

Anne Jordhus-Lier

**Institutionalising versatility,**  
**accommodating specialists**

*A discourse analysis  
of music teachers' professional identities  
within the Norwegian municipal school  
of music and arts*



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Lierfoss, 2 August 2017

Anne Jordhus-Lier

## Summary

The main aim of this study has been to investigate professional identities of music teachers working in the Norwegian municipal school of music and performing arts. The study examines the teachers' professional identities, by investigating competing discourses in the school of arts and how teacher identities are constructed within them. The study has a discourse theoretical approach (Laclau & Mouffe 2001), in which identities are understood as identification with subject positions. It also builds on theories of professions (Abbott 1988; Freidson 2001; Molander & Terum 2008b), adding a frame for discussing what it means for an occupational group to be a profession and providing an entrance to better understand which subject positions are constructed and tensions created.

The research methodology employs qualitative methods and discourse analysis. Semi-structured interviews with sixteen music teachers from three different schools are analysed, together with document material, including: former and current curriculum frameworks (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003, 2016) and policy documents from the former and current government (Conservative Party 2015; Ministry of Culture 2009; Ministry of Education and Research 2014; Office of the Prime Minister 2013). While music teacher identity has been the subject of several studies, this study is unique in examining the professional identities of music teachers working in the Norwegian school of music and performing arts. This study therefore contributes to existing knowledge.

The Norwegian municipal school of music and performing arts offers extra-curricular activities for children and adolescents in music and other art forms. Every municipality is obliged by law to run a school of arts or to collaborate with other municipalities in fulfilling that requirement, where collaboration with compulsory schools and local community music and arts fields is part of the legislation. The idea behind the school of arts is that it should provide music education for every child regardless of social and economic background. The first municipal music schools in Norway started in the 1950s, and since then they expanded their scope to cover different art forms and genres. Breadth, versatility and social inclusion are key tenets of the school today, with an aim of being for everyone. However, depth and specialisation are also emphasised in various policy documents and in the curriculum frameworks. This means the school has various and diverse tasks to manage. The ones performing these tasks are teachers in the school of arts, who are mostly specialists and have comprehensive training in their specialty from higher education institutions. They also must relate to the institution's political vision, including its commitment to social inclusion and breadth. From a researcher's point of view, this raises the question of how the school of arts as an institution juggles these seemingly inconsistent objectives, and how music teachers working within this institution reconcile diverse tasks and expectations.

The study has identified several institutional and teacher discourses competing to define the field. The institutional discourses compete to define what kind of institution the school of arts should be, while the teacher discourses compete to define the role of its practitioners. None of the discourses has hegemony; rather the study has found the field to be open, with several discourses standing in binary opposition to each other. Within these binaries, central aspects of the school of arts are defined and contested. The analysis has identified the institutional discourses of *breadth* and *depth* and the teacher discourses of *versatility* and *specialisation* as the most central. In the binary *breadth–depth*, the *breadth* discourse is identified as dominant in the data material. This is articulated through the notion of the school of arts as having a broad mandate to include all children, and to take responsibility for arts education in general. The *depth* discourse is also present, with the signifiers 'individualism' – as every child should be able to choose which activities to participate in – and 'quality' – as it is secured through specialisation and depth – being central. Further, the analysis has revealed that while the *institutional* discourse of *breadth* is dominant in

policy documents, the *teacher* discourse of *specialisation* is dominant in the interview material. This does create some tension.

Collaboration is a central element in this study, both at the institutional level and between teachers. Schools of arts in this study collaborate with compulsory schools, upper secondary schools, orchestras, wind bands and other actors within the local community music and arts fields. Collaboration at the institutional level may or may not involve teacher collaboration. Findings from this study indicate that teachers are interested in collaboration with different institutions, in order to vary their tasks. More institutional collaboration can also lead to larger employment percentages, which could be positive for the individual teacher, but also for the collegium and the school of arts. Findings from the interview material show that informal meeting places are crucial for teacher collaboration to emerge.

Six analytically distinct subject positions are identified within the discourses in the school of arts, which are available for the teachers to identify with – or reject. These are *music teacher*, *instrumental teacher*, *musician*, *musician-teacher*, *coach* and *school of arts teacher*. The analysis has further revealed that most of the teachers in this study identify with several subject positions, either at the same time or interchangeably according to the situation. This is in line with discourse theory, where the subject is perceived as fragmented – positioned in several ways by several discourses (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:41). Two of the sixteen teachers in this study identified with a singular subject position while the rest identified with several.

The analysis reveals the subject positions to be structured hierarchically, where those constructed within the discourses of *depth* and *specialisation* have a somewhat higher status than those constructed within the *versatility* and *breadth* discourses. Although most of the teachers in this study identify with several subject positions, only one identifies primarily with the subject position *school of arts teacher*. In the curriculum frameworks, however, *school of arts teacher* is the primary subject position. Hence, there is difference in how ‘music teacher’ is represented in language used by the different actors.

This study shows that there can be conflict between subject positions constructed within discourses in binary oppositions. This could lead to different views on the aim of teaching, who the school of arts should be for, and what to prioritise. If the school of arts is seen as a ‘pluri-verse’, however, where difference is acknowledged, potential conflicts will arise on an agonistic level



instead of an antagonistic one (Mouffe 2005a, 2013). In this way, difference within the field of professional identities could be positive and productive.

## Sammendrag

Hovedmålet med denne studien har vært å utforske profesjonsidentitetene til musikk lærere som jobber i den norske kulturskolen. Studien undersøker lærernes profesjonsidentiteter, ved å studere konkurrerende diskurser i kulturskolen og hvordan læreridentiteter blir konstruerte gjennom disse. Studien har en diskursteoretisk tilnærming (Laclau & Mouffe 2001) der identiteter er forstått som identifikasjon med subjektposisjoner. Den bygger også på profesjonsteorier (Abbott 1988; Freidson 2001; Molander & Terum 2008b). Disse teoriene tilfører en ramme for å diskutere hva det betyr for et yrke å være en profesjon, og de tilbyr en inngang for bedre å forstå hvilke subjektposisjoner som konstrueres og spenninger som skapes.

Forskningsmetodologien baserer seg på kvalitative metoder og diskursanalyse. Semistrukturerte intervjuer med seksten musikk lærere fra tre forskjellige skoler er analysert sammen med dokumentmateriale som består av: forrige og nåværende rammeplanen for kulturskolen (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003, 2016) og politiske dokumenter fra den forrige og nåværende regjeringen (Conservative Party 2015; Ministry of Culture 2009; Ministry of Education and Research 2014; Office of the Prime Minister 2013). Selv om musikk læreridentitet har vært undersøkt i flere studier er denne studien unik i sitt fokus på profesjonsidentiteter i den norske kulturskolen. Denne studien bidrar derfor til eksisterende kunnskap.

Den norske kulturskolen tilbyr barn og unge fritidsaktiviteter innenfor musikk og andre kunstformer. Alle kommuner er lovpålagt å ha et kulturskoletilbud,

enten alene eller i samarbeid med andre kommuner. Krav om samarbeid med grunnskolen og det lokale musikk- og kulturlivet er en del av denne lovgivningen. Grunnideen til kulturskolen er at den skal tilby undervisning for alle barn og unge uavhengig av sosial og økonomisk bakgrunn. De første kommunale musikkskolene i Norge startet opp på 1950-tallet og har siden utviklet seg til å inkludere flere kunstformer og sjangre. Bredde, allsidighet og sosial inkludering er kjerneelementer i kulturskolen i dag, med et mål om å være for alle. Likevel er også dybde og spesialisering vektlagt i politiske dokumenter og i rammeplanene. Dette betyr at kulturskolen har mange og ulike oppgaver å administrere. De som skal gjennomføre disse oppgavene er kulturskolelærerne, som for det meste er spesialister med lang utdanning innenfor sitt spesialfelt. De må også relatere seg til kulturskolens oppdrag, inkludert forpliktelsen til sosial inkludering og bredde. Fra et forskerperspektiv reiser dette spørsmål rundt hvordan kulturskolen som institusjon forvalter disse tilsynelatende sprikende målsetningene, samt hvordan musikkklærere ansatt i denne institusjonen forholder seg til så vidt ulike oppgaver og forventninger.

Studien har identifisert flere institusjons- og lærerdiskurser som kjemper om å definere feltet. Institusjonsdiskursene kjemper om å definere hva slags institusjon kulturskolen skal være, mens lærerdiskursene kjemper om å definere lærerrollen. Ingen av diskursene har hegemoni, og studien skildrer et åpent felt med flere diskurser i binære relasjoner til hverandre. Disse binære relasjonene rammer inn hvordan sentrale aspekter ved kulturskolen defineres og kjempes om. Analysen har identifisert institusjonsdiskursene *bredde* og *dybde* og lærerdiskursene *allsidighet* og *spesialisering* som de mest sentrale. I binariteten *bredde-dybde* er *breddediskursen* identifisert som den mest dominerende i datamaterialet. Dette er artikulert gjennom ideen om at kulturskolen har et bredt mandat der alle barn skal bli inkludert og at den har et ansvar for kunst- og kulturutdanning generelt. *Dybdediskursen* er også tilstede, hvor betegnerne 'individualisme' – at alle barn skal ha mulighet til å velge hvilke aktiviteter de vil delta på – og 'kvalitet' – som er sikret gjennom spesialisering og dybde – er de mest sentrale. Videre har analysen vist at mens *breddediskursen* er dominerende i de offentlige dokumentene, er *spesialiseringsdiskursen* dominerende i intervju materialet. Dette skaper spenning.

Samarbeid er et sentralt element i denne studien, både på institusjonsnivå og mellom lærere. Kulturskolene i denne studien samarbeider med grunnskoler, videregående skoler, orkestre, korps og andre aktører innenfor det lokale musikk- og kulturlivet. Samarbeid på institusjonsnivå kan involvere

lærersamarbeid, men ikke nødvendigvis. Funn fra denne studien viser at lærere er interesserte i samarbeid med ulike institusjoner for å få varierte arbeidsoppgaver. Mer institusjonelt samarbeid kan også føre til høyere stillingsprosenter, noe som kan være positivt for den individuelle lærer, men også for kollegiet og for kulturskolen. Funn fra intervjumaterialet viser at uformelle møteplasser er viktig for at lærersamarbeid skal skje.

Studien identifiserer seks distinkte subjektposisjoner innenfor diskursene i feltet: *musikk lærer*, *instrumentallærer*, *musiker*, *musiker-lærer*, *coach* og *kulturskolelærer*. Disse er tilgjengelige for lærerne å identifisere seg med – eller å avvise. Videre har analysen vist at de fleste av lærerne identifiserer seg med flere subjektposisjoner, enten samtidig eller vekselvis ut ifra situasjonen. Dette er i tråd med diskursteori, der subjektet er fragmentert – posisjonert på flere måter av ulike diskurser (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:41). To av de seksten lærerne i denne studien identifiserer seg bare med en enkelt subjektposisjon mens resten identifiserer seg med flere. Status og hierarki er tilstede innenfor feltet av subjektposisjoner, hvor de som er konstruerte innenfor *dybde-* og *spesialiseringdiskursene* har en noe høyere status enn de som er konstruerte innenfor *allsidighets-* og *breddediskursene*. Selv om de fleste av lærerne i denne studien identifiserer seg med flere subjektposisjoner, er det bare en som primært identifiserer seg med subjektposisjonen *kulturskolelærer*. I rammeplanene, derimot, er *kulturskolelærer* den primære subjektposisjonen. Det er altså forskjell på hvordan ‘musikk lærer’ er representert i språket hos de ulike aktørene.

Denne studien har også vist at det kan bli konflikt mellom subjektposisjoner som er konstruerte innenfor diskurser i binære relasjoner. Dette kan føre med seg ulike syn på målet med undervisningen, hvem kulturskolen skal være for og hva som bør prioriteres. Hvis kulturskolen sees på som et ‘pluri-vers’, derimot, hvor forskjeller er anerkjent, så vil potensielle konflikter kunne oppstå på et agonistisk nivå i stedet for på et antagonistisk et (Mouffe 2005a, 2013). På denne måten kan forskjeller innenfor feltet av profesjonsidentiteter bli positivt og produktivt.



