think it's better for the kids, I think it's better for the teachers if they just have access to a whole range of different resources, so we provide a resource library of materials that they can use
Miriam	Ok, and do they each show you the program?
Jackie	Nuh, I don't even do that. I tend to do it a bit more subtly, you know I'll, if I'm getting feedback from parents that concerns me or whatever I might go in and sit in on the lesson, or I might talk to parents that I know about what's happening, and I talk to the teachers about what they're doing and get an idea of what's happening. It's a pretty stable cohort now, I pretty much know what they're doing. When new teachers come in, I try to train them up a bit by getting them to observe all the different teachers so they get a bit of an idea of different styles, they don't have to be one way or another, and that's really fantastic, the best teaching I reckon, the best training, and then I get them to do a demonstration lesson for me, and I'll assess that and talk to them about what they've done and then I'll, once they've got started I'll go in and observe them after four weeks or so, and then I might go and observe them after a couple of terms and see how they're going, but as I say, more subtly

Miriam	So a kid in one class might actually have a really different experience, obviously the teacher is different but they're also not following any...
Jackie	That's right, yeah, and that's why I would like you to see different teachers 'cause it's not one program. I have had pressure over the years from directors, "you know we need a program, we need something we can sell," from all different angles and stuff, and I've fought it tooth and nail, saying no no no, we need to keep it fluid. 'Cause resources change too, there are new resources all the time, so if you're being pedantic about what happens then everyone's missing out. The teachers are missing out, the kids are missing out, things don't grow.
Miriam	So how do you program your own classes, what kind of things do you consider?
Jackie	I only teach the [year of trying different instruments] stage now, but ok, when I was doing it, I'd do it conceptually, from what music concept I was wanting to teach and look at resources to suit that age group. So I use stuff that I've used for 20 years and I use new stuff and I use everything in between. Some of the teachers work thematically, so they'll have a theme for a term, especially with the young children, so one of the things might be the body, another one might be transport, another one might be the seasons, and they'll throw in lots of songs and games and activities based around that. And we've found that especially with the three to fours and the older toddlers, that can be good, 'cause it gives them momentum, instead of thinking ok, now what'll I do. And it gives the parents a sense of progression as well.
Miriam	So when you were programming, and also when you were in the classroom with the little ones, what other things were you thinking about apart from just what concepts you wanted to teach, as in, would you think about potentially like, which songs kids would have the most fun with and which songs parents would connect with, all those extra-musical things...
Jackie	So with my classes I will always try to have a variety in each class, so I'll lhave singing I'll have dancing I'll have free movement, I'll have playing instruments, I'll have listening 'cause kids learn in different ways, all based around whatever concept it is, so that's probably the way I think. And then I might have two or three different concepts happening at the same time, so we might be thinking about beat versus rhythm. So with the the twos and threes it's the turn taking they're working on, we'll do that in lots of different ways. That's what I say to the early childhood trainer teachers too, is to try and have a variety so you're not just singing all the time, or you're not just banging a drum all the time but you're trying a variety of different activities. You can be doing the same song in four or five different ways, listening to it, you know, playing different instruments, dancing to it, moving to it or whatever. You can expand one resource and use it lots of different ways. Did that answer your question/make sense?
Miriam	Yeah I think so
Jackie	And as part of that, one of those angles is the creativity side, always giving them a chance to explore that concept for themselves. With the preschool program we start off, since this revamp thing, with this idea of “corners,” and so in the corners, for however long, might be 10 minutes, might be 5 minutes, might be 15 minutes, we set up corners where they can go and explore whatever it is they're exploring, whether it's a music concept or whatever, by themselves, or with their parent, or with me, with their friend, however they want to do it. We call it free play. It's sort of, it's organised in that you've decided what goes in those corners, but I would

	usually have a movement corner and an instrument corner and a listening corner and something else, a performing corner for example, where they get to perform a little song to the teddy bears who are sitting there or whatever. That was a really lovely thing for all of us. A really opening thing for us to go, “aaah, right, we actually don't have to be the centre of attention here for the whole time,” which is lovely you know. And also you get so much out of it, you find out so much about the kids, you find out how much more complex their thinking is, you go, wow, I hadn't though of doing it that way, and that will inform your next lesson, you'll say "last week bla did bla bla bla, let's do that together," you know, that sort of thing. It was just magic, I just loved it, it was a really fun thing to do, and it is a really fun thing to do. With the older kids I just incorporated it in the lessons somehow. For example when you do [the year of trying different instruments], we're doing clarinet at the moment, I've introduced them to the clarinet and they just have a free little play and see what noises they come up with, what they can get working, so it just becomes part of the lesson rather than this 10 minutes of free play. And that's what most of the teachers are finding, that they introduce that early in–this is in the preschool/Kindy section–they might do that through a term of the dedicated free play, and it gradually just becomes part of the lesson. But it's something that you actually have to think about incorporating, I think because you think teaching means leading, and it doesn't, it means assisting them to find for themselves
Miriam	So are the parents there in the preschool classes?
Jackie	Yup they're there all the way through. When we first started introducing the free play we had to educate the parents, the child is leading this, they can go where they want, if they want to stay in that corner for 15 minutes that's fine, if they want to flit around that's fine too, you can either just sit there and watch them or you can go with them and talk to them about what they're doing, or share it with them. I said it's totally up to you. But then I would supervise that to a certain extent, so if I thought a parent was being demanding or overbearing I might pull them away and let the child just do it on their own. Or suggest to them "hey let bla bla bla find that for themselves, show you something." Educating the parents is a big part of the program, and as Adele just broached with you, some of them are like "No you play it like this!" you know, and can be a bit... and it can be based from fear, it can be just from wanting to do the right thing, having this sense that music must be right. A big part is educating them to let them go a bit...
Miriam	Seems so important, I get the sense that here, and probably at other Conservatorium-based programs where there's probably a more stable member base, there's that kinda time to have that emphasis on educating the parents. I think with a lot of the more commercial-based programs, like the one that I teach, I think because it's just–not just–but it's seen as just one activity that parents can do amongst many, they don't really have the, I feel like there's not the commitment to stay on and have the time to develop that kind of process in class. And I was just thinking about letting the kids have time to have free play, and obviously I'm not a very experienced early childhood music teacher, I've only been doing it for two years, but it's something I've really discovered, I think that when I first started I thought I'd just sing the songs really quickly, no breaks in between, go on to the next song, just race through it, and now I've discovered that if I leave space, the kids will come up with something and we'll follow that. But often I feel like there's a tension between the parents become a bit uncomfortable if you're like, “let's make a river with these scarves for ten minutes,” the parents are like, is the class moving

	somewhere?
Jackie	It's a big part, letting parents know, and talking over the kids to let the parents know that that's what you're doing, say "we're just doing this so that we can see what comes from them" or a short little sentence that just tells the parents why you're doing what you're doing can be really helpful. And sometimes, so I do a welcome to the ECM program letter for the parents, and some of that stuff is articulated, but not hugely so. So I pretty much leave that to the teachers, again 'cause some of them do it more than others, and I think you might find... well Amanda's is a subtle thing, but you might find that she's a little more prescriptive, she's the focus, than say Sandra, but Sandra's working with older kids. I think I would like you to see the different teachers so you can see that that's not the only way we do it, and I'm not saying that there's anything wrong AT ALL with Adele's approach, she's great, but there are different approaches
Miriam	For sure.
Jackie	Sandra's a high school-trained teacher but has been working with this age group for years and years and years, she's a very talented and gentle musician, and it's all about the music, the music's just completely imbued in the whole experience, so yeah it would be nice for you to see. And she's here on a Wednesday so maybe if you want to, maybe even next week, that'd be a good lesson for you to see if you don't mind, just to see, it's great to see different teachers doing different stuff. And then on Saturday I've got two different teachers again, so one's a young guy who's training to be a high school music teacher as well, he's just a bundle of energy, just fantastic, and I *love* having guy teachers. It's hard to keep them but they're really great, and the other one is a dreamy pianist composer but utterly gorgeous and she does a lot of her own music, writes music for them and finds stuff really left of centre music-wise, works very differently again, yeah it's just great.
Miriam	When you said before that sometimes you got, like you subtly monitor their classes sometimes through feedback from parents, how does that feedback process work, like do people just come here and have a little chat with you about their experience in class?
Jackie	Yup or email me, or ring. Or I just find out, someone's cancelled and I try to get the office staff to find out why they've cancelled, or I'll send them email saying “Really sorry to hear, hope there were no problems with the class, let me know if there was, if there's anything that maybe I could change, or maybe we could try another teacher or whatever,” so I usually try to get feedback if people leave
Miriam	And what kind of feedback, are there any patterns in feedback that you get, can you describe any of the feedback, both good and bad and in between?
Jackie	Depends on the teacher. Most of it's positive, most of it will be "oh look we really loved the classes it's just preschool's changed" or whatever. But others, some of them don't like the manicness of some teachers, some people don't like the calmness of other teachers, you know, they're really different. Some people don't get the way a teacher's working, don't understand the process, and so that's, for me that's about letting the teacher know to inform the parents a bit more. Sometimes it's they can't... what are some of the other responses? A couple of them they've thought the teacher was working beyond the level of the child, so that for me is *ding ding ding * talk to the teacher, and in one of those situations I spoke to the teacher and she said “oh wow, I've been trying so hard to keep it at that level, and last year I got that I was keeping it too simple, so what do I do?” So it's getting that

	balance. And also, again, you don't know where the parent's coming from, you don't know if they've been to a really prescriptive program, or they've been trained as a musician, you don't know the whole story and you can't pry too much. So, usually I just say “how about I come along to a couple of classes and see what you're doing, see if I think that you're not over-reaching them or whatever,” and they're usually fine about that.
Miriam	It's hard if you've got lots of different kids in the class will have lots of different abilities as well
Jackie	Exactly! And there's the prima donna parents who just think their child should be able to do everything, and when they see that oh well ok, actually my child can't, then they'll blame the teacher, and it's like, “well actually...” Or “my child won't sit still, you can't expect children at this age to sit still,” and I'm like “if you look around the class you'll see that most of them are, it's just your child...” So we've got conversations about particular parents or families who've gone through the system who've been troublesome, because their parents have not been supportive in the best way for the child's sake. So that can be hard. And either I let them go or I'll try them with a different teacher, see if that works, or talk them through what they're doing, what the teacher's trying to do, what the aim of it is, and see if that makes a difference. But it can be hard 'cause we've had times where, for example with Amanda, where there was a cohort of parents who they all just got together, and sounds like they were just bitching about what was happening, and it got her down, and probably affected her class as well, and of course the kids, if the parents are sitting there like that (crosses arms and rolls eyes) the kids are going, “oh right ok I'm not supposed to be enjoying this,” there's all of that as well. And that just becomes vicious and not very nice, not a lot you can do about that, except try and move them on, and some of them, just let them go
Miriam	That's pretty harsh
Jackie	Yeah it is hard, yeah expectations. And result expectation, you know some parents really want, are really disappointed when they're not learning an instrument at 3 or 2
Miriam	Yeah I wanted to ask you about that
Jackie	Yeah there's a few who come like that, and usually they've come from the office and they've asked about learning an instrument and the office have worked out that the child's 2½ or 3 and say "uh well we've actually got another program for children rar rar rar" and then the office pass them down to me and then I just have to do the big spiel you know: "It's not so important to learn an instrument at this age, and what they can learn in a year at age 2 can take them two weeks at age 5 or 6 because their coordination, their physical coordination, intonation, they can read, all those kinds of things.” After all these years I can usually talk them round, and they usually see the benefits of it. But you do have, especially some cultures, that's what they expect, that that's what you do, if you're doing music you're learning an instrument. But I can usually talk them round, they usually eventually see “ok yeah we don't actually have to learn an instrument.” And then over time after they've realised they're really grateful "ooh this is just wonderful" you know. Because they also get the socialising side of things and they understand that that's important too, because that's a cultural thing too. So it sort of works out really nicely. It's a beautiful world to work in, we're very lucky
Miriam	And it's not antithetical to learning an instrument either, it's providing pretty

	valuable skills
Jackie	Absolutely, and that's what I say, so the sharing, the turn taking, the listening to each other, the working together as a class, are all skills that will help them when, if they ever get to be a violinist in an orchestra, they need to be able to do all those things, so it's all beneficial, it's all part of learning, and also they're getting the beat and the rhythm and the pitch and all those concepts, they're getting them into their body which will help them when they start to learn the instrument, that's why I say music's such a big thing, for me anyway, getting them moving will help them you know, it'll help them to be in time, at the piano or on the instrument or whatever it is that they're doing. And they usually get that, understand that, once they're told
Miriam	Yeah I have some violin students that I always ask to "sing it out loud, then sing it in your head, then play it", and they're like "I don't want to sing."
Jackie	I know it's sad isn't it, it's really sad, and we say that to the parents as well you know, a lot of these, and I do it with the uni students too, I get them to try and remember any nursery rhymes, and a lot of this generation don't have that knowledge, and that's a cultural thing you know, if you can't all start singing Incy Wincy Spider together, how sad is that! Or some sort of song that we should know. It's really sad that we've lost that thing, so I ask the teachers to make sure that they're introducing those nursery rhymes and things so the kids have got those as a historical thing as much as anything, and then if they do go to a different school or a different class or whatever, they know the songs, it's really important.
Miriam	Yeah for sure. Um...
Jackie	These days it's the Wiggles, or whatever
Miriam	Oh the Wiggles! Or Frozen, do you have Frozen?
Jackie	Oh Frozen! Well we tend, that's been a bit of a thing with me too, that we tend not to do the current sort of stuff because they're getting that so much at home anyway. So we move away from that, you know if the child comes in dressed as whatever her name is
Miriam	Elsa
Jackie	Yeah, that's fine and good and if she wants to sing her Elsa song that's fine, go for it, but it doesn't become a focus, 'cause it's there, it's out there, they don't need that.
Miriam	I tried to learn, I did learn the chorus from that song, “Let it Go” from Frozen, and I sang it, 'cause I work in a daycare as a music teacher one day a week, and I sang it to some of the girls who always dress as Elsa, and they were kind of happy about it, but they were like "it doesn't go like that, we have to start at the beginning, it goes like this" and I was like “I can't learn the whole song”
Jackie	That's exactly right, unless you do it exactly the same, you might as well not do it, just sort of “huh, what are you doing? That's not the song, that's not how it goes!” So it's like, huh, why bother. They can go home and press play and get that
Miriam	What do you think are the biggest challenges of being involved in early childhood music?
Jackie	Blimey. From which perspective?As a coordinator as a teacher? They're very different
Miriam	Maybe you could have an opinion of both