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# 1 Introduction

*It looks like there will be need for more versatile competence. But I hope there will be a need for specialised competence as a foundation. There has to be room for specialisation in the school of arts. You have to be flexible, but I hope we are not getting to the point where you are supposed to manage everything between the earth and the sky. If we are to reach for everything, there might be nothing left. (Laura)*

This quotation introduces the key concern of this study: the tension between depth and breadth, and between specialisation and versatility, in the Norwegian municipal school of music and performing arts.<sup>1</sup> This thesis explores this tension, by examining the school of arts as an institution and the professional identities of the music teachers who work there. Related to this, I ask whether it is necessary for all teachers to be *both* versatile and specialised, or whether versatility might be maintained at the institutional level, while specialisation is accommodated at the teacher level. This is a central theme when the teachers interviewed in this study discuss the above-mentioned tension.

*I think that one of the strengths of the school of arts is that you have a combination of competences. [...] A diversity of professional competences. (Julia)*

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<sup>1</sup> Shortened to 'school of arts' in this thesis. In Norwegian: kulturskole.

## 1.1 Background and aim of the study

The Norwegian school of arts offers extra-curricular activities for children and adolescents in music and other art forms. Every municipality is obliged by law to run a school of arts or to collaborate with other municipalities in fulfilling that requirement, and the aim of the school is to be for everyone. Collaboration with compulsory schools and the local community music and arts field<sup>2</sup> is part of the legislation. Schools of arts are not part of the compulsory school system, rather they are music and arts centres offering voluntary arts courses. They are publicly financed, but students pay a fee set by the various municipalities. The idea behind the school of arts is that it should provide music education for all children regardless of their social and economic backgrounds: equality is central and the school should be ‘for everyone’. This principle is also embedded in ideas behind the welfare state. There are no entrance examinations, and if there are not enough available places, applicants are put on waiting lists. In order to provide music and arts education to as many children as possibly, lessons are short (approximately twenty minutes per week for individual lessons) and group teaching is widespread. The last GSI-numbers (2016–2017) show that there were 96,491 students (119,934 student places, as some students attend several activities) in Norwegian schools of arts, which actually is the lowest number in fifteen years (Utdanningsdirektoratet 2017). Employed in the school were 707 teachers in full employment positions and 4,189 part-time (Utdanningsdirektoratet 2017).

The first municipal music schools in Norway appeared in the 1950s (Dugstadutvalget 1989) and they have developed from schools with individual instrumental teaching to today’s ‘expansion of the school of arts’ tasks and mandate’, which started to accelerate in the 1980s due to earmarking of state subsidies (NOU 2013). The broad political will to invest in schools of arts have been a prerequisite for the growth of schools (Eikemoutvalget 1999). Talent and breadth have been important in the Norwegian music school model, where individually shaped tuition has been central (Eikemoutvalget 1999). During the 1990s, the schools started to include other arts forms, such as dance, theatre, visual arts, literature, creative writing and crafts, and the music schools changed their name to schools of music and performing arts (Ministry of Education and Research 2003).

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2 In this thesis, ‘the local community music and arts field’ refers to wind bands, choirs, theatre groups, private dance studios, and other locally anchored music and arts activities outside the school of arts and compulsory schools.

Norway was the first country to make schools of arts statutory – in 1997 (NOU 2013). The Education Act states that all municipalities are obliged to run a school of arts or to collaborate with other municipalities in fulfilling that requirement, and that schools of arts should be organised in association with the compulsory school system and the local community music and arts field (Ministry of Education and Research 1998). A proposal to offer school of arts activities in SFO<sup>3</sup> and school hours free of charge to all children in first to fourth grade, called 'kulturskoletimen', was to be made statutory in 2013, but due to a change of governments, it never happened. This represented an aim of reaching out to all children. The school of arts has an advisory curriculum framework (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016) compiled by the Norwegian Council for Schools of Music and Performing Arts.<sup>4</sup>

Breadth, versatility and social inclusion are key tenets of the school of arts, but depth and specialisation are also emphasised in various policy documents and in the curriculum frameworks. Hence, the school has various and diverse tasks to manage. Who are the ones performing those tasks? The music teachers in the school of arts are specialists and have comprehensive training in their specialty from higher education institutions. Simultaneously, they must relate to the school's missions, including the commitment to social inclusion and breadth. This creates an opportunity to ask questions about how schools of arts accomplish those diverse tasks and manage to be schools for everyone, as well as how music teachers relate to the diversity of tasks they must manage.

### 1.1.1 Research questions

The purpose of this study is to acquire knowledge about music teachers' professional identities and how they are constructed within discourses in the school of arts. These discourses are constructed through the language used by different actors, and the analytical focus in this study is on the content of language at a macro level.

In order to study professional music teacher identity, the discourses in the school of arts field need to be identified. The theoretical and methodological foundation (Laclau & Mouffe 2001) for this study imply the construction of something as difference – always opposed to something else. Also following

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3 SFO ('skolefritidsordning') is a voluntary aftercare facility at the school for grades 1 to 4.

4 Shortened to 'Council for schools of arts' in this thesis. In Norwegian: Norsk kulturskoleråd.

from this is the notion of struggle: there is always struggle between discourses trying to define certain elements. Thus, in identifying the discourses in the school of arts, searching for competing discourses is relevant. The research questions for this study therefore read as follows:

- 1 *Which discourses compete in the Norwegian municipal school of music and arts?*
- 2 *How are music teachers' professional identities constructed within these discourses?*

I take a discursive approach when studying the school of arts and music teachers' professional identities, which implies that meaning is constructed through language. I therefore interviewed music teachers and analysed the transcriptions, along with former and current curriculum frameworks (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003, 2016) and policy documents by the former and current government regarding the school of arts (Conservative Party 2015; Ministry of Culture 2009; Ministry of Education and Research 2014; Office of the Prime Minister 2013). Theoretically, this study builds on discourse theory (Laclau 1990, 1993; Laclau & Mouffe 2001, first published in 1985; Mouffe 2005a, 2005b, 2013) and theories of professions (Abbott 1988; Freidson 2001; Molander & Terum 2008b). The analysis of teachers' professional identities is conducted by identifying various subject positions within the discourses in the field, available for the teachers to identify with – or reject. This chapter gives an overview of the school of arts, situates me as a researcher, and situates the study by an elaboration on previous research.

## **1.2 The Norwegian municipal school of music and arts**

Music is by far the largest subject in schools of arts (Ekspertgruppa for kunst og kultur i opplæringen 2014; Norwegian Centre for Arts and Culture in Education and Norsk kulturskoleråd 2010; NOU 2013), and the genre which is most taught is classical (NOU 2013). Other subjects are dance, theatre, visual arts and creative writing, and possible local variations include contemporary circus and traditional handicrafts.

Most of the students in schools of arts are of primary and lower secondary school age (Norwegian Centre for Arts and Culture in Education and Norsk kulturskoleråd 2010), and there are more girls than boys participating in school of arts activities (NOU 2013). This uneven gender and age balance was also

documented in the 1990s (Eikemoutvalget 1999). Children of parents with low income and little education and children with ethnic backgrounds other than Norwegian are under-represented (Gustavsen & Hjelmbrekke 2009; NOU 2013). A report from Telemarksforskning (Gustavsen & Hjelmbrekke 2009) attributes this imbalance to a lack of diversity in the schools' activities and the high fees at some schools.

Most of the teachers are employed in part time positions, often in combination with jobs in other schools of arts, in compulsory schools, in the local community arts field or as freelance musicians or artists (Norwegian Centre for Arts and Culture in Education and Norsk kulturskoleråd 2010; NOU 2013). In general, the teachers are highly educated, and they receive the same salary as compulsory school teachers (Norwegian Centre for Arts and Culture in Education and Norsk kulturskoleråd 2010).

### 1.2.1 A historical overview

*To experience the establishment of the music school, and the synergy effects it created in the local community, was remarkable. Many kids started to play an instrument and it raised the teaching qualitatively, as we used to be taught by the oldest kids in the wind band. [...] It was like that all over the country. [...] We are talking about the end of the 70s. It was a lot of private teaching around which was very good, that is not what I am saying, but it is something with creating a larger community, which also is important for the teachers. (Julia)*

Children and adolescents have received private music tuition for many years. But private tuition is expensive and was therefore not available to everyone, and qualified music teachers were rare outside the cities (Ministry of Church Affairs Education and Research 1993). The establishment of municipal music schools made it possible to hire musicians and music teachers, which secured professional music competence in the local communities (Ministry of Church Affairs Education and Research 1993). This has had importance beyond the teaching in music schools because the music teachers often also worked in compulsory schools, choirs, wind bands, orchestras, and participated and initiated concerts in the local community (Ministry of Church Affairs Education and Research 1993). Norway also has a long and rich tradition for voluntary music activities such as wind bands, choirs and orchestras (Ministry of Church Affairs Education and Research 1993).



The first municipal music schools in Norway were established in the 1950s (Dugstadutvalget 1989), and they offered instrumental lessons. The expansion of music schools accelerated in the 1980s due to earmarking of state subsidies from 1982 (NOU 2013). The aim was to provide every child who wanted them with music lessons, independent of residency or economic status, and as a voluntary offer outside the compulsory school (Ministry of Church Affairs Education and Research 1993; Ministry of Education and Research 2003). Since 2004, there are no longer earmarked subsidies, as it became a part of the general transmission from the state to municipalities. This means that the various municipalities decide the amount of money to put into schools of arts. In addition, the limit for student fees was withdrawn, and it is now up to each municipality to set these fees (Kulturskoleutvalget 2010; NOU 2013). This has led to an increase in student fees, which works against the aim of equal access (Kulturskoleutvalget 2010). The Official Norwegian Report (Norwegian: Norsk offentlig utredning [NOU]) on cultural policy (NOU 2013) asserts that without a significant increase in allocations, schools of arts will not be able to fulfil that aim. In the report 'Kulturskoleløftet' (Kulturskoleutvalget 2010), it is asserted that, due to the lack of money, the time-frame for individual tuition is reduced to a minimum and there is no capacity for talent development.

Collaboration is central in the school of arts system, and was from early on established in relation to the voluntary community music and arts field, arts societies, private dance studios, compulsory schools, SFO, kindergartens and others (Eikemoutvalget 1999). The Education Act (Ministry of Education and Research 1998) states that schools of arts should be organised in relation to compulsory schools and the local community arts field. Collaboration is a central element in all reports and white papers addressing the school of arts. The school of arts as a 'local resource centre for arts and culture' is one way the collaboration is manifested in the school. The Ministry of Education and Research (2003) asserts in the *White paper No. 39 2002–2003* that several municipalities have built up their schools of arts to become cultural pedagogical resource centres in the municipalities, which contributes to the building of different special competences that can be used by the whole local community. It also asserts that a challenge is to further develop a good collaboration between the compulsory school, the school of arts, and the local community arts field, and that the municipality as a school owner for both compulsory schools and the school of arts has the opportunity and the responsibility to develop schools of arts into local resource centres (Ministry of Education and Research 2003). The

idea of schools of arts as local resource centres were followed up on in policy documents and curriculum frameworks after this white paper.

There have also been several development projects in the school of arts involving collaboration. 'PSM' (Positivt skolemiljø – Positive school environment) was a programme started in the late 80s, and its aim was to provide an increase in focus on arts and culture in the compulsory school (Ministry of Church Affairs Education and Research 1993). PSM's focus was collaboration between schools of arts and compulsory schools on large projects involving theatre, dance and music. Seminars were held in which teachers and management at both schools participated. 'KOM' (Kreativt oppvekstmiljø – Creative childhood environment) was a later programme, which was built on the same principles as PSM, but the school of arts was more central (Norwegian Centre for Arts and Culture in Education and Norsk kulturskoleråd 2010). The aim of the KOM programme was to develop educational culture and arts productions.

From 2010, the government has allocated project grants to selected schools of arts, many of which involved collaboration with SFO (NOU 2013). There has also been a selection of demonstration schools for the period of 2006–2009 – schools that have distinguished themselves and acted as good examples of practice (Ministry of Education and Research 2007). They have received extra grants to be spend on further development and on spreading of experiences to other schools of arts (Ministry of Education and Research 2007).

### 1.2.2 The curriculum frameworks

The Education Act specifies only the municipalities' obligation to provide a school of arts offering and the collaboration with compulsory schools and the local community arts field. There is, however, an advisory curriculum framework addressing the organisation of activities and content. The idea behind a curriculum framework for the schools of arts is that it should give room for local adaptation, but contribute in ensuring quality.

The first curriculum framework, 'Rammeplan for musikkskolene' ('Curriculum framework for the music schools'), was compiled in 1989 by KS.<sup>5</sup> It outlined the music school's primary tasks to be music education for pre-school children, instrumental and vocal teaching for children all ages, activities for disabled

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5 KS (Norwegian Association of Local and Regional Authorities) is the municipal sector's interest and employer organisation.

people, activities for talented children, chamber music and group playing, and other disciplines and music activities (Ministry of Church Affairs Education and Research 1993). The next curriculum framework, 'På vei til mangfold' ('On the way to diversity'), was compiled by the Council for schools of arts in 2003, and the current, 'Mangfold og fordypning' ('Diversity and in-depth learning'), in 2016. Because the Education Act does not specify educational content, this has left an opening for others to make this determination. The Council for schools of arts has seized this opportunity by developing curriculum frameworks. The Council for schools of arts is an organisation for municipalities with schools of arts. It was founded in 1973 as the Council for music schools, and changed its name as more art forms were included (Ministry of Education and Research 2003). One of the organisation's main tasks is to work for development of quality in the school (Ministry of Education and Research 2003). Since 1993 the Council has received funding from the state (Kulturskoleutvalget 2010).

Central to the former curriculum framework, 'På vei til mangfold' ('On the way to diversity'), were the principles of the school of arts as a local resource centre, interdisciplinarity and the aim of being a school for everyone. Chapter 1 in the curriculum framework focused on being a resource centre and chapter 2 on the aims of the school. In chapter 3, the aims, content, work organisation and equipment of the various art forms (music, dance, visual art, creative writing and theatre) were described, in addition to interdisciplinarity. Chapter 4 contained working methods and organisation, and there was focus on the teachers: group teaching versus individual teaching, specialisation, collaboration and management. The last chapter addressed on assessment and quality.

The current curriculum framework, 'Mangfold og fordypning' ('Diversity and in-depth learning'), is divided into two parts. The first part consists of the two first chapters, which were released in 2014. Here, the school of arts social mission and its principles and guidelines are elaborated. The school's mission, core values, aims, role as a local resource centre and the organising of activities are described in chapter 1, and the responsibilities of the municipality and management, as well as the teacher role and quality are treated in chapter 2. Part two of the curriculum framework consists of chapters 3 and 4, which were released in 2016. Chapter 3 focuses on the various art forms' curricula, and chapter 4 concerns quality assurance systems. New in this curriculum framework is that the school's activities are divided into three programmes: i) the *breadth programme*, which is an easily accessible group programme with few requirements for practising at home, ii) the *core programme*, which

presupposes student effort and aims at progression, and iii) the *in-depth programme* for those who want to specialise in something and maybe become musicians or artists. The breadth and core programmes should have open access, while the in-depth programme should use audition as a point of entry (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016). The aim of being a school for everyone is also central in this curriculum framework.

### 1.2.3 Policy documents

In addition to the curriculum frameworks, there are several policy documents addressing the school of arts. Four aims are emphasised in most of the policy documents from the last decades: Bildung, breadth, talent development and schools of arts as local resource centres for arts and culture (NOU 2013). *The report from the Dugstad committee* (Dugstadutvalget 1989) was one of the first reports from a committee constituted by the government addressing the municipal music school. The report recommended extension and increase of earmarked State subsidies and a limit for students' fees. The school of arts being for everyone was suggested as a criterion for receiving subsidies, and there was emphasis on open access (no entrance auditions) and a one-year long maximum waiting list. The committee recommended that the school to be anchored in the legislation for education and be connected to the compulsory school. It upheld that there should be a plan for collaboration with the local community music field, and that it should provide activities for disabled children. The recommendation was that general activities encompass a broad range of music forms, concerts, ensembles, projects and music kindergartens. The committee recommended group teaching as default for instrumental and vocal students, but individual teaching for advanced students. The group lessons should be a minimum of 45 minutes per week, the committee suggested, and the individual lessons for advanced students a minimum of 25 minutes per week. There should be opportunities for teachers to undertake continuing studies. The committee also put forward an aim that 30% of children in primary and lower secondary school should participate in music school activities (Dugstadutvalget 1989). This aim is also found in later reports, and is still an emphasised aim for the school. The Enger committee, however, asks in the NOU (2013) whether this number should be higher today because the aim was originally put forward for the *music* school. As the school now includes more art forms, the aim of the percentage of children participating in activities should probably be higher

(NOU 2013). Excepting the idea of making the school of arts statutory, most of the recommendations from the Dugstad committee were taken into the *White paper No. 40 1992–1993* (Ministry of Church Affairs Education and Research 1993).

The next official report from a committee constituted by the government addressing the school of arts, was the *report from the Eikemo committee* (Eikemoutvalget 1999). Their task was to look at the content and organisation of the school. They recommended the development of a new curriculum framework. Building on the Dugstad committee's recommendations, the Eikemo committee also recommended earmarked State subsidies and a limit for student fees. Other areas of focus in the report were that each school should have a headteacher and a building of its own, although they also emphasised that activities for the youngest students should be organised close to where they lived for easy accessibility. Collaboration was central in this report, which recommended activities for advanced students to be organised inter-municipally. The committee emphasised that each municipality should decide on the extent and content of the school's activities, as long as both music and other art forms were included. In addition, it also stressed the aim that 30% of children in primary and lower secondary school should participate in music school activities. Different teacher competences were described, which later were adapted by the curriculum framework 'På vei til mangfold' ('On the way to diversity') (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003).

*White paper No. 39 2002–2003* (Ministry of Education and Research 2003) recommended the withdrawal of earmarked subsidies, justified by an increase of power and flexibility in the municipalities, which could raise the students' fees and enrol more students on waiting lists. In addition, this document focused on collaboration, the school as local resource centre, and the aim of being for everyone. Organising some of the school of arts' activities in an extended school day was suggested, which was thought to lead to better shared use of teacher resources. An establishment of talent-development programmes for the age group 16–19 was also initiated.

In 2007, a *strategic plan for arts and culture in education* was proposed by the Ministry of Education and Research (2007), which highlighted the school of arts role as local resource centre, and there was an expectation that schools of arts should be cultural driving forces for compulsory schools in the municipality. In addition, the demonstration schools (explained above) were emphasised. In 2010, the Norwegian centre for arts and culture in education and the Council for schools of arts developed *guidelines for further developing the schools of*

*arts into local centres* (Norwegian Centre for Arts and Culture in Education and Norsk kulturskoleråd 2010) based on this strategy plan. In the guidelines document, the demonstration schools were presented as good examples, and success criteria for schools of arts as local resource centres were presented.

Also in 2010, a report by the *School of arts committee* (Kulturskoleutvalget 2010) was presented. This committee recommended stronger State financing, a reintroduction of a maximum fee, and additional legislation regulating activities. The committee recommended the formulation of national standards for the school of arts and the facilitation of combined teacher positions in schools of arts and compulsory schools. In the report, collaboration with compulsory schools, which was to become 'kulturskoletimen' (explained above), was initiated, but it was specified that this collaboration should not be instead of the aesthetic subjects in compulsory schools. The need for documentation and research on schools of arts was emphasised.

In 2013, the *Official Norwegian report on cultural policy 2014* (NOU 2013) was published. This report recommended moving the school of arts from the Ministry of Education and Research to the Ministry of Culture. It also suggested moving the paragraph that legislates the school of arts from the Education Act to the Cultural Act, and including a paragraph regarding extent and content. This has not been done, however, and whether schools of arts are locally organised under the school sector or culture sector varies between municipalities. The NOU expressed endorsement of a school of arts model dividing activities in three: breadth, core and depth. In addition, the NOU emphasised quality and knowledge, strengthening of what was defined as the 'cultural foundation' (libraries, schools of arts, recreation centres for children and adolescents, and voluntary cultural activities), and a need for more money into schools of arts. Attention was supposed to turn from building cultural infrastructure toward content.

In 2014, the *Expert committee for arts and culture in education* released a report (Ekspertgruppa for kunst og kultur i opplæringen 2014) where they recommended an increase in the means for the school of arts on the grounds that the schools' compound mission is not possible within the existing economic frames. The committee emphasised that today's economic frames make it difficult to combine a school of arts for everyone with developing talent. They stressed that the quality of the activities should be prioritised, but they also recognised the importance of including everyone who wishes to participate. Unlike the NOU (2013), the Expert committee (Ekspertgruppa for kunst og kultur i opplæringen 2014) did not support the move of the school of arts to the

Ministry of Culture. The argument provided was that being organised under the Ministry of Education and Research would strengthen the school of arts as a school, and the committee emphasised the school of arts as an educational institution where specialisation in art forms should be provided. What the committee did support, though, was more coordinated local collaboration, strengthening of the local cultural foundation wall, combined teacher positions in schools of arts and compulsory schools, more research on the school of arts field, use of incentive funds, and a clearer responsibility for talent development. The committee also suggested that school owners (municipalities) should set competence requirements when hiring teachers, which they argued would strengthen the quality. Inter-municipal collaboration was emphasised as desirable, as expert knowledge within a school of arts could be ‘shared’ between schools (Ekspertgruppa for kunst og kultur i opplæringen 2014).

The former government’s policy documents on the school of arts (Ministry of Culture 2009) emphasised that the school of arts should be for everyone. In order to fulfil that aim, they proposed incentive funds from the State and a solid economy in the municipalities. School of arts activities in connection with SFO and the compulsory school were recommended. Talent development and local diversity in organising schools were also mentioned. The policy documents regarding the school of arts from the current government (Ministry of Education and Research 2014; Office of the Prime Minister 2013) and the Conservative Party<sup>6</sup> (Conservative Party 2015) focus on the various schools’ local autonomy, quality, and talent development – however independent from social and economic background. These policy documents from the former and current government will be further discussed in chapter 4.

### 1.3 Situating myself as researcher

From the age of six, I was a student in the municipal music school in my hometown. In the beginning, I was in a children’s music group, and after a couple of years, I started playing the flute. That music school collaborated with compulsory schools and the local community music field. This meant that I was not only getting flute lessons, but was playing the flute at different arenas in

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6 The school of arts policy from the Conservative Party is included in this study because the Conservative Party is one of two parties, and also the largest, in the government, the other being the Progress Party. (See chapter 3 for more details about the selection of documents).

the local community. In addition, my contact with my flute teacher was not limited to twenty minutes once a week. For a period he conducted my wind band, was part of a team of teachers doing a project at my school, and led a school of arts ensemble in which I participated. I also danced ballet, sang in a choir, and played in the local wind band. I played on the instruments available to me: flute, piano, guitar, harmonium, and – when my sister was not at home – her saxophone. I started teaching flute when I was sixteen and conducting wind bands a couple of years later.

I have degrees in music education, flute performance, and musicology from the Norwegian Academy of Music and the University of Oslo. I have studied or worked in USA, Germany, England and South Africa. After finishing my bachelor degrees in music education and flute performance, my primary goal was to get a permanent job as flute teacher in a school of arts. Because there are hardly any schools of arts offering full time jobs as flute teachers, I wanted to combine this job with conducting, playing the flute or teaching in compulsory schools. Eventually, I ended up teaching flute in two schools of arts and general music in one compulsory school.