Jackie	(jokingly) Right, how much time do we have? The biggest challenge, I've sort of spoken a bit about it, the cultural thing, that music's not important, that really bugs me, that music is not necessarily seen as important for anybody. Not just children, for anybody. Or it's not seen as important as something to learn, so that's one. That it's seen as elitist, that only talented people can do it, that bugs me, because that can be really limiting, it limits the child, it limits the parent, it limits their involvement in music. It bugs me that there's so much music out there that's not good, because it gets in the way of the good stuff I suppose, to a certain extent. And by that I don't, I'm not talking about any style or whatever, it's just if people hear, it's more about the muzak thing, that there's music all the time, so it just becomes whatever, it's not seen as important, that can be a problem I think, that mass thing. You know, playing it in elevators and stuff like that, it's like no, or, what they play in the elevators, the crappy non-music sorta stuff. But that's not early childhood
Miriam	No it's still related!
Jackie	Yeah it is because it affects their...
Miriam	Can I follow up what you just said before? So how do you try to convince people, or how do you have conversations with people about why music is important, or why you don't need to be "talented," what's your response to people?
Jackie	Depends on where it's come from, but I usually relate it to things like art, like especially if we're talking about kids. With visual arts you give them colours, and you give them a piece of paper, and you give them a paint brush or whatever, and you let them go for it. And music's the same, music should be the same, music should be about letting them explore what sound is: "Ok let's do it quietly, let's do it loudly, let's do it fast, let's do it slow" all that sort of stuff. That's one thing that I try to get out of people's heads, that music is for everybody, it's been around for a long time and there's a reason for that, because everybody relates to it, can relate to it. I also.. I can go into so much depth, because I'm a trained music therapist as well, so the fact that music can get in where other things don't get in, people can express themselves through music where they can't express themselves through language, or through movement or whatever. Music uses lots, the whole brain, it doesn't just use the mathematical aspects or the artistic, it combines both, you've got to have a sense of form, and you can have a sense of creativity and you can work the two together, so it involves the whole brain it uses the whole brain, it develops the whole brain, so there's that brain stuff, there's the emotional connection that you can make with music that even if you don't know what you're hearing... and I usually relate it to them, I say well "do you like music? Do you know anything about music? No. Do you like music? Yes. Well mmmm?" So do kids! They need to be exposed to it from, the earlier the better, so they don't feel like you do, you know "Oh I was never good at piano," and so ok well, let them start young so that it might not be piano, and that's what I say to them, when we get up to the [year of trying different instruments] stage, you know, lots of parents, are a bit panicked, although usually if they've come through the program they've relaxed by then, but if they're a bit panicked about it I'll say well, this is why we've developed the program, because too many people learnt piano because there was one in the house, or leant violin because grandpa had one, and it wasn't the right instrument for them, they are two of the hardest instruments to learn, you don't need to learn an instrument that's too hard, learn an instrument that will give you a great response, and that will feel nice for you to play, and you don't have to be, a Stradivarius, you're just doing it for your own pleasure, you don't have to be performer. But the

	other thing I say to them–you started it!–the other thing I say to them is that we need audiences. We need people who know what they're listening to, and know whether it's good or not, and that's what I was saying that thing about good and bad music. If they're not educated to know that this is interesting music, and it's not just going "duh duh duh duh," they can see that there's colour in it, they can see that there's love in it, they can see that the person's put some of themselves into the music, and they'll only understand that if they understand what makes up music, and to do that, you know, you do any educating from as young as possible, that's when they're most open to this stuff. And you can also, with early... again another bug thing, a whirl of mine, is introducing kids to *lots* of different kinds of music so they don't get to age 7 and "eew that's weird I don't want to listen to that kinda music," they've heard music from Africa, they've heard music from China, they've heard you know all the different kinds of music and it's just music, it's not good bad or indifferent, you might not like it but it's music
Miriam	So do you encourage the teachers to try and include things from lots of different cultures?
Jackie	So that's probably the one thing that when we have those meetings, that's usually what I bring, a song from a different country or different culture 'cause they can struggle with that too. They're getting better at it, they're much more open to it now. So yup I'm constantly finding songs from different countries and different cultures, different rhythms and different harmonies
Miriam	You don't happen to have one of those staff meetings coming up do you?
Jackie	Well I actually ended up cancelling the last one we were going to have just before the end of term, and um, we could probably try and organise now
Miriam	Oh no, don't especially organise one, it was just if you were going to have one, it would be interesting
Jackie	Yeah sure, would be, for your own teaching too! Get some resources, which is fair enough. No this term's a bit busy so I haven't really thought about doing that for this term, but I might do it later, I'll let you know if we do.
Miriam	I think I've got two more questions, are you right for time?
Jackie	Mmmm
Miriam	Well you just said before that sometimes you felt like parents were a bit panicked for certain reasons, do you feel like you get a sense from lots of parents that they're quite worried about whether they're doing the right thing for their kids? Ok obviously parenting is stressful in itself, I'm not a parent but I understand that, but that parents kind of see their child as something they're accountable for so they're quite stressed about it a lot of the time? That's kind of a really leading question. Ok let me phrase it like this. Does that sense of panic, do you feel it often, or is it just kinda occasionally that you get that from parents?
Jackie	Um, yes I do, it's not that common, but if it comes out it's usually quite strong. I think by the time they've decided to come here then they know they're doing the right thing, so they've got through that stage, but, having said that, once you do put them in the situation and you know, the parents are involved in the class... Ok, so panic not for their own sake but for the child's sake... No I think most of them have resolved it then, that they know that it's good for their child by the time they come, if you know what I mean, so I don't see that so much. But I do get, I do get parents

	who are anxious about kids getting it right, doing it right. So that's probably a bit of what you're saying. And usually I have to say to the parents back off, you know, just let them try, especially something like clarinet or whatever, you've got parents going (mimes pressing fingers forcefully down on keys) and it's like no, I want to see how they do it themselves, whether they've got the coordination. I say I don't care whether they can or can't, and I've told them that from the beginning of the year, it's not about how good or bad, it's about what suits them, and it's one of the reasons why we started, we used to do [the year of trying different instruments] from Kindergarten but now they can't do it until they're in at least Year 1 at school, 'cause they are going to fail on some instruments because it doesn't suit them
Miriam	Or they have tiny lungs
Jackie	Yeah yeah that's right. Or not the coordination yet. And so the parents, the kids and the parents, will see that their child's failing on that instrument, and I can tell the parents "ok well they're not failing bla bla bla" but the kids will see it as a failure, especially because, being music, if they're drawn to music they're going to have a sensitive soul anyway, and quite often they're perfectionists, and so they will be criticising themselves, so we don't want that, we don't want them to get turned off music because they can't get their fingers around something or other, so that's one reason why we wait until they're at least in Year 1, so they've got a little bit of that understanding that it's not them, it's the instrument's fault, we say that all the time, it's the instruments fault, it's not your fault, it's not you, it's the instrument. So that's really important because it can be a bit scary, and with the parents trying to do that, trying to get them to get it right, and they're wanting to do it because they want their child to do well, but they've got the wrong idea there, and I do have to pull some parents' heads in.
Miriam	Do you ever get negative reactions when you try and pull parents' heads in, in any context?
Jackie	Generally not no, you know, it's how you do it. No generally they understand I think, that's one of the problems with being the coordinator, if it's me that's doing it then they've got no one to complain to! If I'm thinking of other situations with different teachers, there was one parent who thought that her child was being victimised by the teacher, and so I tried to talk the parent through that, then I talked to the teacher, then I went and observed the class, and went back to the parent and you know, it was a situation of a child who was allowed to do whatever they wanted to, and what do you say, you know. So they just stormed off, didn't come back, not much you can do about that. So, but generally they're pretty good, they understand where we're coming from, and I see that as my job, to try to help people realise where we're coming from, they might not like it, that's ok, there's lots of music classes around they can go to. Um, so, generally yeah, I sort of pride myself on that, getting them to understand where we're coming from, and that it's not personal, and that yeah, I mean I remember when I first started teaching, there was a little girl who whenever she sang it was like this (poses in opera singer stance), and I found out that she used to watch a lot of opera with her mother, and her mother was a very big imposing woman, and she was Russian, and had done some singing herself, and so they watched lots of videos of this, but the child was terrified of doing anything in from of her mum just of doing the wrong thing, the child's 4, and eventually I suggested to the mum, I can't believe I did it really, that she sit outside or wait outside, stand outside, and it was in a different–it was in one of the rooms down there where we used to do it, and I said, how about you stand

	and watch the class from here, and the child did everything, completely participated, and the mum just wanted the best for the child, and had been trying to get her to do stuff, and the kid was just terrified of getting things wrong, and the mum was devastated, and you know I'm an 18 year old student going my god, this is psychology 101. I just had to say it to her, you know, she sort of brought it up herself, “I think she's a bit scared of me” and I said (sheepish) “I think you're right!” And that's really sad you know, really sad, I still get goosebumps thinking about that story, and that's really sad, so I don't want that to happen. I had a bit of that with one of my classes with a friend who's bringing her son, and I had to do a similar sort of thing, not walk out but just "sit Kate, just watch what he's doing and don't get involved, just see what he's doing and encourage him, say that's great that's really cool!" and let me do it. Usually it works. And it's a good learning thing for them as well. She's probably a good example of that anxiety thing, wanting the best for her child and so trying to encourage him and trying to help him to get it right or whatever, and just making him RARRRR, he ranted, he yelled at her, cried and carried on, it was like oh God! And she was embarrassed 'cause it was in front of the other parents. That was a failing on my part, I didn't get there early enough, but sometimes you can't see it, can't catch it
Miriam	Yeah I think that's something that I'm often worried about, 'cause I think a lot of parents are quite sensitive about their parenting style as well, which I think is really understandable, because parenting is under scrutiny a lot everywhere, and you don't want to play into that, and imply that they're doing something wrong, but you still want to be able to have some input into how the class could run
Jackie	And it's a big part of teaching here, and it's a big part of training the teachers, training the teachers and getting them to understand that too, and um, what I say to my classes when I start is, um, with disciplining things, this again is with the slightly older kids, saying “please let me do any disciplining that might need to happen, let me be in control to a large extent,” I say “if you're not happy with what I'm doing come and talk to me, let me know, but let me be the one who does it so you don't have to do it, so you can relax.” And also so the focus is on me when I need it to be, otherwise it's "rar rar rar you should be doing..." and I'm trying to say something and it's like "arrgghh will you stop talking to your child," you know I want them to listen to me. I do make that really clear from the beginning, from that side of things, and I don't use the word discipline but I say if there's any problems or there are things happening please let me be in control to a great extent, and if you're not happy with what I'm doing let me know. That seems to work pretty well, you sometimes have to reinforce it, it's tough. And that stuff that Adele was saying about sitting back and chatting arrgghh, we all feel like that, it's like don't do it. But I'll usually just say to the child, "bla bla bla can you get mummy to come, she's having a bit of a chat, can you get mummy to come and join in,” and so sometimes I just go “rar” if they're really annoying you know, doesn't really happen that often, anymore, but it can, they just get relaxed, but I've usually got them too involved for them to have the chance to do that. But you know, young parents, well it's not even young parents, but parents coming that are doing lots of activities, there's different expectations in the different activities, so they're not quite sure
Miriam	And if they're going to something like Gymbaroo
Jackie	Yeah where it's sit back and have a coffee, so yeah we do have to train the parents to know, we actually do it this way, we want you to be involved. That's part of that welcome letter, so they do know that

Miriam	So my last written question, although there may be some tangents. You kinda touched on this before, but do you think that early childhood music should, in Australia, be more centralised, or have more professional–I think I know your answer to the more professional development opportunities is probably yes–but yeah in terms of common curricula or, tertiary training, or what do you think should be the state of early childhood music?
Jackie	Are we talking about ideal world or what's actually happening... to fit in with what's happening? I mean in the ideal world all early childhood teachers should feel like they are competent to use music in their centres, in any way that they want, not just to have a half hour music session, but to burst into song when they see a rainbow, or they're playing in the garden and someone clicks a stick, or clicks two rocks together "ah listen to that!" That's the idea, I'd love for all the early childhood people to feel confident enough to turn anything into music, at any time at the drop of hat
Miriam	So that doesn't seem to imply that there needs to be any like, tertiary early childhood music program
Jackie	Yes it does! Definitely! they need to be confident to do that
Miriam	So that needs to be the thrust of a program
Jackie	They need to be trained in how to use music in lots of different ways, and that's training yeah, because it's about unlearning to a certain extent, it's about unlearning what they think music is, and learning about what it actually is, and how it can be used and how it can be manipulated and developed, or whatever. So I think the training needs to be much stronger, much longer, I mean they do one semester of music in early childhood, they can do it as an elective but...
Miriam	I think at Macquarie it's not even specifically music, it might be like “Creative Arts”
Jackie	Yeah that's the other thing that drives me nuts! Now I'm combining with the Vis Arts tutor and it's like “Arrgghh I don't wanna do that!" So I fought that one like crazy and I got away with it, like, we were supposed to do the first session together and I'm going No! I just want to do music! Yeah anyway. So yeah I think dedicated music and dedicated art, I'm not saying art's lesser, just dedicated art, dedicated music, dedicated dance or whatever should be compulsory right through their program so that they do feel confident.
Miriam	So what do you think of the utility of like the, different Kodály, Dalcroze and Orff trainings, do you encourage your teachers to do those, or how do you relate to that kind of training?
Jackie	Yup I think they've all got their benefits, they've all got good things in them, they've all got negatives. So I call my method the Jackie method because I do, we use a bit of Kodály, we use Orff, we use Suzuki, we use Dalcroze, we use, I use a bit of all of those 'cause I understand them all and yeah I definitely encourage teachers to look into those different areas. We've gone as a bunch to do Kodály workshops together and stuff, and come away and talked about what we did and what we liked and what we didn't like. I don't expect them to use just Kodály stuff, and I don't them to use just Dalcroze or whatever. But they've all got nice concepts, or nice direction, but some of them you know, it's like anything, anything has to swing to an extreme to get exposure, and then it has to come back to a balance so it can be used in the real world. So Kodály worked really well in Hungary because

	they were using their folk songs, so that was the music that they knew, and that was the culture, it was a strongly singing culture, and the rhythm was very strong in the culture anyway. So it has great benefits but there's lots of other stuff that kids here need to get as well
Miriam	Awesome, thank you so much for sharing so many of your wonderful thoughts with me. Um, did you have anything else you, just any thoughts you wanted
Jackie	Not really, I sort of blurbed it all out at you. I mean I might, you might walk away and I'll go oh! I forgot to mention bla bla
Miriam	I'll probably read through it and think oh I want to ask about that! and that!
Jackie	Yeah no that's fine, feel free to do that. So I'll be around for you to do that any time. Oh no I think the more information the better. And this research is really important. That's why I was asking you about the interaction thing, no I think that angle's going to be great, really interesting.
Miriam	Cool. Um so just, how long have you, I know you said you started when you were 18 and then went off and did other things and then came back, how long have you actually been firstly a coordinator and then a teacher here?
Jackie	I don't know, I should work it out. I've been coordinator 12 years? When I first started I was sharing it, then I took it on myself, maybe 12 years? I'm just trying to think of boyfriends... you know how you do it. Times in your life. So yeah, 12 years probably, and I was doing it a bit before that, but then I've been teaching it for 30 years probably, on and off.
Miriam	And doing music therapy at the same time?
Jackie	No music therapy happened 'cause I got sacked, by someone who didn't understand what was going on, so a friend of mine who was a music therapist said you need to do this course, 'cause you do music therapy anyway
Miriam	Is that the Penrith Nordoff-Robbins one?
Jackie	Yup so I went off and did that, so that was only six years ago or so, so that was quite new, and that was a mind-blowing opening adventure, loved it. Yup. And got my Masters and got the Dean's Medal and all this sort of stuff and it was like what? me? academic? I don't think so! But I think just having that age and that view made it a lot easier for me to do in lots of ways. Loved it, and then the guy who sacked me got sacked and they asked me to come back. I don't do a lot of music therapy at the moment
Miriam	Except for in an everyday context)
Jackie	Oh I use it all the time! I use it in my choir, I use it in all my classes, I use it with parents, yeah it's totally...
Miriam	It can be applied to lots of different areas
Jackie	Yeah it's helped in everything I do, it helps with my boyfriend: "Don't you do your music therapy on me!" It just helps on life you know, I'm caring for my elderly father you know and even there, even though he's going deaf we still talk music and do stuff, dance together and sing together. No it's huge, big big world, beautiful world, I recommend it, lovely world. And I've been working with, well I have one client I've been working with for 10 years, she's coming today, so yeah that's been a really interesting journey to see, follow her. I've worked mostly with kids with autism, in music therapy, but that's another world.

Appendix 2.2: Adele Interview Transcript

Miriam	Ok well can you just for the record, can you please say your name and how old you are?
Adele	My name is Adele and I'm 50
Miriam	Do you have a preferred pseudonym that I would use for you in the study?
Adele	Just use my name, I really don't mind, I don't need to be anonymous
Miriam	Alright I'll make up a pseudonym for you. Ok, can you tell me about your history of being an early childhood music teacher, how long you've been doing it for and whatever form of training, if you've done any
Adele	This is my second career. When I left school, I'd always played the clarinet, I started playing the clarinet when I was ten, I'd always enjoyed a really full music education with lots of extra-curricular band and clarinet, choir and, we had a very musical school so that was great. And then I trained to be, I started training to be a nurse when I was 18 and didn't really play at all and then I had a career in nursing for 14 years and then I had 9 years off to have my children, 'cause I chose to stay at home which I loved very much, and then thought what on earth am I going to go back and do? And thought, what else can I do? So I started playing again, started having lessons again, started having theory lessons as well, did my Grade 8, did Grade 5 theory, and then when my son started school, my second child started school I did a course here which no longer exists, a diploma course and they were looking for teachers
Miriam	So a diploma of early childhood music?
Adele	It was just a music...
Miriam	Like music for, just general music education?
Adele	It was a general music... So I don't have formal qualifications in early childhood music apart from the fact I have two children and I take my parenting very seriously and I stayed at home with my children for nine years and did a lot of music with them, so I'm a musician and, that's it really. So I've been doing this for, since, when did [my son] start school? For eight years, I've been doing this for eight years.
Miriam	Is the first early childhood music class you've taught, is this the only setting you've taught in?
Adele	Yup, for the Conservatorium. I taught at [nearby town] as well, they used to have a sort of, tributary sort of, an outreach sort of post at [nearby town], I used to do the classes down there as well. Which wasn't great 'cause you weren't tied into the Con, but then those ceased to be and I got more and more... it was just sort of gradual, even though I'm not formally trained as a teacher I've had a lot of mentoring from Jackie and, and I sat in a lot of people's classes and had a lot of... before I was allowed to teach alone.
Miriam	Well it's not like there is an early childhood music course you could do even if you wanted to
Adele	Well there isn't no. And I mean, I'm sure I did make a lot of, I've changed very much the way I teach just through experience and knowing what works and what doesn't work. And knowing what worked with my kids and what didn't work. And

	we have a curriculum to follow and I buy a lot of resources myself and do a lot of reading myself, and... what I haven't had from formal education I've made a huge effort. I use a British syllabus which is their kindergarten/preschool syllabus, I use that for my, I dig deep into that for my...
Miriam	So is that a nationwide British curriculum?
Adele	It's the national, it's in line with the national curriculum, you know, key stage. Just for ideas and things.
Miriam	So when you say you did a lot of music with your children at home, what kind of stuff would that be?
Adele	We did a lot of singing, you know, I made sure–I'm not a pianist which I find very frustrating–but you know I bought a lot of CDs and we did a lot of singing, always had music on in the car. Because I didn't know, I knew lots of nursery rhymes and things but I didn't know what current music was available so I bought lots of music and we always sang in the car. And we went to Gymbaroo, I took them to Gymbaroo, and I took them to music, not here 'cause I wasn't keen on the childminding at the time, but we did a music class locally with both of them.
Miriam	So, why do you think the parents come to music? And how do you get an understanding of why you think they come?
Adele	I think they come for a variety of reasons. We do certainly have, um, we certainly have a demographic and if we get a parent who to me appears outside that demographic it's quite unusual. Sometimes we have really really young parents and they're just brilliant you know, they don't seem to have, they're not ticking boxes because it's there, it's something they want to do. There are certainly some middle-class box tickers, but I think a lot of them don't have confidence to sing. My voice is far from perfect, but they don' t seem to have the confidence to do anything like that with their own kids at home and they're quite happy for me to do it. And I have to really encourage them to take part, that it's not me, 'cause I've had this, I am getting better at this as the years go on, you have parents who will bring their child and think I'm going to entertain them for the next half hour, three quarters of an hour, an hour, I mean it doesn't matter too much when they're 5, but I expect, I've told them, I expect you to interact and your child will have a *much* better musical experience if you're taking part too and I've had some that just don't, and will sit and talk, which drives me slightly crazy. [hard to hear] I have, you know, I plan meticulously and maybe some parents feel it should be a little looser, but I just think for me, I think small children cope with just short sharp, with boundaries, and "this is what we're doing now, we're *not* playing xylophones now, we're playing castanets." And I'm looking to the parents to reinforce what I'm suggesting. And if mummy's playing the castanets as well or mummy's looking interested and thinks it's *fabulous* what you're doing they're much more likely to, rather than when they think mummy's not interested, has a chat with the neighbour, and the child goes and sits on the chair. And I'm going "so and so, can you come and join mummy?" Anyway. As I say I think you've got some who are just–oh you weren't here–some just come for the sheer joy of it 'cause they want to make music with their children and they're totally involved, totally interactive experience, and those classes are just such a joy to do. 'cause the parents will crawl on the carpet, the parents just love watching their children develop as little people and little musicians, and then there are the ones who come and sit and think ooh that's the music box kicked. And then they'll rush along to Little Kickers and then they go on to Gymbaroo and tick all the

	boxes.
Miriam	So when do you have those kind of... like if you're encouraging a parent to join in, when would you have that kind of conversation?
Adele	I certainly do it with any... at the beginning of the year I'll always reinforce it.
Miriam	Like in front of the whole class?
Adele	Oh yeah the whole class, the whole class, I'm not saying “you're not concentrating!” Certainly I make it a whole class thing, I say “I'm sure you've heard me say this before those of you who aren't new but just to reinforce,” but particularly with children, when they're really little, 'cause I do this crazy baby class on a Monday morning where a lot of them aren't even a year old, and they need to be told, and it staggers me that these people need to be told how to parent you know, don't let them run off, you know, keep them close to you, make eye contact, and sometimes they've not thought this through
Miriam	Especially with the baby activities, 'cause they need to be interactive
Adele	Anyway, so no, I do it as early as possible and reinforce as needs be. And if I've got a new parent who's come into an established class and is obviously letting this child run round and round I might just say, on a one-to-one basis, it would really help his experience if you could just keep him a bit close, 'cause if you've got one child, in the 2 year old class, if one child starts to run they all start to run, it all falls apart. It can all fall apart so easily
Miriam	The children in the class that I've been sitting in seem like they really know the structure and routine
Adele	It's fantastic. They do. They've been coming, this is the second year I've had them, it's a really peachy class I have to say, parents are brilliant, it's one of my best classes. I mean I haven't actually got any toxic classes, I've got a few you know, difficult individuals, but I have to say, touch wood, they've been really good. They're very well established, there are groups of friends in it as well
Miriam	Yeah it seemed that way
Adele	There's [lists names] and they're just good. Gorgeous people like [student's grandma], she loves coming you know?
Miriam	Yeah she said that she brought her daughter as well
Adele	Yeah that's right! You know it's just so lovely, they're all good. And I often get siblings, so I had [student's] older brother which I really love, when they bring siblings. [Student] has got two older siblings as well, so they're really really sensible parents, clued in. That's why they're really good. And [student's] new but his sister's been coming a long time and mum took Sandra's class and things. Makes all the difference in the world. And the mum, when [student] lost the plot over something, I'm not quite sure, the mum took him out, which is great, which is what I would have done with my child, but some of them just leave them in to scream while you sing over the screaming
Miriam	And then the children get very distracted
Adele	and then everyone's distracted and I keep singing
Miriam	(laughing) Singing robot
Adele	"Oh is it over now?"

Miriam	So with the programming, so you said you got a lot of your ideas from the British national curriculum
Adele	Oh well no that's more... for my toddlers, 'cause I do mainly toddlers, I've got seven toddlers classes, one [4-8 year olds] and one [3-4 year olds]. [The older one is] where we start beat and dynamics and things. Largely because I like to work Monday Wednesday and Friday, and on a Wednesday and Friday Sandra is here upstairs and that's her area, the [3-4 year olds] so I can't really take those classes away from her, so on Monday I have one [3-4 year olds] and one [4-8 year olds] when she's not here. So I think two to threes are probably my favourite. But I enjoy Monday because I have the whole range, I start with my 1 year olds and finish with my kids who are going to school next year which is really nice. So for my toddlers I have a two year planned program which I tweak, and I theme it, so I've got eight themes that I rotate on a two yearly basis
Miriam	Woah
Adele	And I've just sourced appropriate... I mean it's so easy now, the last two years I think have been so easy 'cause I've more or less got it right. I still tweak it, so I buy a lot of, just 'cause the way I am, the songs that suit me, I buy a lot of English music, Eileen Diamond, have you come across her?
Miriam	No
Adele	She actually died a few years ago but I have all her books, I love her books, just brilliant. And I have another new favourite, it's a website, they are in Sydney as well, called Out of the Ark, I use those for the older ones. They have themed ones and their CDs are superb, really really good
Miriam	Is that where like the Jungle Song came from? The Gorilla Song?
Adele	No, Matilda the Gorilla is from, it's called Jungle Beat, that's a Lynn Kleiner one
Miriam	Oh yeah Lynn Kleiner
Adele	I like some of her stuff but just some of it is a bit American. I use some of her stuff, I've used a bit on wild animals. But some of them I've got... and then so I theme it because most of the toddlers will stay two years, and then [3-4 year olds] can only stay for a year. So I've got four themed [3-4 year old] programs as well, which I use a lot of those Out of the Ark ones. And then I program my Jam, that's just another one year program, I start off with dynamics and I do tempo and then I start with length of sound and move on to beat and finish off with... we look at high and low, I sort of have themes that go through. So it's all, so we've introduced in that time, we've looked at dynamics and tempo but, so I've introduced crotchets, rests, and quavers by the end of that year. But you do it slowly and I've got lots of games and you know all these things. I've sort of dipped into lots of different places and some stuff's just online, I've found ideas. And sometimes they work sometimes they don't. I do always, I plan, Tuesday's my planning day, I still do always look back and tweak it 'cause some things...
Miriam	So when you say you have a two year program, does that mean you have a rough template for every week in the ten week term?
Adele	I do, I'll show you, this is what I do (shows folder). This is personal, I'm just a bit anal, this is just the way I work. I do my plans for each week, so they go all the way, and if I just need to tweak them I'll take them out and have a look at them, and what I've started doing this last year is I'll write myself some comments, 'cause I

	forget, and you come back to them and I might just redo it a bit. Next term, I can't remember what we're doing next term, weather I think, so I just get my folder out and it's done. I chose to give a song sheet for each week, so they're all ready now, this sort of took years, when I was planning all this, it was harder, and then at home I have, I do a lot of visual aids, I've got, in my study I've got all my visual aids
Miriam	I was very impressed with your frogs last week.
Adele	Now they were tweaked! They've been tweaked, I have tweaked my frogs over the years, 'cause it's a horrible song pitching it, it's a foul, it's a horrible son, it's really difficult to pitch, well it is for me anyway. But just last time we did it we did competitive frog jumping and it just restored it from a hideous song to a... and the pond was new this term, I made the pond. We used to just use, I have, have you seen, I do a thing with Der Glumph, so I have a blue big piece of blue lycra, and we've got about ten of the frogs, and you bounce the frogs, so when you do the Der Glumph bit you do it small, just small bounces, and then you pull it really tight and when you get to the "ladidadida," because it's lycra they go flying up in the air. There's also Teddies Bouncing on the Trampoline as well, were you there? No that was [the older group]. (sings the song) So I do the same, I use lycra but we add the teddies you see, and of course as they get heavier as they bounce higher. So that's always a crowd pleaser. I am tiny bit anal, but just to make it easy for myself, I put what instruments I'm using, just so I don't get repetition, and I put where the CD is, what the CD is, and if it's something new which book to reference it from 'cause I've often forgotten within two years, just so I can pull it out and rehearse it.
Miriam	So will you ever, I know you said you'd tweak it before the class but would there ever be a time in the class where you were like "oh maybe this lion song would be really awesome here I'll pop it in"
Adele	I'll never change the songs but I'll tweak the song, I might shove another one of my standard "up high" ones, all these loud and quiet you know, Roly Poly, or Shake it so Loudly, if it seems to be failing. But just because I don't want to get bogged down and then I end up repeating and I can't remember what I've done the week before
Miriam	So do you think that repeating, um, yeah why aren't you keen on repeating songs?
Adele	Oh well I *do* repeat them, I repeat them but I repeat then strategically. So if I've done, so the Leo the Lion one was new this week, I won't do it next week but I'll do it the week after.
Miriam	Right
Adele	I want to know how many times I've repeated it, I'll usually repeat them four times a term. So yeah I do repeat them but I just like to know what I'm up to, that's all. But it was quite interesting I think I slipped up somehow, I was horrified, I realised I'd done transport, I did transport last term, and somehow I don't know how it slipped up, but it had got out of cycle and they were doing it again. 'Cause usually we pick new topics, and it actually went really well because they knew them. And they were older, they'd done it when they were kids. The kids didn't remember them but the parents did. And I felt *dreadful* the first week... So no I just like to know where I'm up to and how many times I've sung it, I don't want to end up just doing one song once and another one six times. 'Cause they will come and complain!
Miriam	Yeah? The parents come and complain?