One question I have thought about in retrospect is why it was so important for me to teach flute in a *school of arts*. I could have taught private students or the flautists in a wind band, or I could have conducted more wind bands or worked full time compulsory schools. One obvious answer is salary and pension, which is more stable in a municipal employment position. However, there is also something else to it, which has to do with being a part of a collegium, working in a professional arena, and being in a position to create something that potentially could mean a lot to the whole municipality. Also of importance to me is being accounted for, and recognised as, a flute teacher. For several years, I worked at a music summer school. There, we were a handful of teachers working together for three or four weeks each summer. For me, just at the beginning of my working career, this vibrant environment was very stimulating. I learned a lot, and I was inspired to develop and try out new ideas. I saw the importance of colleagues and a good working environment. In these settings, there were few guidelines, we could pretty much organise the teaching and fill it with content ourselves, together with the musical leader who was also part of the team. All the teachers contributed with what they were good at and interested in. This experience, in combination with how I experienced the music school from my childhood, laid the ground for me wanting to work in a school of arts.



In addition, and also of importance, I was able to use my special competence by working as a flute teacher.

So I 'ended up' working as a flute teacher in two schools of arts, and as a general music teacher in one compulsory school, which means I was working in three different municipalities. I had three sets of colleagues and three 'sets' of meetings to attend, and while attempting to meet the expectations of one place, I was meant to be working at another. In addition, with as little as a 25% employment position in each of the schools of arts, I felt unable to participate collegially in the way I believed would benefit the teachers, students and the school. In addition, I experienced the space for teachers to participate in the schools' development to be narrower than I had expected; there were too many demands and expectations from politicians, the municipal administration and the headteacher. I remember sitting at a meeting in one of the schools listening to the headteacher talking while I was looking around seeing all these interesting teachers with different competences and probably very diverse and interesting ideas. However, as the headteacher was the only one talking at that meeting, I still do not know what the other teachers had to offer.

While I was working in those three schools, I finished my master degree on music teachers' perception of the music subject in compulsory schools after the implementation of the written curriculum 'Kunnskapsløftet 06'. I also started thinking about possible research projects connected to the school of arts. The aim of the school of arts in Norway is that it should be for everyone, which is an important aspect to me: that everyone should get a chance to participate in arts activities if they want. This makes the school of arts a wonderful 'idea', but my experience working in it was not everything I had dreamed of. One solution for me to be able to contribute more in a collegium could be to try to get a higher employment percentage in one of the schools. However, even though I have quite broad training and interests, I found it difficult to match what I believed were my competences with tasks needed to be performed in the school. This made me eager to look deeper into the school of arts and professional music teacher identity, in order to get a better understanding of the field, but also to develop new thoughts on how the school could be organised in order to cater for students, teachers, the local community and society.

## 1.4 Situating the study

This study is situated within the scholarly field of music education. It is designated by directing the research interest towards how issues concerning schools of arts are connected with identity and professionalism. Identity perspectives include teacher identity, music teacher identity and, together with professionalism, professional identity. Perspectives of professionalism include, in addition, perspectives on professionalism and professionals. The study also has a discursive approach. Being situated this way, the study rests upon earlier studies within all these fields.

First, studies from Norway and other Nordic countries, in particular Sweden, will be presented. Research on schools of arts and music schools from these countries are of special relevance because of the similarities between Norway and the other Nordic countries not only in music and arts schools, but also political systems. Then, research within the fields of teacher identity and professional music teacher identity will be elaborated, followed by a section on relevant studies within professionalism and education, including music education. Last, discourse oriented studies within the Nordic music educational field are accounted for.

### 1.4.1 Schools of arts in the Nordic countries

There are similarities between the Nordic countries regarding both schools of music and arts, and also political systems. I am referring especially to the Nordic welfare state that funds the music (and arts) schools.<sup>7</sup> The principle of equality and the aim of being a school for everyone has historically been central in Norwegian, Swedish and Danish music (and arts) schools (Heimonen 2003; Holgersen 2010; NOU 2013). The Swedish school of arts have no entrance examination, but they do have waiting lists; group teaching is stressed and individual tuition is limited to approximately twenty minutes per week (Heimonen 2003, 2004). Collaboration with compulsory schools and orchestras is widespread (Heimonen 2004). All this shows similarities with the Norwegian school. In Finland, however, there has not been an aim to provide music education 'for everyone', and the system has been characterised as more elitist than the other Nordic countries, with no concern about breadth (Eikemoutvalget 1999).

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7 It differs between the Nordic countries whether it is called school of arts, school of music and arts or music school.

Traditionally, in Finland, there has been a graded examination system where talent is prioritised, and with audition for entrance into the schools where those who get accepted receive about an hour of individual tuition per week (Heimonen 2003). The high status of Western classical music is more present in the Finnish schools than in the Swedish (Heimonen 2003).

In Denmark, the idea of including everyone in the school has changed since the 1990s, as there has been an increase in focus on talent development (Holgersen 2010). This increased focus has led to a decrease in the numbers of students in schools, because the talent development programmes use more teaching hours on fewer students (Holgersen 2010). In general, this development has led to less money being spend on breadth and more on talent development (Holgersen 2010). In Norway, a tendency towards an increased focus on talent development could be seen recent years, with the change of government in 2013 and the new curriculum framework in 2016.

In the following I will account for relevant studies related to schools of music and arts in Norway and Sweden, as the Swedish system is most similar system to the Norwegian one.

## **Norway**

There are few studies concerning schools of arts in Norway, although the research area is expanding. Most of the existing research is in the form of reports; but Angelo's (2012) thesis about philosophies of work in instrumental music education addresses the school of arts, as two of the cases (teachers) work in so-called 'combined positions' (have several jobs), of which one is in a school of arts. The study is a thematic narrative analysis of three instrumental teacher's stories, which addresses their professional understandings of their work, mandate and expertise ('philosophies of work') (Angelo 2012). The main aspects of 'philosophies of work' are power, identity and knowledge (Angelo 2012). This study contributes to the research on professional music teacher identity, but also to research on professionalism and music education.

The reports regarding the Norwegian school of arts mainly address students' opportunities for participation related to their social and economic backgrounds. Gustavsen and Hjelmbrekke (2009) have conducted a pilot study where the aim was to reveal whether the cost for school of arts activities could lead to exclusion of children and adolescents from families with low income. The study was initiated by the Council for schools of arts and 'Redd Barna' (Save

the Children), which were worried that the increase of fees could lead to some children not being able to attend school of arts activities. The study showed that children from low-income families participated in schools of arts to a lesser extent, and that this had to do with the fees (Gustavsen & Hjelmbrekke 2009). Findings also indicated, however, that a diversity of activities most likely would increase the participation (Gustavsen & Hjelmbrekke 2009). In addition, collaboration between schools of arts and compulsory schools, SFOs and kindergartens had a positive effect on the aim of 'school of arts for everyone', the report concluded (Gustavsen & Hjelmbrekke 2009).

Also of relevance for studies within the school of arts field is a report concerning the school of arts offerings in the five largest cities in Norway (Bjørnsen 2012). The report was initiated by Trondheim municipality and funded by KS. The aim was to investigate how the schools could develop and organise their activities in order to increase the recruitment of social groups with low participation rate. The findings indicated that children with highly educated parents were overrepresented in the school, while economic status and ethnic background were less significant. A relevant finding was that non-users of the school hardly knew it existed. The report concluded from this that to increase the recruitment to the schools, communication about the school and its activities needed to be developed. The school of arts' challenges, the report concluded, are related to communication and the school of arts as a 'brand' (Bjørnsen 2012). The results from this study must, however, be seen in relation to it being conducted only in large cities.

Although these reports mainly take a student perspective, they also address the issue of whether the school of arts is for everyone, which connects to the first research questions for this study. A report that connects to the second research question, as it focuses on the music teachers, is the Fafo-report (Nicolaisen & Bråthen 2012) 'Frivillig deltid – en privatsak? (Voluntarily Part Time – A Private Matter?)'. The public debate on part-time work mainly addresses undesirable part-time, but 80% of part-time work is voluntary (Nicolaisen & Bråthen 2012). Questions the report aims at answering are: why do people want to work part-time? Are there underlying reasons for it? Do they *really* want to work part-time? What about society's need for people to work? Three trade unions, including MFO<sup>8</sup> initiated the report, and music teachers interviewed were MFO-members. The report concluded that music teachers mainly worked part-time because of conditions at their work place, in particular that of small

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8 Musikernes fellesorganisasjon (Norwegian Musicians' Union)

employment positions due to the specialist nature of the work. However, some of the teachers expressed a wish for working part-time in school of arts in order to be able to also freelance as a musician, though this is most true of younger teachers (Nicolaisen & Bråthen 2012). Lastly, several teachers in this report said they preferred working part-time because of the difficulties of combining family life with the school of arts' working hours.

## Sweden

The Swedish municipal music and arts school<sup>9</sup> has many similarities with the Norwegian, which makes Swedish studies relevant for this study. In her thesis, Holmberg (2010) has recorded group conversations among music teachers in Swedish schools of arts and analysed them discursively. She finds changed conditions in the teachers' work, and discusses those findings in relation to tendencies in late modernity. Holmberg (2010) asserts that teachers and students in Swedish schools of arts are freer than ever because the norms of tradition have lost most of their power, which leads to insecurity and a search for new attitudes toward teaching. This means that a future without control documents could mean that music teachers have lost their power over content and therefore are not able to use their competence, Holmberg (2010) claims. Instead, the teachers are in the hands of their students and the market. This is relevant to studies on the Norwegian school of arts as well, because the law does not specify educational content here either, leaving it open for others to determine.

Another study addressing the Swedish school of arts and music teacher identity, is Tivenius' (2008) thesis. He has conducted a quantitative study of music teachers in order to establish a typology for instrumental teachers. Tivenius (2008:235) finds that what he calls 'the conservatory discourse' is keeping the whole field together. He believes that without that discourse, the field would collapse 'into a messed-up activity beyond definition'. He bases this argument on the idea that every change needs resistance in order to move forward. Here, 'the conservatoire discourse' is that resistance (Tivenius 2008).

Brändström and Wiklund's (1995) thesis is a study in two parts, where the first is addressing the Swedish municipal music school.<sup>10</sup> Like the Norwegian reports (addressed above), this study is also concerned with which groups

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9 Shortened to 'school of arts'.

10 The study was performed before 'music school' changed name to 'music and arts school'.

of students are participating in the school. Brändström and Wiklund's (1995) study builds on the educational sociology of Bourdieu and was conducted in Piteå. They found that two out of three students in the music school were girls, and that twice as many of the students at the music school were children of higher employees and university graduates than children with working class backgrounds (Brändström & Wiklund 1995). They also found a high proportion of farmers' children participating, which they indicate could be explained by the strong influence of the church on the countryside. The study also examined how students aged 12–13 perceived and used music and the music school. They found a dominant preference for popular music, and they also reported that preferences towards using the music school and choosing instrument being dependent on gender as well as social and musical backgrounds (Brändström & Wiklund 1995). The second part of the study addresses music teacher education.

The Swedish school of arts is also thoroughly described in the Swedish official report on municipal music and arts schools (SOU 2016). The aim of this report was to suggest a national strategy for future Swedish schools of arts. The report emphasises the idea of an inclusive school for all children and adolescents (SOU 2016), which resembles the vision of the Norwegian school. However, there is a significant difference: in Norway, the school of arts is statutory. There is no recommendation in this report for the same in Sweden, nor for a national curriculum framework. What is proposed in the report, however, is national guidelines and a national music and arts school centre, along with state-financed development grants that should help in widening the area of visual arts, increase inclusion and accessibility, and provide pedagogical development for teachers (SOU 2016). The report focuses more unilaterally on breadth and accessibility than the current Norwegian curriculum framework for schools of arts, where also the in-depth programme is central.