Adele	I think this is where I started making sure I got the right handout, I write on the thing what the handout is, I had this child coming up to me "I've had this handout before" and the mother goes "she has she has!" Nobody else gives out handouts
Miriam	So when you were creating the programs, and when you're re-tweaking them, what are the main things you're taking into consideration?
Adele	For what age group?
Miriam	For this age group, 2-3 year olds, the kids having fun, the parents having fun?
Adele	What I've learnt over the time is, don't make it too complicated. I used to make it way too complicated when I first did... I might have two verses or something which is daft. It needs to be something they're going to immediately be able to, even if it's the animal sound, even if they only ever sing the song at home, so they remember the roaring or the crawling on the floor–they love the tiger! They're tiger mad this lot! And usually bump something really familiar at the end like Incy Wincy or something
Miriam	Yeah I noticed that everyone kinda was like “oh Incy Wincy!”
Adele	Yeah, so whatever theme I'm doing I'll do a nursery rhyme or something at the end, which I try to get them to sing, 'cause there's a chance they'll know... I think I do Twinkle Twinkle for weather, and Nice to Have a Cuddle for the home one, whatever I can't remember, but something that I will do every single week, that's the only song apart from the Hello or Goodbye song, so I always do the Hello song, and then an activity, jumping up and down turning around, whatever song, then I'll do an instrumental song, and then I'll do some rhymes as well, or the Giraffe, you know, and then I always do a movement thing, either basic dance or parachute or... so I'll do two with instruments, a rhyme and then a familiar one and the Goodbye song. The little ones have not got that attention span, they've had it... [The Rosellas are] better 'cause that age group are ready to go on to [the next stage] so I've found that structure works, but you do find, on Monday I've got this barmy babies class, I do exactly the same plan, and it's kind of all done in 20 minutes because they, you can't say “what do you think?” “Who's wearing stripes?” 'Cause they're all sitting there dribbling. And some of the parents, you know, don't try and discuss it with them. But [the Rosellas class] is just gorgeous. So what else do I think about? I think about the kids, what is kid-friendly, it's gotta be something they'll do with the parents, but no, simplicity is the major change that i've made with experience, keeping it simple, 'cause otherwise they lose concentration
Miriam	So do you mean simple for both the parents and the kids to pick up?
Adele	More for the kids really, and if there's any chance they'll sing it in the car on the way home, I mean you've won really haven't you? And that's why I've used quite a lot of visuals because that sort of reinforces it, and why I theme it as well, for me theming it just gives it structure 'cause otherwise you're lost you know, it's nice just to base it and you can flog all the themes, flog all the farm themes, I do a food one you know, it's easier, I mean I'll pop other things in, jumping and shaking songs and things, but for me, that works out better, and I'm not repeating myself, "oh did we do this last term?” which for me is important.
Miriam	Do you ever get feedback from parents, either kind of explicitly or like vibes-wise?
Adele	Yeah, well, for me the greatest compliment is when they bring the next child
Miriam	Yeah totally, or coming term after term

Adele	They keep coming, they keep coming. And nice feedback when people have left, I've had some lovely, really nice feedback when they've left, or mum's had a baby and she can't cope coming back but, you know, sends an email to say really enjoyed it, so no, it makes it worthwhile, or they tell a friend to come, which for me, that's enough. I mean I've had, I've had two last year which were negative. One mother (laughs) felt that the child... was in two to threes, the child didn't want to sit down and the mother didn't reinforce it, so the child would wander, come and play the drums at the front. And my policy, I suppose I'm avoiding confrontation, is to talk to the child, "so-and-so could you just come and sit with mummy, hey we're all playing drums, can you come here and you and mummy play drums together?" And the mother took exception to the fact that I used her name innumerable times
Miriam	The child's name?
Adele	The child's name. And I had to realise that her child was extremely bright and didn't need to be told that many times. And, it was too, she felt that it was too structured. But, if she wants to go to playgroup that's fine! That's what you do at playgroup. Anyway she went to someone else's class and maybe that was a little less structured and that's fine... But I was pretty hurt at the time, but I thought, can you not see that I'm indicating to you that it would be really helpful, like all the other children in the room, if your child comes and sits with you? So, I had a parent of another child who was a bit of a show pony who would come up the front (poses like child) and I could never see round, and again saying... while the mother sat and chatted. Anyway she's not my responsibility, Sandra's got her now, she's moved on. That's about it, and that's just, I mean it, it's hard coming at it as a parent as well, I mean my children are teenagers now, but my daughter when I used to bring her, she'd be the one who sat, my son was the one who wouldn't sit. I was very much aware that I didn't want him to disrupt, I used to take him out all the time, I used to have him in headlock half the time, 'cause I was aware that it was disruptive, both to the teacher and to the other parents and students, so I was just always as a parent very mindful of it, I struggle when parents aren't. But if that's not where you parent from, it's a bit hard to say, you know, I can't teach them to parent, but anyway. Those two were really the only two negative which is good
Miriam	Yeah for sure
Adele	Or maybe they're all bitching about me behind my back
Miriam	Well the few people I've asked about, the basic question, why do you come, they're like “Adele's just great with them”
Adele	(laughs) Yeah Adele will crawl on the floor with them while we sit and watch. Well I just love small children you know, it's teenagers that terrify me, not my own, but everybody else's, much rather... So, is there anything else?
Miriam	Let's have a look, um, yeah, so when you said that you mostly, obviously you did a lot of self-training, did you ever attend any Kodály or Orff...?
Adele	We did, a number of years ago, attend a Kodály workshop which I enjoyed very much
Miriam	Was that like a level or just one of the conferences? Not “just”...
Adele	It was a training day, it was at Sydney Con, it was great! We don't go at all, we don't get offered anything, we'd have to be self-funded. We were partially funded to go to this one.

Miriam	Yeah they're really expensive)
Adele	I mean the Con's in a state of flux anyway, we used to have an annual staff meeting at the beginning of the year. I don't know whether you know the management, we've got, I think he's still on a temporary basis and he's not a musician, so there isn't a lot of cohesion within the organisation, anyway we always used to have, you'd have the first half of the day *all* teachers and the afternoon you'd go and split up into your departments and have a training day and a resource day which was always nice but that's kinda fallen apart. And it is, it is difficult 'cause you come and do your job and you go, I mean it's nice for me 'cause I always see Jackie and I see Sandra, Sandra's a very good friend and I know I'd always ring Sandra. I mean but I've got confidence in what I do now, but certainly when I started out you feel quite isolated
Miriam	And also the parents don't really have an idea, most of them, what to expect either, so you're kind of negotiating it together I guess
Adele	Exactly. I'm sort of happy where I am now, you know, I'm still, as I say, tweaking every week, but generally I sort of know how to pitch it, but that's only through having done it for 8 years or whatever, and knowing what works and what doesn't. But then you can, we all say this, you can teach a program to a group of kids and then you'll teach exactly the same program to a different group and it doesn't work, it falls apart, so it depends on the group dynamic often, and the parents.
Miriam	So in that instance where it doesn't work for the other group, how would you, would you tweak it in the class in the moment, or would you think "ok I have to change this for next week?"
Adele	I'd tweak it in the moment probably, and that comes with experience, I would've just freaked out at the beginning (screams in mock horror)
Miriam	"They're supposed to be jumping and they're not jumping!"
Adele	"They're not doing jumping!" Um, or it's just meaningless... I'd probably maybe just change it in the moment and then think about it for the following week.
Miriam	Yeah. Do you have time for two more questions?
Adele	Yes, two more questions
Miriam	I just wanted to ask about, at the beginning you said you got mentored a lot by Jackie and other people, what do you remember about that process?
Adele	I think it was difficult, 'cause I took lots of notes and sat in lots of people's classes, I think the most valuable thing was sitting in people's classes, but then you have a different approach yourself, that was the most valuable thing watching things that worked, and watching the parents and watching the children, I think that was... I sat with Sandra a lot and with the others, [another teacher] as well. And I took copious notes and, a lot of it you've just got to do, you have to do at the start, you have to have the confidence to try it out, and I think to begin with you know, I sort of, a lot of it I based on my, sort of, maternal...
Miriam	Instinct?
Adele	Instinct, to be honest. I'm a musician, and a mother, and I sort of ran with that. It was really helpful, it was about structure, and syllabus with the older ones, but, things like, you know, having your quiet time, and when they're older listening time is a really good thing, and the way you should perhaps alternate a frenetic activity

	with something a little more peaceful, something a little more focused, and then do a dance after that, and that was really helpful too. And just seeing the way other teachers responded to... because I'm not a trained teacher, I think that's been difficult, responding to, and particularly with having the parents in, even if you are a trained teacher you don't have the parents in do you, how to respond to behaviour or non-compliant behaviour or whatever else, I think that was helpful. And Jackie's always there, if you've got an issue or you feel something's going to become an issue she's always there as your advocate, and will speak to the parents or whatever else.
Miriam	Um ok and, do you think that there should be, or in your ideal world, what kind of support or centralisation or professional development opportunities would exist for early childhood music teachers? If anything different from now
Adele	Oh just um more opportunity to, I would love to go to some you know, professional courses 'cause we don't really. I mean other professions do. I think it's because we're in the private sector. If you're a doctor or a nurse or something you're sent off to professional development, you have to do X number of professional development sessions to maintain your registration, whereas we don't, and I think, I mean we all teach very differently but we've all got the same aims, well I hope we have, and I think that might just give some more consistency really, particularly with some of the younger ones, I think it must be really hard when they've just come out of uni and perhaps they've done a music degree and they've not had much to do with small children and, it would, I think that would be helpful. So whether that's on a regional level or a state level, well you know, there are enough regional conservatories to have a bit more professional, maybe to formalise the professional development. But we're a fluid group of people. We've got people who come and teach for a term or two and then disappear, it's bit difficult
Miriam	Yeah sure. Well thanks very much for chatting with me.
Adele	My pleasure, it's a really interesting study, you're going to let us read it when its written up?
Miriam	No! Of course, of course. Can I get you to quickly quickly sign a consent form? (talk of getting lunch, hard to hear) You said before that you think all early childhood music teachers have the same aims, what would you characterise those aims as?
Adele	A fruitful music education I guess, accessible, you know, and developing young musicians I suppose. A good introduction, a good musical foundation, something, words along that, you can reform that sentence into some kind of cohesive meaningful structure, but you know what I mean, I think we all do. Just what we hope they'll do is pop off into school, 'cause it's all preschool that we're doing, and they'll have the desire to be in the choir, and the music program at school, and join the music program here, and go on and learn an instrument. And then join the youth orchestra,whatever, the junior orchestras and go through the whole... I mean it was my social life, I had such a happy time, and I don't think kids see it as such, I think it's a bit stigmatised, a little bit nerdy.We all did it! It was great, but that's what I would hope, and they enjoy it. That it doesn't become
Miriam	A chore
Adele	A chore where... we went to see [a prestigious orchestra] on Friday night at Southtown Town Hall, and there was a violinist, and there were a lot of, a certain

	demographic group with their very small children watching the solo violinist, and I thought, they're all sitting there dressed up to the nines, they're saying, you practise four hours a day and you too will be like that. I mean it should be about the joy of dancing to it and enjoying it
Miriam	For sure
Adele	'Cause my kids, my daughter doesn't play, and after years of trying to get her to do it, my son plays the tuba and um, he doesn't practise, but he does go for lessons and plays in the band and he enjoys it. He plays in the band here, and if it's a choice between that and not doing anything at all, I'm happy for him to do that, you know. If you'd asked me before I had children “oh no no no they'll be involved up to their neck in it, and they'll have choir and this that and the other” and you can't, 'cause they're going to say no
Miriam	And they become their own people
Adele	Exactly!

Appendix 2.3: Sally, Renee and Cassie Interview Transcript

Miriam	Well thank you very much for staying behind today, I know it's a big commitment. So basically I just want to find out, why you come, why you decided to come, whether your expectations or perceptions of the class have changed since starting to come, and maybe how the class impacts on your life during the week, if it does at all. Maybe we can just start, having it going around the circle format, but then if you want to interject, if you have something you have in your head that's fine as well. So ok yeah, why did you initially decide to start coming to the ECM program?
Sally	So I started coming with my older son, so he's 6 now. Um and at the time I had met this woman who–at playgroup–and she had moved over from England, and was like 7 months pregnant, so she didn't know anyone so she pretty much enrolled in every single program that there was in the Southtown region. And she gave me the run down of the good ones, she was like "don't worry about this one, don't worry about this one, if you do one thing do music" and she said "come and do music with Adele at the Conservatorium." And she had a background in, I think kinda, psychology and childhood, child psychology and childhood education and she said it was such a well-organised program, that is was kinda like with the introduction of them, welcoming each person, learning each other's names, and then obviously the music content, yeah she just basically said you can leave any other activity, the swimming the Gymbaroo the, every other thing, she said this one's the best
Miriam	So were you looking for an activity in general to do, or had you already thought music was something you wanted to do
Sally	No I hadn't thought of music necessarily, it was just that I think at the time my son was getting to that age, I think he was 18 months, so getting to that age of, well we should probably do *something*, fill in our days, and yeah she just said that she'd tried everything and that was her number one, so that's why we started
Miriam	Awesome, (to Cassie) why did you start coming?
Cassie	Renee suggested coming! And [student's] my youngest of three, and I kinda felt she'd just been dragged to everyone else's activities, so I thought yeah it would be nice to do it with them, and then, my husband is fairly musical, and he likes the idea of it so.
Miriam	So again, were you, had you already thought music was something you wanted to do, or did you just want something that was specifically for her?
Cassie	Um, oh I thought music would be good for her too, but yeah, for something specific for her as well.
Miriam	Ok cool, what about you? (to Renee)
Renee	So I always thought I would probably do music classes because I did it, my mum took me here.
Sally	To the ECM program?
Renee	Well it was called pre-music classes I think back then, that's what I remember it being called, and I remember it was a little bit different though, I mean I guess that's maybe what happens in the older years, is that they actually then recommend an instrument

Miriam	Yeah I think they still do that [year of trying different instruments]
Renee	I remember choosing between cello and piano. And then so, I always, I thought here would be good, but because we live north, I did keep my ears open for the classes that were at [the local] community centre and stuff. And but, a few girls from my mothers group and they were like ooh it's really kinda crazy, and the kids just get in and play all these instruments kinda thing, so I wasn't that keen on that, and as it turns out one of the girls who I work with, I'm a teacher, she actually used to, well still does, oh no I don't think she actually does at the moment, she was teaching some of the Con's ECM classes, I think that's right, or she was somehow involved, and so I was talking to her about it, saying oh I was thinking about doing it, what have you, and she's like they're brilliant, you have to get Adele bla bla bla. So that was that. And also, I had [younger child] at the end of 2013, and so last year 2014, so I thought it would be good, I knew I wasn't sending [student] to preschool or daycare, so I thought I'd like to do something. So um, yes. So I knew I wanted to do a few things to keep her entertained and stimulated and for her, because yeah I'm delaying preschool, oh well she'll go next year, but I was delaying preschool and so I thought I should do some things with her
Miriam	So why were you delaying preschool?
Adele	Well it's a bit silly, but she's an April baby, and I don't want her to go to school young, so I don't want to send her to preschool, like I want her to have two years of preschool rather than three. So, and also, because then, if Cassie and [her daughter] also weren't doing it I don't know if I would've kept coming or done it, because it's a big drive to come for a half an hour class, but we normally go and do something afterwards, have a play or whatever, so it makes it worthwhile. Yeah. So yeah.
Miriam	Cool, yeah awesome. Have your expectations, oh maybe not expectations, but have your ideas of the class changed since starting, like did you have expectations of what it would be like before it started and were those then affirmed or challenged in any way? (to Sally)
Sally	Um, I guess, because I'm talking about two children, so when I started my older one he just absolutely loved it, fell straight into it, did everything, you know, just every activity that there was he'd be into it. So I think because of that I was like, oh yeah this is brilliant. I don't know whether it would've been different if it was just [younger son/current student], because he was a bit of a reluctant starter, and even now you probably noticed I have to get up and waddle like a penguin and whatever, 'cause he's kinda a bit sit-back. So I don't know whether it would be different if I didn't have that first experience. I did it with my older one from 18 months to 5½, so I'd seen too what it goes through, you know it starts and it's just that sorta fun songs, and it's good to get to know all of those songs, and they associate it, it's nice sorta during the week hearing them say "oh that one's from Amanda's," they do take it on board, but then I've seen it's sorta progressed to actually learning the music notes, and making up their own little compositions and
Miriam	That's what they do in the older class?
Sally	Yeah. So I think I've seen the long-term four-year thing so I can see how all of the things they do, it's interesting watching it the second time round to see, like all of the little things that Amanda's starting to introduce now that at the time I just thought was an activity kinda thing, how that ends up being part of the more formal music teaching at the end, where they actually learn the crotchets and quavers and

	all that kind of stuff. So I don't know whether it's changed, I don't think I came into it with a huge... set expectations of what it was going to be like, I'd just been told by this woman and I respected her judgement, so she said it was great and she'd already been doing it for three years, I was like yup that's good, we'll do that. And I think just because he absolutely took to it and just loved every minute of it, it wasn't really a question of whether he, that this guy would be doing it as well
Miriam	Mm. What about you? (to Cassie)
Cassie	I yeah, I don't think I had that many expectations, I would say [student] wasn't that into it initially, she was like, cuddling into me and just not as involved, but she's really come to really enjoy it, and gets much more involved now without me needing to do as much. Yeah it's great, Adele's fantastic
Sally	I think that's good too, the kids that are not in formal care, 'cause it is that real structure, it's almost classroom kinda structure, and it is interesting to see them at the beginning just "oh mummy mummy" because they're not used to that from a daycare or preschool or whatever structure, it is interesting that they kind of, they do warm to it and become a little bit independent, I think it's really good for that
Renee	Yeah, but it's been good, I think she's enjoyed it, she still enjoys it. So I think it's met my expectations and it's very good, and
Miriam	Can you explain what your expectations were?
Renee	Yeah I thought it would be structured, because that's what I'd heard and that's what I wanted, I mean as structured as you can be with 2 and 3 year olds, so that's good. And I guess I, when I decided to come I wasn't sure about how long, and what the thing would be like, like I kinda didn't necessarily have my heart set on ok, well she'll go til 5½ and then she'll pick an instrument and then we'll go, I kinda thought we'd wait and see because, so, I did learn piano up until, I dunno, Year 11 I think, finished my, I didn't do the whole big thing, but I did the watered down version, and I don't play the piano now. So for me, but at the same time I like the fact that I can read music and I know a bit of stuff, and being a teacher and hearing all the links between maths and music, so I liked that, but I don't know that I would honestly, unless she or he decides that yeah that they definitely want to be a musician, then I will invest the money and the time that it takes, so I guess at the moment I'm looking at it as an activity and a brain stimulation thing for this age. But yeah, so I think next year actually, when she goes to preschool two days a week and um, everything that goes along with that, time and coordinating things and funds, I don't know if we'll do it again for her, because she's really taken to dancing as well, and don't really want to do the whole let's get in everything and spend all our money and time being crazy crazy busy. Yeah. And for him, I think out of guilt I'll probably bring [younger child] (everyone laughs) because yes, he's pretty much been in every class, there was a period of time when I tried to put him down in the end room but it didn't really work. So anyway we'll see how that goes, but at the same time I know that it'll be in his brain somehow
Sally	Are you finished Renee? Sorry.
Renee	Yeah yeah
Sally	I was just thinking like, this probably indicates how my expectations at the beginning when I started my older son, I paid for a term and I thought I'll see how he goes, if he still likes it, if he doesn't that's it. Whereas now I pay for the whole year at the beginning of the year, and that's it, I've decided that's what they're doing,

	I think it's really good. And I think too, when just listening to that saying oh yeah she's into dancing and things like that, I think too, especially for boys, it's actually really good, they'll naturally kinda run around and do lots of physical kind of things, I think it's really nice for them to have something a little bit calmer and structured and sort of, makes them sit down and listen and follow instructions and things like that. I don't know whether that's, I think that's probably a little bit different for boys and girls too
Miriam	So with the instruments, like [Renee] you were saying that you don't necessarily, unless they show a really big interest, you won't necessarily pursue the instrument thing, do either of you have ideas about instruments, or has that been in your head at all in deciding to do music?
Sally	Oh I mean I would like the boys to do an instrument, yeah, I mean I grew up always learning an instrument, I learnt piano and then I learnt flute, and similar to you Renee, I don't play it now, but I appreciate being able to read music and recognise music and listen to music and know whether it's being played correctly or whatever, and I do think that it's a good skill to learn, and I think probably when I was growing up it was piano or nothing you know, it wasn't really, there weren't really those other options for primary school, it was only when you got to high school that you really got the option of all of the other instruments. So I think that would be my change, that it doesn't have to be piano, it can be whatever instrument they want, but I would like them to do an instrument, and I don't mind if they chop and change or whatever, I think it's a nice thing, skill to have
Cassie	I did piano for a year or two, and I absolutely hated practising, to the point where, as an adult I was, not long ago walking past where they practise piano
Miriam	You got some trauma!
Cassie	I got this sick feeling in my stomach and this sense of intense boredom. So my son, my eldest child does guitar, very casually, a 15 year old teaches him, but my husband's quite musical and definitely wants our kids to definitely do some sort of instrument. So although I won't be pushing it he probably will be.
Miriam	And if they can see it's something that's fun, if he's playing in bands and stuff, maybe they'll have a relationship to it that's more than just like “this is practice,” it's like ”’oh this is something you can do to hang out with people”
Cassie	It's tricky though 'cause I've sort of said to my husband oh you know, if we have to push push push, is it worth it? But he's like well my mum push pushed me, and I'm grateful, but I don't know, it depends on the... and the child I guess. We'll see how we go
Renee	I yeah, I don't think, I don't know, I'm not thinking I'll pursue an instrument with [student]. I think she really does enjoy the classes and likes it but I think that's 'cause she's a conformer, just she's kinda gonna learn, and so ([Student/daughter] talking on fake phone) She'll be too busy with her social life! [Younger child], at the same time, if I decide to, so when I do bring him by himself, if he does really take to it, I kinda wouldn't mind the drums or the guitar would be very cool, 'cause I can see the practical uses of that, whereas piano, for me
Cassie	It's kinda isolating or something
Renee	Yeah yeah. Whereas if you can sit around, you know as a teenager I sat around with friends who were musical and play the guitar and sing or whatever, you can

	take the guitar to camp with you, and you can take your guitar... so yeah, it's more practical
Cassie	It is isn't it, a bit more adaptable
Renee	And less expensive to buy the instrument too. Yes (everyone laughs) And it's cooler! Like its more likely that... No but I'm just thinking when [student] gets to high school and things like that, piano was just not quite... oh like you're doing your piano scales and stuff whereas the kid who could play drums or guitar it was like oh.... And so even like, I did the exam and I saw that sign this morning
Miriam	The AMEB exam?
Renee	Yeah (fake nervous shivers) Whereas if you learn to play the guitar, I mean there probably is, I'm sure there is some kinda levels and stuff for that too, but I dunno
Cassie	It seems less uptight (laughter and agreement), I dunno, it just seems different
Renee	Like the whole thing, the reason I played piano and went to lessons was to do the exam, to do what? To do the next exam?
Cassie	We're all very positive aren't we, sorry
Sally	Yes, but I've also had the experience where I learnt the piano and hated it and I was forced to practise it and it was like, I ended up just protesting and not continuing on with the exams, and the whole theory thing was just erggh. But then got to high school and got the opportunity to learn the flute and absolutely loved it, and practised everyday, like I was at boarding school so no one was forcing me to practise, and I practised everyday, and I didn't end up doing, like I didn't do any exams, which you could do but I just chose not to. I was actually very good at playing the flute and I played in all the bands and
Miriam	And that it becomes a social thing a bit as well
Sally	And that was fun, and then played at different events at school and things like that and absolutely *loved* doing it and loved practising, so I've had both
Miriam	You've had both experiences
Sally	So I think if they can actually have that opportunity to choose their instrument, and if they find something they actually like, then I don't want to force them into “no you have to play this instrument 'cause I played that instrument” but yeah, if they actually get to choose and they choose something they enjoy they'll actually want to practise.
Miriam	Definitely
Renee	I think that's, for me, 'cause I guess in some ways I was similar to [student] in that I just kinda did it 'cause I was told to do it, I didn't ever have a passion for it, even... So my cousin who was learning piano, she was a year older, she would always play it for fun, learn extra songs, and I was like I'm not learning any extra songs, I'm learning my exam songs and that's it! But I did my practices because my parents wanted me to and I went to my lessons and I didn't chuck up a big stink about it, because I was trying to do what they wanted me to do, but I clearly didn't have
Miriam	It wasn't something you felt a connection to or something, a personal connection
Renee	I certainly wasn't a gifted musician
Miriam	I'll try and keep like, it's been 20 minutes now so I'll try and keep it under half an hour, 'cause I know that

Renee	Hopefully you'll be able to hear [the recording!]
Miriam	It's pretty good this recorder. So about that being a gifted or not-gifted musician, I wanted to ask about how you think about musical ability, like is that a way that you think about it that some people are gifted and some aren't?
Renee	In general I think that about everything. Like you've got natural talents, obviously the opportunities that you get and the people that can inspire you and stuff are going to make a difference, but in my experience from what I see as a teacher, some kids get stuff, and other kids don't get stuff, then you have a parent meeting with their parents and you talk to them and you can either see where things come from, or they tell you how they were at school, like there's definitely a genetic, no doubt about it. And also of course, what they're exposed to and what they do at home, so I guess for music, I think you would have to say that families that play music or that have music on and parents are playing, that's gonna make a difference probably regardless of the genetic natural talent as well, like they're going to be better off. But I think both things are
Miriam	So are you a primary school teacher?
Renee	Yeah
Miriam	Ok cool. How do you think about musical ability? (to Cassie)
Cassie	Yeah similar, yeah I guess some people are more in tune with it (laughter), just naturally better at it, but I think as long as you've got a reasonable level of ability and intelligence and if you work hard at it you can still be good
Sally	I can see my oldest, and I'd forgotten this before but, I remember when this friend of mine mentioned music I was like oh yes my son would like that, 'cause I remember when he was like 7 months old, I always just for my own sanity sang songs while I was feeding him, and he would sit in his high chair and he would tap his feet along to the songs, and he would change the beat to go with the songs, and he was actually in tune with it. And like now, at 6, the other morning he woke up, Saturday morning he woke up and he's got a ukelele, and he's like “hey I've worked out how to play Twinkle Twinkle,” like just on one string but he can listen to it and he can get the right note with it, so I look at that and see yeah there is, definitely it's some natural ability. Having said that I think it's like a lot of things, as long as you, I think I agree with [Renee] in terms of some kids get it and some kids don't. I'm a maths tutor and some kids get maths and some kids never get maths, but you do have this group in the middle that can kinda go either way with a little bit of inspiration or extra teaching or whatever, like there's a certain amount of just practice and perseverance, you can become a reasonable musician as long as you practise and dedicate your time to it, but I think there's definitely some people that just kinda pick it up naturally, and some people that are never gonna get it. As a child I was musical enough to know that I couldn't sing in tune, but I couldn't sing in tune, I never sang Happy Birthday at kids' parties 'cause I knew that I couldn't get the right notes, I used to mime it, I used to mime Happy Birthday! But I ended up being good at musical instruments 'cause I could hear what the right tone was, but I just couldn't create it with my voice
Miriam	Yeah I've had a kinda similar experience, Happy Birthday is a hard song to sing!
Renee	People start it in all different keys!
Miriam	So I just wanted to ask as well about music at home during the week, like what