In her thesis and articles, Heimonen (2003, 2004) addresses educational and legal issues related to extra-curricular music education in Germany and England as well as Sweden and Finland. She finds tension between the general (law) and the particular (individual needs of each student), and refers to the *right to an education* which addresses the duty of the state to secure conditions and circumstances for music education, and the *right for freedom in education* which points to individual needs regarding content and is closely connected to the child's-best-interests principle (Heimonen 2003). This means that the state should produce conditions and circumstances for music education rather than regulate the content, as the child's best interests must be determined on

individual basis (Heimonen 2003). The financial resources will then be secured while leaving room for autonomy and flexibility (Heimonen 2004). However, balancing private and social needs create tensions, and Heimonen (2003) refers to *positive freedom* as equality of opportunities and *negative freedom* as taking into account individual needs. Heimonen's findings are relevant to this study's discussion of what it means for a school of arts to be for everyone – whether social inclusion and collective values are most central or individualism, with different children's needs and wishes taken into account. This will be further discussed in chapter 4.

### 1.4.2 Teacher identity

As this study is situated within the music educational field, studies concerning professional *music* teacher identity will be emphasised in this survey of the research literature. Some relevant studies on teacher identity in general will, however, be addressed. One of them is Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop's (2004) review of research on teachers' professional identities, which summarises essential features and addresses problems. These essential features are that i) professional identity is dynamic as it is an *ongoing process*, ii) it involves both person and *context*, iii) one teacher's identity consists of various *sub-identities*, and iv) *agency* is central because teachers have to be active in the process of professional development (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop 2004). Problems they found in the research literature are i) ambiguity of the relation between the concepts of 'identity' and 'self', ii) too little emphasis on the context, iii) ambiguity about what counts as 'professional', and iv) that a cognitive perspective underlies most of the studies (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop 2004). They call for other perspectives, such as for example a sociological perspective combined with the cognitive. Their review was conducted more than ten years ago, however, which means it does not include more recent studies.

Of Norwegian studies on teacher identity, Søreide's (2007) thesis is of special relevance. She has investigated how teacher identity is narratively constructed within the Norwegian elementary school system, drawing on interviews with female teachers, public school policy documents, and written material from the Union of Education Norway<sup>11</sup> (Søreide 2007). Public narratives about teachers are the unit of analysis, where the identity construction of 'the teacher as

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11 'Utdanningsforbundet' in Norwegian.

pupil centred, caring and including' is identified as especially paramount in all the three sources of material (Søreide 2007). Søreide asserts that this is an indication of all the material being inscribed and informed by the same Scandinavian educational discourse of individualism, and that the paramount identity construction is representing what is perceived to be adjustment or alternative to certain teacher identities, values and conceptions of learning. This paramount identity is constituted in a web of multidimensional dichotomies, which 'contribute to the constitution, fixation and dominance of the teacher as pupil-centred, inclusive and caring in the public narratives' (Søreide 2007:1). However, Søreide has decided not to use the term 'teachers' *professional identity*', which I have used. Her argument for this decision builds on the fact that she is not going into the debates associated with 'profession', such as questions related to teacher autonomy and expert knowledge (Søreide 2007:25). I am, however, discussing those issues in this study.

As Søreide does not use the concept 'professional identity' because of the debates 'professional' indulges in, Krejsler (2007) suggests replacing the whole concept of 'the professional teacher' with the concept of 'the competency nomad' because of the belief that being a teacher has changed dramatically from the industrial society to today's knowledge society (Krejsler 2007). Krejsler (2007:38-39) asserts that we live in a 'post-signifying' regime where there is no centre and where the regime therefore must try to install a quest for self-realisation in each individual; they must insert passions in people's minds so that people believe the passions are their own. He argues that living in this new regime makes it necessary to change how we describe teacher identity, and suggests using 'the competency nomad'. 'The competency nomad' is, according to Krejsler (2007:50), 'a service-minded being that is able to move to wherever his/her services are in demand'. Further, 'the competency nomad' does not have a fixed identity; she does not have a permanent position and her work assignments continuously change, which forces her to master multiple identities (Krejsler 2007). These ideas also relate to Freidson's (2001:9)<sup>12</sup> concerns about a future scenario where occupations as such might disappear in a postmodern economy, and that jobs will be made up not by defined tasks but flexible skills.

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<sup>12</sup> Freidson and professionalism will be elaborated in chapter 2.



### 1.4.3 Professional music teacher identity

Also in studies on *music* teacher identity, different ways of seeing and talking about identity are evident. Bouij (1998a, 1998b, 1999), for instance, uses, in his longitudinal research project on Swedish music teachers' socialisation process, the concept 'role identity' to describe professional roles of pre-service music teachers. Bouij (1998a, 1998b, 1999) perceives of a person's 'salient role identity' as a combination of exterior expectations and interior subjective identity; the inner picture of oneself as s/he imagines her/himself in a social position. Bouij (1998a) argues that we all carry a 'role identity structure' – that our self-perception is structured by a hierarchy of role identities. In the study, Bouij (1998a) found two professional roles pre-service music teachers can see themselves holding in the future, namely 'music teacher' and 'musician', where 'musician' has the highest status. He also provides a socialisation model that shows how pre-service music teachers can navigate through formal and informal choices towards imagined salient role identity. In this model, the horizontal axis goes between role identity as musician and role identity as teacher, and the vertical axis between broad and narrow musical comprehensiveness (Bouij 1998a, 1998b, 1999). The broad musical comprehensiveness is connected to an anthropological social ideal, whereas the narrow is linked to an aesthetic normative ideal (Bouij 1998a, 1998b, 1999). This model relates to 'what the individual apparently strives for during his teacher training' (Bouij 1998b:25) and provides four role identities: 'all-round musician', 'pupil-centred teacher', 'performer' and 'content-centred teacher'. The pre-service music teachers can occupy more than one of these role identities and there are positions in between the labels in the model (Bouij 1998b). They must navigate towards role identities in a social context where the 'code of education' and the 'school code' are central in providing norms and values and prescribing the limits for possible actions (Bouij 1998b).

Bernard (2005), however, criticises the view of music teacher identity as role identity, as she believes it implicates socialisation from the musician role to the teaching role. She is also critical of perceiving music making and music teaching as opposing forces, which she finds is common in the literature. Bernard (2005) conceives of identity as individuals possessing multiple identities (layers) which relate in various ways and are continuously shifting and changing. She argues that construction of identity takes place on the social level through discourse, but also on the individual and cultural level through personal associations, meaning and experience (Bernard 2005). A wider range

of perspectives on identity and a broadening of academic conversations about music education and identity is necessary, she argues. For her, making music is not in conflict with music teaching; rather experiences of music making are central in how music teachers make meaning of themselves and their work (Bernard 2005). She uses the term 'musician-teacher' to refer to school music educators who believe making music is important, and who play and perform music outside the classroom. She believes music educators 'should provide multiple opportunities for pre-service music educators to ground their studies in the essential experiences of making music' (Bernard 2005:28). Bouij (2007) answers Bernard's critique, however, by asserting that Bernard oversimplifies, and that the concept 'musician-teacher' is too broad and imprecise. He also asserts that she exaggerates the 'apparent' conflict in the literature between music teachers' role identities as musician and/or teacher. In addition, Bouij (2007) argues that music educators also need to prepare students for the 'reality', which he claims most often is teaching.

Another voice in this debate is Roberts (2004, 2007). He makes arguments against Bernard's understanding of the literature, and asserts that there is no 'war' between identities. He also criticises Bernard's sample selection for meeting a fixed impression of outcome. He understands Bernard to be criticising him and other researchers for trying to move pre-service music teachers' identities from a musician identity to a teacher identity. In an earlier article, Roberts (2004:37) argues that when starting to work as a music teacher in school after graduation, 'you will find little or no socially constructed support for your "musician-performer" self', but instead much support for a 'teacher self'. He therefore argues that 'every effort must be made within the schools of music and education at the university to help create firstly an identity as a *teacher* who, secondly, happens to have, and teaches on the basis of, an extraordinary and highly developed musical skill' (Roberts 2004:37-38, italics in original). Another reason for this, he argues, is that pre-service music teachers already see themselves as musicians when starting teacher education. Bernard (2007) answers the critique by asserting that she and Roberts actually agree that there is a tension between the two identities – a tension that is productive. She refers to a phrase by Roberts in which he uses the word 'struggle', which she finds not as negative as 'war' (as he also uses). Hence, Bernard (2007) argues that the use of language is what causes many of the disagreements. This relates to discourse theory (Laclau & Mouffe 2001) which is central in my study and which will be elaborated in chapter 2. In discourse theory, it is through language that

the social is constructed. There are also always several discourses at play that *struggle* over fixing the meaning (Laclau & Mouffe 2001).

There are also two other voices in this debate on musician identity versus teacher identity. One is Stephens (2007), who wrote an article in 1995 entitled 'Artist or Teacher?', which Bernard (2005) criticises for placing the identities of musician and teacher in opposition to each other in the way he writes about it. One of the things Stephens (2007) points out, in response to Bernard's critique, is that Bernard is too concerned about making music *outside* the classroom – about the life outside the work – rather than about being identified with the life as a music teacher. The exchange between Bernard and Stephens is relevant to the question of whether one identifies oneself as a musician within the school of arts or outside it; and this will be discussed in chapter 6. Dolloff (2007) also responded to Bernard's article, highlighting the role of emotions, which she believes is missing from most of the discussions on music teacher identity. Emotions play a significant role in the constructing and reconstructing of teacher identities, she argues, and she suggests that some choose to become music teachers because of a wish to help others have the same musical experiences as they have had themselves (Dolloff 2007).

Broman-Kananen (2009:6) also criticises the use of the concept 'role' when discussing vocational identity. She prefers 'identity', which she understands to be more flexible – not settled but rather created as people constantly construct their own identity (Broman-Kananen 2009). Broman-Kananen (2009) has conducted a follow-up study of her PhD project, addressing music teachers' identity in the Finnish music institutions. Several teachers working in music institutes or conservatoires have written autobiographies, first for the PhD project and then for the follow-up study ten years after. Theoretically, the study builds on Giddens' structuration theory. Broman-Kananen (2009) found it to be a dilemma between teacher and musician identities, especially for the teachers under the age of 50. She sees this dilemma as a consequence of an imbalance of the institution being traditional in its structure, while the teachers are meeting a new reality in their teaching and do not quite identify with the normative teacher role of the institutions (Broman-Kananen 2009).

Despite Roberts (2004, 2007) argument that there is no 'war' between identities in the literature, there are examples of how language is used in a way that nurture an opposition between the identities of musician and teacher. One example is some of the survey questions in Bouij's (2007:9-10) longitudinal study, which are formulated in a way so that the respondents must choose

between teaching or performing music, where both or a combination not is possible. The title ‘Artist or teacher?’ of both the article by Stephens (1995) (addressed above) and a Norwegian anthology by Angelo and Kalsnes (2014) also indicates a binary opposition between a teacher and a musician identity. I argue that although music teacher identity is thoroughly discussed in those studies, the title and the way research questions are presented implies an opposition between being a teacher and a musician as disabling and in need of a resolution, which is not the case for all music teachers, maybe even not for the majority. In that sense, I agree with Bernard (2005) in looking further and broadening the academic conversations about music teacher identity.

#### 1.4.4 Professionalism and (music) education

Relevant research on teacher professionalism includes, among other work, Ingersoll & Merrill’s (2011) chapter on the status of teaching as a profession. Their objective is to define and describe teaching’s occupational status by focusing on professionalisation and the characteristics of school workplaces and teaching staff. The empirical data is from schools in the US and does not focus on music teaching, but some of the issues raised are still relevant for this study, especially the discussion on *specialisation* and *expertise* in relation to teaching. Ingersoll and Merrill (2011) claim that despite the centrality of specialisation in professionalisation, some school reformers argue that teacher specialisation is a step backward for education because it fragments the educational process and does not address the needs of the ‘whole’ child. Further, Ingersoll and Merrill (2011:190) have examined ‘out-of-field teaching’, meaning ‘the extent to which teachers are assigned to teach subjects which do not match their fields of specialty and training’. By examining the extent of ‘out-of-field teaching’, they got an indication of the degree of specialisation in teaching and whether teachers are viewed as professionals with expertise. The source of ‘out-of-field’ teaching lies in a lack of fit between the teachers’ assignments and their fields of preparation and not in lack of training or education (Ingersoll & Merrill 2011).