	kind of music activity takes place in your home, if any, during the week, and is it at all informed by what happens in class?
Renee	I would say, we don't do that much at home, the kids like the Wiggles so they all dance along and whatever to the Wiggles. We've got percussion instruments and we've got, what else have we got, the normal xylophone, maracas, tambourines, plus we've got the electronic drum, little bongo drum things. So they do that, just very unstructured, but we occasionally will sing, definitely it's informed by lessons, 'cause if something comes up in conversation we'll sing the song that we learnt here, like the Hands are Washing was a really good one last year 'cause it goes through wash your hands, get some soap, get some water, get the towel bla bla, and the fun bit where they shake them at the end, so we definitely have done that. So yeah, so yeah we'll sing songs, topical... but other than listening to the Wiggles in the car and singing along and playing with the instruments as toys rather than as ...
Miriam	What about do you sing any lullabies at all?
Renee	Oh yeah, oh well Rockabye Baby I'll sing, in fact that's what gets him to clean his teeth most days. And yeah, I mean I like to sing as in, so I sometimes sing, but I don't really, not all the time, definitely not all the time.
Cassie	We do definitely sing some songs in the car from music I think, definitely some of them come up sometimes, so there's definitely some of it in our life during the week. In terms of other music in our house, there is often music on, like not kids music, ever, really, and in the car never kids music either. But the kids do like other music
Renee	And they're exposed to it, 'cause [Cassie's husband] certainly listens to
Cassie	Yeah lots of different types, they love Metallica, they love Bon Jovi, but they also love the more appropriate Katy Perry songs, so there's lots of music. And then my son plays the guitar and he supposedly practises most days. Oh and my husband plays in a church band so that's most weeks, and he plays for the carols.
Miriam	And do you sing any lullabies or anything?
Cassie	Oh not much these days
Miriam	When they were younger do you mean?
Cassie	Yeah, a little bit when they were younger, definitely, more like Twinkle Twinkle, but not these days really. Probably when my son was [student's] age we would've sung them a lot more than I do now (laughing)
Miriam	And what about you Sally?
Sally	Yeah we always have music on in the car. Kinda go through phases whether it's adult music or child music but at the moment we've got three kids' CDs that they're really enjoying and they sing along and have their requests and things like that, so we've always got music on in the car. We don't have a lot of music playing at home, but like on a weekend, on a Saturday morning or whatever we'll have some of our music on, but I always, I think for my own sanity, I sing anything. I sing the washing up, I sing... so I think yeah, I go (in sing-song voice) “I'm going to the bathroom now” just making up silly songs, and they do that as well. So there's kinda a lot of singing, it's just not really proper songs. Um, not a lot of instruments, we'd like to do a bit more of that but we just don't really have time, but my husband's got the guitar out and keeps kinda talking about playing it a bit more, but I noticed the other day, 'cause they've been sick, my oldest one's been sick, there

	were chords up on the thing that they were, he was playing on the ukulele and his dad was playing on the guitar, I think to Cloudy with a Chance of Meatballs or something like that... so it was one of those. So we're yeah, we'd like to do a bit more of that but we don't really. And then we've got the percussion kinda toys that they'll sorta sometimes have a bit of a play with, but not overly structured. But I think probably the main thing is we just kinda sing, just to pass the time. So yeah in the bath. And when he was a baby he was very difficult to get to sleep, 'cause he was crook, he was allergic to things, and I used to just sing him off to sleep. So quite often it was the songs from Adele's. I remember the Colours of the World: "open your eyes to the colours of the world," I don't know if you've heard that one yet
Miriam	No
Sally	Adele will sing it for you. It's good because it's long and he needed long songs, and it goes through all these different colours. And then there were a couple of church songs that I liked at the time and I'd sing those to him, so yeah, I think more just to sort of, for my benefit, to get through the fact it took him an hour to get to sleep, but I would enjoy singing him off to sleep. And I think probably the main thing is that we just kinda sing everything.
Miriam	Make life a bit more fun
Sally	Yeah, like we sing the fact that we're going to the toilet or getting in the car or whatever
Miriam	Ok I'll just ask one more question, this is a short question. Are you guys the primary organisers of activities like this in your household?
All	(firm yes/agreement)
Miriam	Are you all married with husbands? (laughing) So yeah is that kinda your role to organise all these activities, oh not "all" these but yeah. So dad might play a bit of guitar at home but you'll do the finding out about programs?
All	(again agreement, people talking over the top of one another)
Cassie	Anything structured is our role, they'll reap the benefits when it's fun and the kids can play instruments, then it's their idea (all laugh)
Miriam	Ok, cool well thank you so much for talking to me...

Appendix 2.4: Belinda and Jan Interview Transcript

Miriam	Maybe I'll just start by asking why you decided to start coming to the ECM program?
Belinda	I thought it would be a fun thing, we started when she was quite young, I actually can't remember when we started, I was just thinking about it the other day, it was before she was 1, or maybe they have to be 1. She was pretty young, we've been coming for a couple of years. I didn't really have any expectation apart from just what I'd read about the class, I didn't know anybody, I just thought it would be a fun thing to do with her, just to expose her to music and other kids, and for me as well, something for us to do together. So yeah. And I would like her to do music in some, at some level, I don't know what. I don't know whether... she's very energetic so I don't know how she's going to focus on an instrument, so I don't know how that's going to work out, maybe she'll do dancing or something. We're actually starting a dance class, a movement class on Thursday this week so I don't know. I've got a lovely little violin at home that my daughter played that I'm saving, I don't know it's probably a bit presumptuous, I don't know if she's going to have the temperament for that, who knows
Miriam	So you didn't bring your other children to a music, any sort of music class?
Belinda	Ah no. I mean they did do music at school, they both played an instrument at school, a brass instrument at school for a while, so they had some experience, and they did some external things with that as well, they did external things on the weekends, they might do a class or something, or a rehearsal, they did a concert at Christmas so they had rehearsals. And they both did dancing as well, and [older daughter] did violin for 12 months. My [other] daughter's got a guitar that she mucks around with. She doesn't have any lessons but she's teaching herself via internet, “I don't need a lesson Mum,” it's like well if you want to have a lesson... I guess the [older] girls are musical, they love music of course, they're teenagers, so yeah. They haven't had a long period of music lessons, but they still, I think they like music, and I think even though it's little, that 12 months with the violin, I think that was valuable and playing the brass in a band as well, for both of them, that was good as well, even though it's only for a short period it still helps them, it's a good thing to do anyway. 'cause I was really upset, l thought well you know I paid all this money for the violin, we did the violin lessons, I paid all this money, but I don't think it's a waste, I think it's still a good thing that she did it
Miriam	You never know, she might go back to it
Belinda	Yeah well she's at that age, she's 15 now, so I don't know if that's going to happen, she's interested in other things. But she's interested in, the girls go to a performing arts high school in Southtown, so [older daughter]'s keen to try out for the next upcoming show that they're doing. She dances and... so yeah, she's got that interest in music and she wants to perform, and she does drama as well. And you know hopefully [student will] have an interest, even if she doesn't play an instrument she can do dancing or have a general interest in music
Miriam	What about you? (to Jan)

Jan	Well I brought my daughters to pre-music it was called then, and I really, as a parent I really enjoyed it, and they had a great time, and they both went on to do music, so I gave Alexander music lessons for his birthday so we could come together 'cause I really enjoyed it. So he came, he started last year about half way through last year, and now he's 3½, yeah I think he's enjoyed it, it was just something nice for us to do together, good for him to see the other children and... I mean, i'm assuming that he'll do some sort of music because his parents are interested in music, the whole family's interested in music, and it's just an opportunity to get to know the instruments and that sort of thing. So yeah! My expectation was that we'd all enjoy it and we have so far, it's been really good
Miriam	Is it different to how you remember it from when you
Jan	Yeah I don't think we came until they were a little bit older, we just came for two years and they were at school I think the second year. And they had one year where they did what we're doing, and one year where they did all the different instruments for the whole year. And then they assessed them and decided what instrument they were most suited to play, so it wasn't as much of a developmental program as it is now, I don't think. So he's sort of had an earlier introduction to it which I think's really good. But I mean we sing a lot of songs and do that anyway at home, but the social thing's good I think as well, I think it's well-structured, it's been really good
Miriam	With the singing songs at home, do you sing many of the songs from class at home?
Jan	Some of them, the ones I remember and the ones I already knew. But I was a teacher so I have a large catalogue of songs that we sing that I know. So yeah we just sort of sing a whole lot of different things. Not so much now, we always still do a bit, play more percussion instruments and stuff. And we have the band sometimes, don't we, with mummy, [student's sister] plays the bells, yeah, it's fun, it's good, it's sort of part of our usual thing during the day.
Miriam	Will he initiate any of the songs?
Jan	Yeah sometimes he will. We've got a song for, we're one of those families that have a song for any occasion, break into song for any reason
Miriam	For the joy of it! Do you guys sing any of the songs? (to Belinda)
Belinda	Yeah, [student] likes, there's a horsey song, do you know the horsey song? (sings a part of the song) She loves that song, she was obsessed with it for ages, and then the traffic light song, we had to sing that in the car every time we got in the car. She's very vocal, she likes singing. And then I've got, I bought her the bells, and the other day she got a xylophone, a wooden xylophone thing, and the other day she actually went and got some saucepans from the cupboard and was banging with the, 'cause they're like little drum sticks, she got the xylophone sticks and was banging it. Yeah she loves music, she's very interactive too, with it, and we've got a big box with all the instruments in it, and she's got a ribbon as well, she actually broke that. And she likes singing, we've got an ABC CD with some of the ABC songs on it, that's in the car
Jan	We listen to Play School every, on the way to and from music. Although at the moment we're listening to Classic FM on the way to music, 'cause we heard, one day we turned it on and it had a xylophone, so now we listen to the instruments on the way but we listen to Play School on the way home

Miriam	So did you play, what's your musical history? (to Belinda)
Belinda	I had piano lessons and singing lessons, not that I really, I wasn't spectacular at it, but yeah, I had those when I was probably... singing lessons as a teenager and piano probably from when I was 6 to 8 maybe, 8 or 9.
Miriam	Do you remember enjoying it?
Belinda	I did yeah! I didn't like the practice, so I remember my parents telling me you have to practise. And I think [older daughter] didn't like the practise either with the violin. So...
Jan	I didn't [learn an instrument], my brother was older than me and he had flute lessons and never practised or anything, so I think my parents thought oh well, not going to waste the money on her. But when I was at school you know, I went to boarding school, and lots of people played musical instruments so I was always very envious, but I was always in choir, I've been in choirs all through my life really, I taught choir so yeah, [my daughters] played and still play, but I regret that I didn't, well I never sorta wanted to as an adult, I suppose I could've done it myself really you know, but I was never that...
Belinda	You get past point that point... 'cause I've thought, it would be, I wish I'd actually focused on the piano
Jan	Yeah, I mean I can play the recorder because at teachers' college you had to learn, so I can play that, and I can play a tune on the piano, pluck it out, I understand about reading music and all that, but I've never really played
Miriam	So do you think your perspective as a teacher influenced how you saw music in children's lives? Like did you use it in the classroom?
Jan	Probably, probably... more so my own schooling, because we went to schools where music was sort of a big thing, so I think I, I can remember going to the Town Hall to see these concerts and things when I was in school, so I think it was more that probably. I mean as a teacher you do as well, but I think it was more my own experiences of music as a child that I remembered. So yeah.
Miriam	So you said before that you would like her to somehow be involved in music, but with [your older daughter] when she didn't want to practise was that kinda a struggle at home?
Belinda	It was a little bit but that's not going to deter me (laughing), I'm determined, that's not gonna put me off. We're in a different... I was a single mum at the time, a very different family situation, so I think it will be easier. I don't know but I'm definitely keen for her to try something, whatever that is I don't know, whatever she's interested in
Miriam	So what do you think, what's the main reason why you would like her to learn an instrument?
Belinda	I like music, and I just think it's a great thing for kids, to have something, like another interest and to focus, something else to focus on, I think it's good for their brains as well, when they're developing, to have that background in music. As well as for the fun of it, and she likes music, she loves music, so yeah
Jan	And I think, I mean there's, I know when my girls went to primary school they had a school orchestra and my older daughter played the violin and that was great, she could go straight into the orchestra, and [younger daughter] played

	the piano, and she was really miffed that she couldn't, so she took up the recorder just so she could be in the band
Belinda	So she could join in
Jan	She said “I should've played cello 'cause then I could've been in the band.” She wanted to learn the piano, [older daughter] came to these music classes and they sort of suggested that she played the violin or the flute, and we had a friend who was a violinist so we chose the violin. But [younger daughter] actually just wanted to play the piano, that's what she wanted to do, so she played the piano. She still says now, I wish I learnt the cello
Miriam	But all the string players wish they learnt piano because then you can accompany people
Jan	Yeah but if you play another instrument you actually can be part of the band. And they had lots of opportunities at school with that sort of thing, but not all schools have got them of course now
Belinda	Yeah, that's what the girls, the high school that the girls go to, it has music and dance and drama
Jan	Yeah they've got a good opportunity
Belinda	It's really good. And if we stay in Southtown, and [student's] going to high school, that's the high school she'd go to, but I don't want to think about it!
Miriam	This is kinda a two part question: did you use, was there much music in the home when they were younger, like would you use lullabies for example to sing her to sleep? (to Belinda)
Belinda	Yeah yep. Well we had Buttercup CDs and I'd sing to her. My partner's really, he loves music, and he exposes us to different kinds of music, I mostly listened to classical music, and I'd come home and he'd have some other crazy music, I think one time he had Marilyn Manson going, just all sorts, so she's been exposed to a really broad range of music from quite a young age. And of course my daughters, their music as well, there's just always music in the house
Miriam	And the follow-on to that is do you think that through coming to these music classes, has your, I mean it sounds like you were pretty musically confident before, but has it affected your musical confidence?
Belinda	Oh no it's probably the same really. But she's just familiar with all the instruments for years, like we went into a music shop, I don't know where it was, and she just went straight to all the instruments like the bells, and she just was really familiar with them, and I think that's when I bought her a couple of bits and pieces 'cause she's just “oh!” She knew what they were. Like I think a lot of older kids maybe they don't know, they haven't been exposed to...
Miriam	Do you know if his parents sang him lullabies? (to Jan)
Jan	Yeah yeah he's always had that sort of thing, always music of one kind or another. Like at our place, and at my daughter's place, and his aunty plays violin so he's heard her play and they've gone to concerts and things, so he's had quite a good exposure to music.
Miriam	At the age of three, that's pretty exciting!
Jan	I know he's very lucky.