Out-of-field teaching is a result of misassignment – when school principals assign teachers to teach subjects for which they have little background. It is important because otherwise qualified teachers may become highly unqualified when assigned out of their field of speciality (Ingersoll & Merrill 2011:191).

Other relevant research literature is Evans's (2008) article which addresses education policy in the UK, where she discusses professionalism and professionalism in relation to development of education professionals. Evans (2008) examines the concept of professionalism and how it is being modified, and discusses the relationship between professionalism, professionalism and professional culture. She argues that there has been a shift from professionalism to 'new' professionalism where autonomy has given way to accountability (Evans 2008). She finds commonality to be a key element of professionalism – a collective notion, shared by many (Evans 2008). She understands the constituent elements of professionalism to be singular, however, and suggests 'professionalism' to be the 'singular' unit of professionalism (Evans 2008). Hence, Evans (2008:28) perceives professionalism to be 'the "plural" of individuals' professionalism orientation: the amalgam of multiple "professionalities"'. Hence, the individuals' professionalities influence the collective professionalism and vice versa. She argues that professional development is a key process in raising standards by improving policy and practice in education, and that professional development must involve changes to professionalism (Evans 2008). In Hargreaves' (2000) paper on the development of teacher professionalism, he identifies four historical phases: i) the pre-professional age, ii) the age of the autonomous professional, iii) the age of the collegial professional, and iv) the post-professional or post-modern age. He argues that the fourth age is characterised by struggle between forces or groups which intent to de-professionalise the work of teaching, and groups or forces who want to redefine teacher professionalism in ways that are flexible, wide-ranging and inclusive (Hargreaves 2000:153).

Among the relevant Norwegian research on professionalism and education is Mausethagen's (2013a, 2013b) study on how the teaching profession constructs and negotiates professionalism in relation to the reconstruction of teacher professionalism in national policy. As in Evans's (2008) study, Mausethagen also finds that there is an increased policy emphasis on accountability, and she is concerned about how accountability policies influence senses of professionalism (Mausethagen 2013a, 2013b; Mausethagen & Granlund 2012). She draws on a broad range of empirical material, consisting of white papers, policy documents from the teacher union and peer-reviewed articles, as well as observations and interviews with teachers. The findings suggest that the teaching profession in Norway has become more proactive in creating legitimacy for their work, and that both the union and individual teachers try to resist external control, for instance national testing (Mausethagen 2013b). The findings also indicate that

younger teachers are more positive towards new demands, and that an alternative legitimization discourse has developed where the profession emphasises research-informed practice rather than accountability (Mausethagen 2013b).

Professional knowledge is discussed in relation to music education in the anthology *Professional Knowledge in Music Teacher Education* (Georgii-Hemming, Burnard, & Holgersen 2013). The collection addresses issues concerning knowledge, practice, professionalism, learning and teaching music, and how they are influenced by economic, cultural and social forces. Georgii-Hemming (2013a) asserts in the concluding chapter that music teacher education has an important mission in educating professional music teachers, and that a well-founded pedagogical knowledge, reflections on values, and interpretation precedence are important for working towards that mission. She also argues that a 'carefully considered music-pedagogical philosophy' is crucial in order to develop professional knowledge both for the individual teachers, but also for the music teacher profession as a whole (Georgii-Hemming 2013a). Angelo and Georgii-Hemming (2014) discuss leading ideals and norms for quality within the field of music education by elaborating on music teachers' music pedagogical philosophies. They argue that the music teaching profession's 'body of knowledge' is invisible, which makes it important to discuss and clarify the professional knowledge, expertise and mandate within the field in order to professionalise it and qualify discussions about quality (Angelo & Georgii-Hemming 2014).

#### 1.4.5 Discourse-oriented studies in the Nordic music educational field

Most of the discourse oriented studies within the Nordic music educational field build on Foucault. Krüger's (1998) study of teacher practice, pedagogical discourse and construction of knowledge is one of the first of these studies. Krüger (1998) followed the everyday life of two music teachers in a Norwegian compulsory school for six months, interviewed them, and investigated how they constructed their practice. He identifies how the teachers' practices and norms are inscribed in discourses and relationships of power and knowledge. Nerland (2003) also builds on Foucault, in her study on teaching practices in classical higher music education in Norway, where teaching is seen as cultural practices that are historically and socially constituted. The study is a case study including the teaching practices of three teachers and observation and interviews with them as well as their students, where the concept of subject

positions are used in order to understand the teacher and students through discursive perspectives (Nerland 2003). The study provides perspectives on the complexity of teaching practices and how individuals' actions are being constituted in discourses (Nerland 2003).

Another Norwegian discourse-oriented study building on Foucault is Ellefsen's (2014) in-depth study on a Norwegian upper secondary educational programme in music called 'Musikklinja'. The study is ethnographic, with observations of and interviews with students, and it aims at understanding 'how student subjectivities are constituted in and through discursive practices of musicianship in Musikklinja' (Ellefsen 2014:iii). Ellefsen (2014) finds that dominating discourses in Musikklinja practices of musicianship are 'dedication', 'entrepreneurship', 'competence', 'specialisation' and 'connoisseurship', and that the main characteristic in the constitution of music student subjectivity is the appropriation of discourse. The students 'appropriate – adapt, shift, juggle, subvert – the available discourses in ways that enable and empower their discursive legitimacy as music students' (Ellefsen 2014:iv).

Schei (2007) has performed a discursive study on music identity of three professional singers within classical, pop and jazz music. The study, which also builds on Foucault, shows that genre is structuring the discursive rooms where the singers' professionalism is confirmed and corrected, and where they are offered subject positions to identify with by the circulating discourses (Schei 2007). Schei (2007) also finds that, although the singers classify themselves in different genres, they are in part regulated by the same discourses, namely the central ideas of the classical vocal discourse. Hence, the study indicates that the classical genre among singers maintains a hegemonic position (Schei 2007). Lindgren (2006) builds on Foucault, but also on other discursive perspectives like Laclau and Mouffe in her study of aesthetics in school. She identifies discourses related to the aesthetic activities in the compulsory school by interviewing teachers and headteachers. She discusses this in connection to power and control, in particular how knowledge is created and maintained through control strategies (Lindgren 2006).

#### **1.4.6 Summary**

As this study is situated within the scholarly field of music education and is a discursive study focusing on issues concerning schools of arts, identity and

professionalism, it rests upon earlier studies within these fields. There are similarities between how the school of music (and arts) are organised in the Nordic countries, and especially between the Norway and Sweden. This relates to the political system, as the Nordic welfare state funds music (and arts) schools. Most of the research that has been conducted on the Norwegian school of arts are reports mainly addressing students' opportunities for participation related to their social and economic background. More research is done on the Swedish music and arts school, where Heimonen (2003, 2004) addresses educational and legal issues related to extra-curricular music education in Sweden, but also Finland, Germany and England. Heimonen (2003) finds tension between the general (law) 'right to an education', and the particular (individual needs of each student) 'right for freedom in education'.

Several studies on teacher identity and music teacher identity are concerned with different ways of understanding identity. Bouij (1998a) uses the concept 'role identity' which has been criticised by, for instance, Bernard (2005) and Broman-Kananen (2009) for being less flexible and implicating socialisation from one role to another – here, from the musician role to the teacher role. Bernard (2005) also criticises viewing music teaching and music making as opposing forces, which she believes to be the main focus in the literature on music teacher identity. Roberts (2007) and Stephens (2007), among others, disagree with this critique. Among the research on professionalism and education is Ingersoll and Merrill's (2011) discussion of 'out-of-field' teaching especially relevant to this study. By examining the extent of 'out-of-field teaching', they got an indication of the degree of specialisation in teaching and whether teachers are viewed as professionals with expert knowledge.

## 1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis unfolds in three parts:

Part one presents the base for the study. This base consists of chapter 1 which provides the background, aims and research questions for the study, as well as an overview of the school of arts, me as a researcher and how the study is situated. Chapter 2 provides theoretical perspectives, and chapter 3 methodological issues.



Part two presents the results from the analysis. Chapters 4 and 5 concern institutional and teacher discourses in the school of arts, while chapter 6 examines available subject positions and music teachers' professional identities.

Part three consists of the concluding chapter (chapter 7).

## 2 Theoretical perspectives

The aim of this study is to investigate professional identities of music teachers within the Norwegian school of arts. This study builds on the notion that identity is discursively constructed. This implies that an individual's identity is not an inner core but rather is constructed through identification with discursive subject positions (Hall 1996; Laclau & Mouffe 2001). This discursive character of identity implies that it is part of a social field where struggle and power relations are central and identity is constructed as difference.

Precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies. Moreover, they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally constituted unity [...]. (Hall 1996:17)

Central in discourse analytical studies is struggle over definitions, as '[t]he aim of discourse analysis is to map out the processes in which we struggle about the way in which the meaning of signs is to be fixed, and the processes by which some fixations of meaning become so conventionalised that we think of them as natural' (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:25-26). Seeing identity as discursively constructed builds on an epistemological stand that the world is discursively constructed. To study the world around us then involves identifying discourses and power relations. In order to investigate professional identities of music

teachers in schools of arts, one must identify discourses in the ‘conversations’ about the school – in the language used by different actors in the field.

The overarching theoretical and analytical framework for this study builds on Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory (Laclau 1990; Laclau & Mouffe 2001), as it can contribute in identifying competing discourses in the school of arts field and in showing how the professional identities of music teachers are constructed. Mouffe’s (Mouffe 2005a, 2005b, 2013) notion of agonism and her arguments for pluralism are also relevant to this study. Theories of professions (Abbott 1988; Freidson 2001; Molander & Terum 2008b) are part of the theoretical framework, as they add an additional frame for discussing what it means for an occupational group to be a profession. By so doing, they provide an entrance to better understand which subject positions are constructed and tensions created. To form this multi-perspective framework, theories of professions that do not share the constructivist epistemological starting point of discourse theory will need to be ‘translated’ in order to be compatible with this analytical perspective (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002).

In this chapter, the theoretical framework for this study is presented. First, different ways of understanding discourse are accounted for. Second, relevant concepts from Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory are presented. Third, theories of professions, with an emphasis on Freidson and Abbott, are discussed, followed by a section regarding music teaching as a profession. Last, a multi-perspective framework combining these theories are elaborated upon.

## 2.1 A discourse analytical approach

There are several approaches to discourse analysis. A common feature, however, is that language does not represent social relations neutrally: how we talk and act plays a role in constructing them (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). Common to different approaches, such as instance critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough 1995), discursive psychology (Potter & Wetherell 1987), and discourse theory (Laclau & Mouffe 2001), is also their social constructionist starting point and view of language as stemming from structuralist and post-structuralist linguistics (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). Discourse analysis is ‘the study of language in use’, where some approaches focus on the *content* of language in use and others on the *structure* (grammar) (Gee 2014:8). Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory represents the first, where the content of language in use is

studied at a macro-level rather than a micro-level. This means that it takes a broad perspective and focuses on both language and practices in order to analyse the social macro-levels of power relationships and identity construction.

There are several definitions of the term 'discourse', which change with time and space (Neumann 2001). Dunn and Neumann (2016) suggests the following definition as a starting point:

[W]e understand a discourse as a system producing a set of statements and practices that, by entering into institutions and appearing like normal, constructs the reality for its subjects and maintains a certain degree of regularity in a set of social relations. Or, more succinctly, *discourses are systems of meaning-production that fix meaning, however temporarily, and enable actors to make sense of the world and to act within it.* (Dunn & Neumann 2016:4, italics in original)

Neumann (2001:21) describes a shift of definitions of discourse from pure linguistic to those related to social science. He also emphasises that working with discourse analysis implies taking a pluralistic approach to methodology and to the use of the concept 'discourse'. Jørgensen and Phillips (2002:1) put forward a definition of discourse as 'a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)'. Laclau and Mouffe emphasise that discourse is not a combination of speech and writing, 'but rather that speech and writing are themselves but internal components of discursive totalities', and that the 'totality which includes within itself the linguistic and the non-linguistic, is what we call discourse' (Laclau 1990:100).

The linguistic and non-linguistic elements are not merely juxtaposed, but constitute a differential and structured system of positions – that is, a discourse. (Laclau & Mouffe 2001:95)

Potter and Wetherell (1987:7) are concerned about the importance of language in social psychology and use the term discourse 'to cover all forms of spoken interaction, formal and informal, and written texts of all kind'. Burr (2003:63), however, draws a line between how discursive psychologists (for instance Potter and Wetherell) and those who take a more deconstructionist stance (as Laclau and Mouffe) understand discourse, the latter as the incorporation of both language and practice in discourse. The focus of interest then lies 'beyond the immediate context in which language is being used by a speaker or writer' (Burr 2003:63). Burr (2003) speaks of this stance as 'macro social constructionism' and identifies Foucault as one of its main representatives. In this 'macro social constructionism' universe,

[a] discourse refers to a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events. It refers to a particular picture that is painted of an event, person or class of persons, a particular way of representing it in a certain light. (Burr 2003:64)

Foucault offers several interpretations of discourse throughout his works. In one, discourses are seen as ‘constituted by a group of sequences of signs, in so far as they are statements, that is, in so far as they can be assigned particular modalities of existence’, where the term discourse ‘can be defined as the group of statements that belong to a single system of formation [...]’. (Foucault 1972:121) Both Burr’s and Foucault’s understanding of discourse resembles Laclau and Mouffe’s understanding of it: namely, at a macro-level where both spoken and written language, and practises are seen as part of discourse.

In this study, I build on a social science-related discourse analysis on a macro-level. I perceive discourse as a totality of language and practices, and take a deconstructionist stance in relation to discourse analysis, which Burr (2003) asserts is the most fruitful stance when studying issues of identity, subjectivity, power and change.

## 2.2 Identity and subject positions

Following from perceiving the world as discursively constructed, is that identities are discursive. Identity is understood as temporary attachment to subject positions where the subject is multiply constructed across different discourses and practices (Hall 1996).

I use ‘identity’ to refer to the meeting point, the point of *suture*, between, on the one hand, the discourses and practices which attempt to “interpellate”, speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be ‘spoken’. Identities are thus points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us. (Hall 1996:19, italics in original)

Hall (1996:16) also asserts that in common sense language, ‘identification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group [...]’. To identify with something means there must be something with which you do not identify. Identification is ‘subject to the “play” of *différance*’; it operates across difference and therefore ‘requires what is left outside, its constitutive outside, to consolidate the

process' (Hall 1996:17, italics in original). Hence, identity is constructed through difference, to what it is not (Hall 1996; Laclau 1990). Mouffe (2005a:15) refers to the constitutive outside and asserts that 'creation of an identity implies the establishment of a difference, difference which is often constructed on the basis of a hierarchy [...]'. Identities are entirely social; they are 'accepted, refused and negotiated in discursive processes' (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:43). Through chains of equivalence, signifiers are linked together around a nodal point of identity, which different discourses try to fill with content (Laclau & Mouffe 2001). In this study, 'school of arts teacher' is the nodal point for music teachers' professional identities, and different discourses try to fill it with content. Those discourses offer subject positions for music teachers to identify with.

Collective identity and group formation are in discourse theory to be understood around the same principles as for individual identity. Reduction of possibilities is central in forming collective identities (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001).

In the field of collective identities, we are always dealing with the creation of a 'we' which can exist only by the demarcation of a 'they'. (Mouffe 2005a:15)

Collective identity is central in discourse theory and theories of professions, and for the analysis of this study. Important for the construction of collective identity is also *representation* (which will be elaborated later). People are constituted as groups through establishment of chains of equivalence, but according to two different logics (Laclau & Mouffe 2001). The *logic of equivalence* provides a relatively large group with a common platform, on which they can stand together and therefore have a stronger voice (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). *The logic of difference* can weaken the common ground for mobilisation, but takes internal differences into account (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001). Thus, 'the logic of equivalence is a logic of the simplification of political space, while the logic of difference is a logic of its expansion and increasing complexity' (Laclau & Mouffe 2001:117). This means that the logic of difference tries to 'disperse the polar opposition in a larger number of more specific identities' (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:45). Group formation according to the *logic of equivalence* can be exemplified with the collective identity 'musician' being constructed as opposed to 'medical doctor', where violinists, flautists and pianists all identify with the group 'musician' because they all see themselves as musicians instead of medical doctors. Identifying according to the *logic of difference*, on the contrary, implies that the violinist identify with the group 'string player' or even more specified: 'violinist', and the flautist with

'woodwind player' or 'flautist'. The different medical doctors identify with for instance the group 'surgeon' or 'paediatrician'.

The concept of *power* is central in identity construction. Power produces the social in particular ways and excludes alternative possibilities, and it operates discursively as we position ourselves and others within discursive categories (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:111). Laclau and Mouffe acquired their notion of power from Foucault, who sees power as both a productive and a constraining force, and always bound up with knowledge (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). Laclau (1990:31, italics in original) asserts that 'the constitution of social identity is an act of power and that identity as such *is* power'. Thus, to study the existence of social identity is 'to study the power mechanisms making it possible' (Laclau 1990:32).

Within a discursive approach, identities are seen as contingent (they could have been, and can become, different) and relational (no identity that can be fully constituted) (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001). Identification is further perceived to be a construction, a process that never will be finalised (Hall 1996). Identification is thus 'a process of articulation, a suturing, an over-determination not a subsumption' (Hall 1996:16-17). To say that the subject is *overdetermined* means that it is positioned by several conflicting discourses, and the subject is always overdetermined because the discourses are always contingent (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001). This implies that the subject has some degree of agency to identify (or not) with particular subject positions. Overdetermination implies a rising of conflicts between subject positions, and a terrain for hegemonic articulation (Laclau & Mouffe 2001:97).

[T]he dispersion of subject positions cannot constitute a solution: given that none of them manages ultimately to consolidate itself as a *separate position*, there is a game of overdetermination among them that reintroduces the horizon of an impossible totality. It is this game which makes hegemonic articulation possible. (Laclau & Mouffe 2001:108, italics in original)

Overdetermination means that the subject might identify variously according to the situation. A school of arts teacher could identify with the subject position 'music teacher' when s/he teaches music groups in compulsory schools and with 'instrumental teacher' when s/he gives piano lessons. In addition to being overdetermined, the subject is also *fragmented* or *decentred*, meaning it has several identities according to which discourses it forms part (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002).

Although the subject is constructed within discourses, different discourse analytical approaches open up for more or less *agency*: the subject's degree of freedom of action (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). Especially Foucault, but also Laclau and Mouffe, lack a developed understanding of agency, and the subject is therefore, to a large degree, perceived to be determined by structures. In critical discourse analysis and discursive psychology, on the other hand, the understanding of the subject as having agency is more prominent (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). However, in these approaches discourses are also seen as limiting the subject's possibilities for action and innovation (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:17). Although this study is built mainly on Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory, I perceive the subject as having some degree of agency, with the possibility of resistance towards ideologies, but with discourses limiting the subjects' freedom of action.

### 2.3 Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory

One thing that separates Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory from other discursive approaches is their understanding of everything as discursively constructed: that social practises are fully discursive. Laclau and Mouffe do not deny that physical objects exist, but believe that our access to them is through discourses. Hence, we ascribe meaning to physical objects through discourses (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001).

Our analysis rejects the distinction between discursive and non-discursive practices. [...] The fact that every object is constituted as an object of discourse has *nothing to do* with whether there is a world external to thought [...]. What is denied is not that such objects exist externally to thought, but the rather different assertion that they could constitute themselves as objects outside any discursive condition of emergence. (Laclau & Mouffe 2001:93-94, italics in original)

An example of this is that a snare drum exists, but to perceive it as a musical instrument and not just a round object with skins and a snare, is discursively constructed.

Struggles over meaning are central in discourse theory, where meaning never can be completely fixed (Laclau & Mouffe 2001). There will always be struggle about definitions of identity and the social as we strive to fix the meaning of signs by placing them in relation to other signs (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). In order to identify these processes, Laclau and Mouffe provide a theoretical



framework. In this framework, *moments* are signs that have their meaning (partially) fixed through articulation in a discourse, whereas *elements* are signs with several competing ways of understanding them as their meaning not has yet been fixed (Laclau & Mouffe 2001).

[W]e will call *articulation* any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. The structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice, we will call *discourse*. The different positions, insofar as they appear articulated within a discourse, we will call *moments*. By contrast, we will call *element* any difference that is not discursively articulated. (Laclau & Mouffe 2001:91, italics in original)

This means that a discourse is seen as ‘the fixation of meaning within a particular domain’ where all signs are *moments* as their meaning is ‘fixed through their difference from each other [...]’ (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:26, italics in original). The fixation of meaning in comparison to what it is not is central in discourse theory. Laclau and Mouffe (2001:92) emphasise that ‘all values are values of opposition and are defined only by their difference [...]’. A complete fixation of signs is never possible, though, because every fixation of a sign is contingent. *Nodal points* are privileged signs that play a central role in (partially) fixing the meaning (Laclau & Mouffe 2001).

Any discourse is constituted as an attempt to dominate the field of discursivity, to arrest the flow of differences, to construct a centre. We will call the privileged discursive points of this partial fixation, *nodal points*. (Laclau & Mouffe 2001:98-99, italics in original)

Nodal points are empty; there are several ways of interpreting them, which make them an arena for discursive struggle. They acquire their meaning by being related to other signs in chains of equivalence. *Floating signifiers* are also empty and open; they are ‘incapable of being wholly articulated to a discursive chain’ (Laclau & Mouffe 2001:99). They refer to the struggle between discourses to fix meaning of signs and create (temporarily) hegemony. An example of this is the different ways of seeing and articulating migrants. ‘Migrant’ could be a floating signifier where various discourses try to define it: as refugees in need of protection, as social resources to our multicultural society, as a valuable workforce in the labour market, or as a potential threat to our security or cultural heritage.

*Hegemony* is a concept that Laclau and Mouffe, with inspiration from Gramsci, developed further (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). A discourse is a fixation of elements to moments within a specific domain, while hegemony refers to fixation across discourses. When one discourse dominates alone, a hegemonic

intervention has been a success. Antagonism, which will be discussed later in this chapter, can be found where there is struggle over meaning between discourses (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). Here, nodal points are central as '[t]o "hegemonize" a content would therefore amount to *fixing* its meaning around a nodal point' (Laclau 1990:28, italics in original). Both discourses and hegemony are only temporary and partial fixations, however, because fixation of meaning into elements is always contingent. From this, it follows that everything is relational (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002): it is what it is because of what it is not. What is not part of a particular discourse belongs to the *field of discursivity*, which is 'the necessary terrain for the constitution of every social practice' (Laclau & Mouffe 2001:98).

I will now elaborate further on the concepts from Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory that are especially relevant in this study.

### 2.3.1 Autonomy and representation

The concept of *autonomy* is in discourse theory understood as relative and something that could never be fully achieved or inexistent (Laclau 1990). A completely autonomous entity would be self-determined, because it would have nothing from which to be autonomous, which is not possible because the fixation of meaning is always in comparison to what it is not (Laclau 1990). If autonomy was total *inexistent*, the entity would be completely determined because the determinant and the determined would then be exactly the same – and be self-determined (Laclau 1990). What follows from this is that autonomy as a concept is only meaningful when autonomy is neither fully achieved nor inexistent (Laclau 1990). This means autonomy is always relative, 'since if one force has the power to interfere and the other the power to resist, the two will be partially effective and neither will manage to predominate exclusively' (Laclau 1990:38). Autonomy is then a form of hegemonic construction, as the autonomisation of domains is a result of articulatory practices constructing that autonomy (Laclau & Mouffe 2001:127).