Miriam	Hmm I'm not sure whether I've got any more questions, maybe just a really obvious one, what do you, I mean you've kinda already touched on this, but specifically what are the things that you like about the class, I mean the experience of being in class?
Belinda	I think Adele's a great teacher
Jan	Yeah I do too, she's terrific, such fun
Belinda	She gets everybody involved, I think she's a critical component of the class
Jan	I agree, I think I said that in my survey, I think she's my favourite bit. Oh and I like watching them all you know, the way they interact with the music
Belinda	And [student] when she started, she was really shy, when we first started, and she wouldn't go up and get an instrument, she'd just wait for all the other kids to go and then she'd be last. And now she's, well you've seen her. She always liked the dancing part of it, but there were certain elements, just watching her it's really helped, it seems to have helped her confidence
Jan	And it's good for them to see other kids
Belinda	Yeah it's fun, I think [student] thinks it's really fun
Miriam	Maybe one last question: how do you think about musical ability, in terms of
Jan	(Oh whether some people are naturally musical? I think everyone's got musical ability. I think it's just you know, whether you've got, what level you've got is a talent I suppose, but I think everyone, I mean they say “I can't sing” but everyone really can sing. And if you had the opportunity to learn a musical instrument you could probably do it. I think some people are just musical, but everyone's got a degree of that
Belinda	Yeah that's right. I think as long as they... if Felicity didn't necessarily have any talent I wouldn't dissuade her, she enjoys it. I think it's about the enjoyment of it, so yeah. I mean I know that they do a class where they assess them, which instrument they should play... ok when they start kindergarten
Jan	And they used to, they'd have so many weeks on the keyboard and on the violin, and it was really interesting the way they'd look at all the physical things, and emotional things and work out what was best. But sometimes they just want to learn a particular thing themselves, whether they're suited to it or not. I think music should be part of everybody's life really, and there's so much variety now that
Belinda	And there's lots of opportunities, somewhere like Southtown, there's lots of opportunities
Jan	But I think it's a shame, the only thing is that these classes and things, are things that not everyone can afford to come to, to music classes, or to have music lessons and things, unless they're at school and it's part of the school curriculum, it's sort of an extra expensive thing, and I think that's a shame that it's not an opportunity every child can have. I'm a great advocate for public schools having more music programs and things so that everyone can learn something. 'Cause it's expensive, lessons and buying instruments and all that sort of stuff, you know I think it's a shame it's not available to everybody
Miriam	Alright I think that's everything I wanted to ask

Jan	I think we're all really positive about it because Adele's so positive, and I know that the teacher that [student] had when he first came, she was really lovely, but she was a bit, I think she babied them a bit, it was a bit cutesy-wutesy sort of stuff
Belinda	Yeah Adele doesn't talk down to the kids at all, that's really important
Jan	Yeah and I like that better, that probably suits me better. I like that aspect of it too, so we're all enthusiastic 'cause we have fun too I think.
Belinda	Yeah it's like I planned when I booked in my preschool days I was like right, we can't have a Wednesday 'cause we've got music on, have to do Monday or Tuesday next year

Appendix 2.5: Grace Interview Transcript

Miriam	Maybe you could just start by telling me about why you decided to start going to the ECM classes?
Grace	To the [Southtown Con] classes in particular, or to early music in general?
Miriam	In general, oh so you went to the Kindermusik classes in Canberra?
Grace	Yup
Miriam	It'd be great if you could tell me about that as well
Grace	Well my godmother teaches early childhood music in Canberra and she uses the Kindermusik program, and she was very, and because I'd done it when I was a child I was very keen for my children to do it. So my kids started doing it when they were like 3 or 4 months old basically, just doing very early music appreciation kind of stuff. Yeah so, and then we relocated from Canberra to Southtown and I found out that Jackie was still doing the music classes at the Con and so I decided to enrol both of my children there because I'd done it, and I suppose doing the early music, those music classes had instilled a love of music and a real understanding of music, I suppose, in me and it made, it had helped me to progress to learning instruments and doing music theory and I suppose I just always, I have this appreciation and understanding of music, I mean I don't know whether it's the same as other people, but you can understand chords, and you can understand beat, and you can understand rhythm and tone and different instruments and stuff like that, and I don't know whether I can say, really make a strong link between doing early childhood music, but it certainly made the progression through to learning instruments and doing music theory easier, or it just started it off I suppose. Yeah, and I wanted my kids to do that as well and start to get an early appreciation of music. My husband's fairly musical, plays the guitar and used to sing and that sort of thing so yeah.
Miriam	Do you still play music at all?
Grace	I don't really, I have contemplated getting my violin back out, to the point where I have got the bow rehaired, but then I didn't do it, and I spoke to Jackie about the, there's some sort of orchestra in Southtown that's for people in my position who really want to play but probably can't play that well anymore, so I have thought about getting in contact with them, but I'll have to find some time in my new schedule of looking after kids, to sort that out. But yeah, I think about it all the time and I should just do it
Miriam	So you played violin all through primary school and high school?
Grace	Yeah, and piano just mainly in primary school. We moved a fair bit. We moved to Melbourne when I was in Year 7 and so the piano sort of slipped, but I kept the violin up until, until Year 12.
Miriam	And you were playing in orchestras? What kind of things did you do with the violin?
Grace	Yeah I played in the Southtown Youth Orchestra, while I was in Southtown, and I was taught by a woman called [woman's name], I don't know if she's still alive, and we played in a quartet as well

Miriam	Oh right cool
Grace	And then when I moved to Melbourne I just mainly played in the school orchestra, 'cause it was a fairly strong, and a school quartet as well. And yeah, just trying to remember, it was quite a while ago! I led my school orchestra when I was in Year 10 and that sort of thing, so it was a big part of my life, and we moved again when I was in Year 11, start of Year 11, and I played in the orchestra of the new school I was in there as well, and sang in the choir and that sort of thing. But that pretty much fizzled out after school. I went and did a gap year in the UK and took my fiddle with me and sort of tried to do a bit of... I played with the children in the orchestra of the school I was working at, that sort of thing. After that uni kinda took over and that was it, it wasn't really that cool, unfortunately.
Miriam	What do you mean, playing the violin's so cool!
Grace	No, not for me at that point in time (laughing)
Miriam	Awesome, so with switching from the Kindermusik classes in Canberra to the ECM program in Southtown, did you, is there anything particular that you liked or disliked about either program, or ways that you compare the two and your experience in the two?
Grace	I suppose, the Kindermusik one is quite structured, not that the Chime one isn't structured, but my–the teacher, my godmother–would always stick exactly to the plan which was quite good, and she was very experienced and could probably do it with her eyes closed. It was kind of good in a way that it had a pack that came every term and it had a CD, so the kids would listen to the music in the car and get to know the music quite well that was going to be played in the classes. And we didn't always use just that music, but it was a nice reference I suppose, and a reminder, and then they would remember that that's what they were doing at music. But I love, the Southtown classes are very interactive, I mean ours were as well but they were much smaller classes, yeah I think Adele is just a fantastic teacher. I like how they've got an animal basis this term. So we've only been doing it for this term so I can't say I've had a lot of experience with the Southtown one with my kids, but the use of all the instruments and the way they call the instruments by their correct names and the kids learn to use them correctly, and just the way of teaching them about loud and soft and fast and slow and different beats in a fun, engaging environment. I think that's really excellent
Miriam	Cool. So do your, I think you said in the survey but just remind me, do your children do any other activities apart from the music class?
Grace	Not really at this point, they only just do swimming lessons and that sort of thing. We're going to be doing, I dunno, gymnastics or something like that, but no we don't do a lot of extra-curricular activity. Music's always been the priority one for us.
Miriam	And do you sing the songs from class or any other songs at home during the week?
Grace	Yeah we do. In particular, the welcome and the goodbye songs, and [student] will always sort of say “and then I get up and get my blue elephant and put it on the board,” he really likes that

Miriam	Yeah he always looks so chuffed!
Grace	Well he's quite a confident little boy, very different to his sister who's quite, she's quite reserved and so when he did that on the first day I was so happy for him, I wasn't expecting it at all, so yeah he likes that, and I suppose once we get to know the other songs a bit more we will sing them. But yeah we definitely sing what we can remember
Miriam	And did you, when they were younger or even now, did you sing them lullabies or other songs in everyday life?
Grace	Yeah we do. Yeah we have a lot of the Kindermusik CDs still in the car so they get requested all the time. Unfortunately we also have a Wiggles CD in the car which also gets requested all the time
Miriam	Is that unfortunate for you because you're sick of the songs?
Grace	Yes, I'm sick of all them! There's also a Play School CD, we have a lot of those old school lullabies and nursery rhyme songs and you know, Incy Wincy Spider and that sort of thing. There's a lot of that sort of singing going on at home
Miriam	Cool. Ok this is a bit of a different question, do you have a... how do you think about musical ability, in terms of whether, you think about it in terms of natural talent, or something that anybody can do, or somewhere in the middle of those two?
Grace	I think there has to be some sense of natural talent, or natural interest? I suppose in a way. I think it's hard to force a child to practise and you know, keep at an instrument every day and do that sort of thing, I think there has to be a way the child can understand that they're progressing and doing well, on their own terms, without having to have that pressure applied, so I'm sure children... there is a learnt ability to do it as well, but from my experience, learning the violin, I don't think I really enjoyed it until afterwards when I looked back and I thought, oh I'm really glad that I learnt to play the violin. And trying to tell a child that "you'll really enjoy this one day..." So I suppose when I think about it now if my children learn an instrument, I'd like them to do it because they want to do it. But at the same time you do kinda want them to persevere so I suppose you have to push them a little bit to keep at that. Yeah it's tricky.
Miriam	Did your parents do that much with you, did they encourage you to practise?
Grace	Oh yeah, but I suppose I didn't make the link very well between practising and improving, like I thought I was practising simply because I had to, and because I had a lesson coming up. I mean I understood that if I practised I was able to play the piece better, but I dunno, I did the AMEB exams and that sort of thing and it was always, it was almost just like another school subject in a way, like oh I've gotta practise this for the exam, and you've gotta do the exam, and I remember when I went to Melbourne, when we moved to Melbourne, my teacher there didn't do that sort of thing as well, and then in fact when I moved overseas with my family my other teacher certainly didn't do it, and I was kinda lost in a way, like I was like, how do I play this instrument if you don't want me to prepare for an exam? I didn't have that sense of just enjoying it and playing it for playing's sake. I was like, I must play, I have to play this violin because I'm going to perform in the orchestra, or I'm going to do an exam in two months time, and that, I suppose, is a sense of not necessarily ability but being pushed... Sorry I've just gone off on a really convoluted tangent

Miriam	No no it's very interesting!
Grace	But yeah, I do think there has to be some sort of ability from the child, I would never just say yes I want you to learn the bassoon if my child didn't want to do it, for example, and I just didn't think that, and I could clearly see that they couldn't do it very well, I wouldn't continue to push them to do it I suppose.
Miriam	But do you think you'll, at the Con they do that [year of trying different instruments] program, do you think that would be a good way to see if they express an interest themselves, or will you wait and see?
Grace	Well I mean I sort of talk to them both about instruments and things that they'd like, and I can see when [student], when he's singing around he likes to pretend he's playing the guitar, and he does that a lot, and to me that seems, I think oh maybe if I got him a little guitar or something like that and see if he has an interest in playing guitar, or some sort of stringed instrument. I dunno, I mean he's only 2½, it's kinda a bit... (laughs) But yeah some sort of program where they get to try different instruments I reckon would be great. So we will probably, we will definitely keep doing the different programs as they get older and see what takes their fancy. But again, if they don't, if they choose not to do them, you know, then that's fine too, but I think music and appreciation of music in our household will always, because you know, I like going to hear the ACO play or hear an orchestra play, or even go to musical theatre, so I'll be taking my children along, so it would be lovely for them to have more of an understanding. Like I like the fact that when I go to see an orchestra play, I know what it feels like to play in an orchestra, and I can understand what the conductor's doing, and I can understand how the different instruments blend together and work and I like that. So I'd kinda like my children to have that knowledge as well
Miriam	Well I've just got one more question, and you've probably already touched on it tangentially, but I just wanted to ask specifically, what do you enjoy and what do you think Elliot enjoys about the actually experience of being in class
Grace	I think he enjoys being engaged with the other kids and the teacher, I think he loves the opportunity to jump up and dance and move around and play instruments and have some focus on him, as well. Because he's a second child, it's always usually about his sister. So to have a class where people ask him to do things specifically is quite good. And I like that he's learning you know, about music styles and beats and rhythms and sounds and that he's participating and engaged and happy to join in. So yeah, I mean it's all social skills in a way as well, well a strong way really, and just an interesting way to develop those. And when we did the Kindermusik in Canberra we actually made some really good friends out of that, the interaction and engagement from the class sort of carried on afterwards, it was a nice way to meet new families and new children and you sort of have a similar common bond I suppose in some sense. Particularly those who go have a similar, lifestyle
Miriam	I teach music classes as well, and it seems that that's more important for parents of young kids because everything is so new and you're discovering how to be a parent, so do you think that played a role...?
Grace	Yeah I think there is a lot of discussion, comparisons, that kind of thing from parents. That's a general thing I think especially with young parents, that they will always sit there and ask questions of one another, check that they're doing the right thing! I often find though, I find it strange in those situations, and sort

	of even more broader, even when you go to the park or you're doing another kind of thing, it seems like parents are so engrossed in their kids' activities these days that they forget to engage with the other parents, sometimes. When their children, when the children are older, there seems to be a... you indicate that you're aware of the person but it seems to often just be a focus on the child and the parent rather than, I dunno... That kinda completely reverses my comment before about making friends, but sometimes it's like that, it's the parent's only focused on the child and not the actual surrounding environment, that seems kinda strange to me 'cause music is about community and creating music together in a group environment. Yeah I think if anything, what those sorts of classes could benefit from are getting the parents and the children to engage. Like I like how in the other class, that my daughter goes to, Sandra the teacher often gets them to do things in groups of two or three, so the parent does it as well, and you are sort of more forced to engage with the other parents too, so it becomes a bit more of a conversation I suppose, a discussion. Whereas when you're in a bigger class of eight or nine you're just mainly talking to your child and that's it.
Miriam	That's really interesting

Appendix 2.6: Jennifer Interview Transcript

Miriam	Can you tell me about why you decided to start coming to the ECM classes?
Jennifer	I was still on maternity leave when I enquired but we had to wait til she was 1, so we wanted to do it, well because I'm not very good with music and–I can do music for toddlers but I can't really extend it and I find it's not social, so I really wanted that social interaction. That was the primary reason, but I kept going 'cause there was rules, like they had to sit in the circle, and Adele had expectations of them which I thought were valuable for her to learn as well, but that wasn't my original reason for going
Miriam	Ok so do you do music, 'cause you work as an early childhood teacher right?
Jennifer	She's always got, she's outside playing the drums right now, she's always got an instrument around, but I don't know how to play and I don't really know how... I can do tempos, beat, rhythm, basic basic things, and I know songs, I sing songs all throughout the day but that's it.
Miriam	Cool, and when you first started did she kinda take to it right away or take a while to get used to it?
Jennifer	When she was 1, she didn't, she was very shy and withdrawn, she's a quiet girl in general and takes a while to warm up so it took about a year to put her name up confidently
Miriam	(aughing) Oh really?
Jennifer	I had to come up with her and stuff, I think that's a stage they go through though, and that's what I liked about the class, is that they had those challenges where, you know in terms of being brave to go up the front by themselves and then identifying colours and names and shapes and things. They're all there for the...
Miriam	Yeah... So since starting going to the classes do you feel like you're more musically confident to do stuff with her at home?
Jennifer	No. The answer's no, not at all. Yeah no not at all. I don't feel like I've learnt much. It keeps me inspired and I often remember things that I've not done in a long time, but no I don't feel like I'm learning much, personally, but it is my job, I have to do music, I have to do a music circle game every day in my work, I've been doing it for years.
Miriam	So where do you get your resources from for that kind of thing at work?
Jennifer	Um I, when I first started I used the Merrily Merrily book a lot, do you know that book? It's like a standard, and I still go back to that sometimes. I do use a lot of pop music. I don't particularly like pop myself but children tend to and I like that it can get them moving, I'm a big believer in physical activity. And staff members, other staff members are invaluable. Apart from that then I'll just do a Google or a YouTube search if I'm... a particular interest that we're trying to extend, like animals or whatever else
Miriam	Cool, so do you think, just back to your comment that you didn't think you were learning anything, do you think there's stuff you could learn if it were a different environment, or you just think you're at where you're at musically?
Jennifer	I would like to learn more, and I'm open to learning more, I think as she gets

	older I'll start picking up on different things, just because I already work with her age group. I'm actually really interested to see next year, well I'm not in the class next year am I?
Miriam	I think the parents continue in the class until they're 5
Jennifer	Oh good, good! Because I'm keen to see how that goes 'cause I think I might pick up a little bit more as things get a bit more complicated
Miriam	So when you were younger, you didn't play any instruments? What was your musical life like when you were younger?
Jennifer	I didn't have a very supportive household, so I tried to play instruments, I think my earliest memory's recorder... I know I know!
Miriam	The dreaded memory of recorder!
Jennifer	And then I taught myself and through a friend who played the clarinet, I did learn a bit of the clarinet but I was just doing it informally and it just became fruitless, and with family circumstances I couldn't continue with that. So I've always had an interest in it, I've bought a guitar for my husband, thinking that we'd both learn, but we just don't know how to manage our time and it's not a priority really. [Student] has a little ukelele that she loves so it would be nice if we could... My dad played guitar, he was self-taught, I have fond memories of that. It would be nice for [student] to have those too, of someone playing music, having fun
Miriam	Well like you can learn songs for the kids from the internet, you can learn lots about the guitar from the internet
Jennifer	I know, I've tried, I've tried! I just find it hard to coordinate myself and I think I need interesting music, or, I think I need an engaging teacher if I'm going to learn. I did try really hard for a few weeks really, to learn the guitar but I just don't think I'm that motivated at home
Miriam	Yeah especially when there's so many competing things that might need to be done. So... so when [student] was younger or maybe even now, did you sing her lullabies or any other sort of music throughout the day?
Jennifer	From the day, well before she was born and the day after she was born, I've always sung Inanay to her, because that's a really magical song for me at work, it will settle anybody, any child in any room. Yeah always sang, always, I always knew the importance of that for language development, yup always sang, lots and lots and lots. And taught my husband a couple of songs, he's not (cooperative?) in doing it, I don't think he sings at all, he plays death metal with her but that's about all. And not when I'm around 'cause I can't stand it.
Miriam	So where did you learn Inanay, did you learn it at school?
Jennifer	I heard it originally on the Choir of Hard knocks, then I think a staff member sang it once and I went oh I've been wanting to learn that, 'cause I didn't know how to learn it. And she knew the actions, I think the actions she taught me are wrong, but the children really loved it so I just made the point of learning it, it took me a while because of the language, but it's actually really easy, but the children learn it straight away every time. So I always wanted her [student] to know that song, and she does
Miriam	I work in a daycare one day a week doing music classes, and I have this one

	really crazy preschool class, and they're always really hyperactive and there are a lot of them and the educator doesn't sit in on the music group, and just last week just at the end I was like “lie down, I'm just going to sing...” and I sang You are my Sunshine, and they were so relaxed! And I was like why have I never done this before! Like usually I leave and they're all just really hyped up from the music class and running around, and I was just like, wow this is a cool thing to do
Jennifer	Inanay will settle them too... I find any familiar song is really settling for children. Twinkle Twinkle obviously, depends what age group you're at, but even babies and preschool will like Inanay–give it a go! There are actions to it, I've been shown actions, I don't know if they're right!
Miriam	Yeah I'll have a look on YouTube, they'll probably be there. So just one or two more questions... oh yeah, so you mentioned your husband listens to death metal sometimes, do you listen to much music?
Jennifer	No I don't. I've never, I guess my taste is stuck in the nineties. I just bought a radio for the house. I used to listen to things on the television but now with [student] here I can't, I can't watch the news because it's graphic now as well as... just the actual news. So I bought a radio and I'm starting to listen to it more, and that's got me wanting to listen to some old favourites again.
Miriam	Do you listen to any children-focused music?
Jennifer	Yeah that's mostly what I listen to, I've got a full swag of children's music, like the car, we always have music on in the car, there's a bit of a variety, I think I've got Michael Bublé in there as well, that's the only adult CD, left over from Christmas, it's still in there. I've got a vintage children's songs with Five Little Ducks and stuff. She loves, we were given a Giggle CD, well you know Jimmy Giggle, every mum in the world loves Jimmy Giggle. So we don't watch that, we have watched it, but she loves it, it's got Bananas in Pyjamas and stuff like that on there. She asked for that one today. There's a princess CD I bought for her that has her, they sing her name in a song. I've got all the Hi-5, Wiggles, all the general stuff, Jingle Jam, all the fun things
Miriam	What do you, both of you enjoy most about actually being in the class?
Jennifer	I like that I don't have my phone on me, and I can't answer it if it rings, it's an hour, I can go to a class in the morning and I know that she's had an hour, or half an hour of my undivided attention, without any question, because I am distracted, I'm one of those... I have a busy mind and I'm doing a hundred things at once all the time, I find it hard to be still. So, I know that I can do that in that class, even if I'm thinking about something else she doesn't know. And we make friends, like we met [another student] through music, and they're best of friends, we didn't make a date through, we just happened to run into each other at the park one day and they recognised each other and it's just come from that. That was nice.
Miriam	Did you have anything else to say about your enjoyment of being in the class apart from your...?
Jennifer	No, I do enjoy it, yeah, I do enjoy it, I dropped a lot of classes last term 'cause we were moving and I couldn't keep it all up 'cause we were just very busy, but music's the first one I've picked back up, 'cause I do like it, I like that it's wet weather, the toilets are close by and, you know, all those...

Miriam	So what ones were you doing before?
Jennifer	She was doing ballet and swimming lessons and I worked the other two days, she was at daycare.
Miriam	Does she bring up anything from the class during the week?
Jennifer	Not usually... but she has, just this last term, loving the Criss Cross Apple Sauce song, she does it every day, and I did learn that song, I didn't know that song, I'd seen that song and I couldn't work out how to find out how to do it, so I've enjoyed doing that too.
Miriam	That's really awesome 'cause I just finished (phone briefly cut out) I was just saying that I was just writing a section about how that specific activity kind of exemplified how children and parents bonded through the music class, because its so physical, and you can tell they really anticipate the tickles, so yeah that's cool that she particularly likes that one. So does she do it on you, or the dog?
Jennifer	Yeah she prefers to do it on me. Sometimes I say do it to your dolly. Yeah she loves doing it to me.
Miriam	Thank you so much for your time
Jennifer	That's all right.
Miriam	Is there anything else you wanted to say about your experience of the class?
Jennifer	No, we just enjoy it, and we'll keep going and hopefully she picks up an instrument one day!
Miriam	Yeah cool
Jennifer	That's my hope is that she'll, that there's an instrument she'll like, and we can follow through on that
Miriam	So you'll take her to the [year of trying different instruments] program? Where they try out all the different instruments?
Jennifer	I don't know anything about it, I was just playing it by ear, but yeah I am open to all of that and I want her to experience as much music as possible, 'cause it's so good for the brain. Yeah but I'll only do it if she wants to. We pulled out, she haven't picked up ballet and we won't 'cause she didn't love it, she liked it but it wasn't, she didn't love it, she preferred the park. I'm not going to be one of those pushy mums with a two year old
Miriam	No, gotta see what tickles her fancy

Appendix 3.1: Participant Information and Consent Form

Institute of Early Childhood

Faculty of Human Sciences

MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109

Supervisor's Name & Title: Dr Peter Whiteman, Head of Department
Phone: +61 (2) 9850 9883
Fax: +61 (2) 9850 9890
Email: peter.whiteman@mq.edu.au

Researcher's Name & Title: Miriam Jones, Master of Research Candidate

Phone: 0415 529 342
Email: miriam.jones1@students.mq.edu.au

Participant Information and Consent Form

Name of Project: SPECIALIST EARLY CHILDHOOD MUSIC EDUCATION: Negotiating Parental Expectations, Pedagogy and Profit

Short Title: SPECIALIST EARLY CHILDHOOD MUSIC EDUCATION

You are invited to participate in a study of early childhood music (ECM) education. In particular, I am researching the kind of ECM education that you regularly participate in: classes that takes place outside the institutional settings of long day-care centres or preschools, and are provided for a fee. The purpose of the study is to understand why parents make the decision to enrol their children in ECM education. In recent years there has been a strong emphasis placed on the utility of music in facilitating academic and social competencies in young children, and this research will attempt to understand the impact of this school of thought on parents' decisions to participate in ECM classes. The study also seeks to understand how teachers and administrators of ECM classes respond to parents' expectations and perceptions of ECM education, and how they balance business and pedagogical concerns.

I am conducting this research to meet the requirements of the Master of Research degree, under the supervision of Dr Peter Whiteman of the Institute of Early Childhood at Macquarie University (see above for contact details).

If you decide to participate, **the research would involve the following**:

1) The researcher's participation in, and observation of, three regular classes.

2) Your completion of a short questionnaire about the reasons behind your involvement in early childhood music education. Questionnaire should take approximately **20 minutes**.

3) Your participation in either an interview or focus group, to be arranged at your convenience.

The interview or focus group would take **no longer than an hour** and would be scheduled to suit you and your child/ren's needs.

4) Video recording of three regular music classes. The video camera would be positioned in a non-intrusive fashion so as not to disturb the children and the class. Should any carers or children wish not to be filmed, video recording will not go ahead.

Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study are confidential, except as required by law. No individual will be identified in any publication of the results. Only the chief investigator (Dr Peter Whiteman) and I will have access to the data. Transcriptions of interviews will be made available to all participants to verify their accuracy, and all final results and analysis will also be sent to interested participants.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary: you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

I look forward to discussing any questions or queries you may have. Please do not hesitate to send me an email or call on 0415 529 342.

Kind regards,

Miriam Jones

I, *(participant's name)* have read *(or, where appropriate, have had read to me)* and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

I agree to:

☐ The researcher sitting in the room and participating in three classes.

☐ My own participation in one interview OR focus group.

☐ Allow video recording of up to three classes as supporting material to the researcher's in-class observations and field notes.

Participant's Name:_____
(Block letters)

Participant's Signature:_____Date:_____

Investigator's Name:_____
(Block letters)

Investigator's Signature:_____Date:_____

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics & Integrity (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

(INVESTIGATOR'S [OR PARTICIPANT'S] COPY)

Appendix 3.2: Ethics Approval

RE: HS Ethics Application - Approved (5201500454)(Con/Met) Inbox x

Fhs Ethics <fhs.ethics@mq.edu.au> Jun 24
to Dr, me

Dear Dr Whiteman,

Re: "Specialist early childhood music education: Negotiating parental expectations, pedagogy and profit"(5201500454)

Thank you very much for your response. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Faculty of Human Sciences Human Research Ethics Sub-Committee and approval has been granted, effective 24th June 2015. This email constitutes ethical approval only.

This research meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). The National Statement is available at the following web site:

http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/_files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e72.pdf.

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:

Dr Peter Whiteman
Ms Miriam Jones

Appendix 3.3: Ethics Amendment

Hi Peter,

Thank you for the amendment request regarding the change in researcher sites. This has been reviewed and approved.

Thanks Peter. See you on Monday.

Best wishes,

Kay

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Peter Whiteman** <peter.whiteman@mq.edu.au>
Date: 21 July 2015 at 15:23
Subject: Amendment
To: Ethics Secretariat <ethics.secretariat@mq.edu.au>, MIRIAM JONES <miriam.jones1@students.mq.edu.au>

Please find attached, an amendment request for project 5201500454 titled "Specialist early childhood music education: Negotiating parental expectations, pedagogy and profit"

--
Dr Peter Whiteman

Head

Institute of Early Childhood | Level 3, X5B Building
Macquarie University, NSW 2109, Australia