The same principle goes for *representation*; it is relative and there are two forces that neither can predominate exclusively (Laclau 1990). Representation means that someone is represented by others when s/he is absent. However, the terrain on which representation takes place is always somehow different from the terrain where the identity of the person represented was constituted,

and representation must therefore involve the construction of something new (Laclau 1990:38). Absolute representation is not possible, as it would mean that the representative and the represented constitute the exact same will, and the exact same will being present two different places is not possible (Laclau 1990). As groups are not socially predetermined, they are constituted when someone speaks on behalf of the group. Groups are not first formed and then represented, but constituted in discourse (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau 1993).

### 2.3.2 Politics – the political, antagonism – agonism

In discourse theory, *politics* is perceived in a broad sense and refers to the ongoing processes of constituting the social (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002).

*Politics* in discourse theory is not to be understood narrowly as, for example, party politics; on the contrary, it is a broad concept that refers to the manner in which we constantly constitute the social in ways that exclude other ways. (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:36, italics in original)

Mouffe (2005a:18) argues that every order is political, and that it is based on some sort of exclusion where other possibilities have been repressed, but can be activated again. She distinguishes between *politics* and *the political* in the following way:

[B]y ‘the political’ I mean the dimension of antagonism which I take to be constitutive of human societies, while by ‘politics’ I mean the set of practices and institutions through which an order is created, organizing human coexistence in the context of conflictuality provided by the ‘political’. (Mouffe 2005a:9)

*Objectivity* is an outcome of struggles and political processes, and refers to sedimented discourses which are so well established that their contingency is forgotten and the alternative possibilities hidden (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:47; Laclau 1990). Sedimented discourses can, however, at any time become political again through new articulations.

*Antagonism* is in discourse theory a term for conflict, and it occurs when different identities reciprocally exclude and block each other. Antagonism is found where different discourses collide. (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau 1990). The different identities ‘make contrasting demands in relation to the same actions within a common terrain, and inevitably one blocks the other’ (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:47). Antagonism can be dissolved through hegemonic interventions, where the intervention is successful if one discourse gets to dominate alone where it used to be conflict (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). However, if

acknowledging the presence of the antagonistic dimension but wanting it to be 'tamed', Mouffe (2005a, 2013) argues in favour of *agonism*. In contrast to antagonism, agonism is viewed as a relation where the opponents share a common symbolic space within which there are conflicts, but a conflictual consensus which makes it less likely that conflicts take an antagonistic form (Mouffe 2005a, 2013).

While antagonism is a *we/they* relation in which the two sides are enemies who do not share any common ground, agonism is a *we/they* relation where the conflicting parties, although acknowledging that there is no rational solution to their conflict, nevertheless recognize the legitimacy of their opponents. They are 'adversaries' not enemies. (Mouffe 2005a:20)

Mouffe (2013) asserts that if conflicts do not take an agonistic form, they could emerge on the antagonistic mode. She believes conflicts would be less likely to take an antagonistic form if we see the world as multipolar, or as a 'pluri-verse', with a pluralisation of hegemonies (Mouffe 2005a, 2013). In a multipolar world, one acknowledges each other's differences, even though there are struggles over meaning, Mouffe (2005a, 2013) asserts. This could be seen in connection to group formation according to the logic of difference, where internal differences are taken into account.

## 2.4 Theories of professions

'Profession' commonly refers to a group of workers sharing an occupation with specific attributes and traits (Molander & Terum 2008a). Performative traits concern the professional practitioners' way of performing tasks (as in use of discretion), while organisational traits involve a profession's organisation in order to maintain its tasks (as in monopoly, autonomy, jurisdiction and associations) (Molander & Terum 2008a). Distinguishing between professions and other occupations is disputed, however, and relevant scholars do not agree on one definition of 'profession', or indeed on whether we actually need one (Molander & Terum 2008a). One of the central questions that scholars have tried to answer is which interests the professions protect: their own or the public's (Fauske 2008). However, despite disagreements, scholars seem to agree on the following: professions are occupations which offer services that society needs and solve problems based on discretionary judgement and research-based<sup>13</sup>

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13 I have chosen to use the term *research-based* knowledge to cover terms used in the literature such as *academic* knowledge, *scientific* knowledge and *theoretical* knowledge.

knowledge acquired from specialist education (Molander & Terum 2008a). Law, medicine and divinity are traditionally labelled the 'classical professions', while for instance teaching, social work, engineering and nursing 'new professions' with somehow weaker professional traits (Fauske 2008).

Research on professions has gone through various phases, from trying to identify common traits, via studies of professionalisation processes, professions in a macro oriented institutional context, professions connected to expert knowledge and power, and towards a more holistic approach where elements from different traditions unite (Fauske 2008). Freidson (1994, 2001) is a typical representative for the research from the late 1980s, as he emphasises the professions' normative and ideological importance (Fauske 2008). This study builds primarily on Freidson's (2001) theory of professionalism, but also on Abbott's (1988) system of professions and other understandings of professions and professionalism from the literature.

Freidson (2001) provides a systematic account of professionalism as a method of organising work. His aim is to establish a stable point, against which empirical findings can be compared and analysed. This stable point is a description of the 'ideal-type' profession, which function as model of the *logic of professionalism* as opposed to the logics of the free market and the firm (Freidson 2001).

I use the word "professionalism" to refer to the institutional circumstances in which the members of occupations rather than consumers or managers control work. (Freidson 2001:12)

Professionalism is then seen as 'a set of institutions which permit the members of an occupation to make a living while controlling their own work' (Freidson 2001:17). This can exist only because the tasks professions perform 'are so different from those of most workers that self-control is essential' (Freidson 2001:17). Almost no single occupation can fully control its own work, though, but those who come close are, according to Freidson (2001), called professions. Other definitions of professionalism include Evans's (2008) understanding of it as the plural of individuals' professionalities, where professionalism and the individuals' professionalities influence and shape each other in an iterative process.

Abbott (1988) focuses on jurisdiction, the link between an occupation and its work, as the point of entry for studying professions. He perceives of the system of professions as a whole, and provides a general theory based on comparative and historical studies of professions where the relation between professions is

emphasised (Abbott 1988; Fauske 2008). Abbott (1988:8) provides what he calls 'a very loose definition' of a profession, namely that 'professions are exclusive occupational groups applying somewhat abstract knowledge to particular cases'.

In the literature on professions, the concepts 'profession', 'professionalisation' and 'professionalism' are used. Evetts (2005, 2006) claims there has been a shift of emphasis in the sociology of professions via professionalism to profession as an institution in the 1960s and 1970s, processes of professionalisation in the 1970s and 1980s, and towards a return to professionalism – with new developments where trust is central. 'Profession' is here understood as 'a distinct and generic category of occupational work' and 'professionalisation' as 'the process to pursue, develop and maintain the closure of the occupational group' (Evetts 2005:3). Evetts (2005) asserts that the understanding of 'professionalism' has changed with time, and puts forward three different interpretations of it, i) as an occupation value, ii) as an ideology, and iii) as a discourse of occupational change and managerial control (Evetts 2005). Evetts (2005) further distinguishes between two forms of discourses of professionalism: *organisational professionalism* constructed from above (managers) and *occupational professionalism* constructed from within. The latter involves 'relations of practitioner trust from both employers and clients' and 'is based on autonomy and discretionary judgement and assessment by practitioners in complex cases' (Evetts 2005:9). It further depends on education and vocational training and 'the development of strong occupational identities and work cultures', where controls are operationalised by the profession itself (Evetts 2005:9). This resembles the discourse of professionalism laying the ground for the discussion in this thesis, which will be elaborated in the last section of this chapter. In the next section, Freidson and professionalism as the third logic will be accounted for. Then, the concepts of specialisation and knowledge will be discussed, before jurisdiction and Abbott's system of professions are elaborated. How professions control their work will be discussed, and lastly, music teaching as a profession are accounted for.

### 2.4.1 Freidson and professionalism as the third logic

Freidson (2001) provides a model of the logic of professionalism, which he asserts can offer focus and direction to empirical findings. The model is defined by five elements.

The defining elements of the ideal type, the theoretical constants, are, first, a body of knowledge and skill which is officially recognized as one based on

abstract concepts and theories and requiring the exercise of considerable discretion; second, an occupationally controlled division of labor; third, an occupationally controlled labor market requiring training credentials for entry and career mobility; fourth, an occupationally controlled training program which produces those credentials, schooling that is associated with "higher learning", segregated from the ordinary labor market, and provides opportunity for the development of new knowledge; and fifth, an ideology serving some transcendent value and asserting greater devotion to doing good work than to economic reward. (Freidson 2001:180)

The model is static and is not intended to describe 'how things are', rather 'it has the considerable virtue of being able to provide a stable point against which empirical variation and process can be systematically compared and analyzed' (Freidson 2001:5).

Freidson's intention is to present a third logic of controlling work, namely professionalism, which is opposed to the logics of the *market* where work is controlled by consumers and the *firm (bureaucracy)* where managers are in control (Freidson 2001). The third logic is 'a set of interconnected institutions providing the economic support and social organization that sustains the occupational control of work' (Freidson 2001:2). The two most essential characteristics of it are *monopoly*, which opposes competition in the free market, and *freedom of judgement or discretion in performing work*, which is a contradiction to the managerial idea of efficiency gained by minimising discretion (Freidson 2001:3). The most general ideas underlying professionalism are the belief that some work cannot be standardised or rationalised, and the belief that the work is 'so specialized as to be inaccessible to those lacking the required training and experience' (Freidson 2001:17). A profession's autonomy and level of occupational control is important for the quality of the work performed; in professionalism, the profession itself is responsible for ensuring quality (Fauske 2008; Freidson 2001).

Labour markets bring together workers and labour consumers. Freidson (2001) divides labour markets in three: a free labour market structured by consumers, a bureaucratic market structured by management, and an occupational market structured by occupations. Central for the occupational market is the occupations' control of the determination of qualification for specific kinds of work (Freidson 2001). In the ideal-typical occupational labour market, employment of those qualified by the occupation is mandatory by law (Freidson 2001). A typical career in the occupational labour market is staying in the same occupation the whole life (Freidson 2001). The career is somewhat horizontal where

achievement is central and mobility happens because of an increase in reputation based on expertise (Freidson 2001). There are two lines for upward mobility in the occupational labour market: to continue practising one's craft and through time get increments in title, or forsaking the practice of one's occupation to move to a staff position and climb up the hierarchy (Freidson 2001:76). In the school of arts, a teacher becoming headteacher is an example of the latter. Freidson asserts that moving to a staff position 'is a choice that often troubles those who identify strongly with their craft, who enjoy its practice, and who wish to advance it. Colleagues who continue to work at their discipline often regard such movement as selling out' (Freidson 2001:76-77).

### 2.4.2 Specialisation

As asserted earlier, professions could be defined as occupations that solve problems based on discretionary judgement and research-based knowledge acquired from *specialist* education (Molander & Terum 2008a). This points towards the need for discussing the concept of specialisation. Freidson (2001) proposes to distinguish between two types of specialisation that represent different qualities of work, namely *mechanical specialisation* and *discretionary specialisation*. It is common for the tasks involved to be narrow and detailed. However, whereas *mechanical* specialisation refers to specialised work performed by semi-skilled workers where 'their performance is specially organized to *minimize* individual discretion', the tasks involved in *discretionary* specialisation require attention to the variety among individuals and 'discretion or fresh judgement must often be exercised if they [the tasks] are to be performed successfully' (Freidson 2001:23, my emphasise). The latter, as opposed to the work based on mechanical specialisation, has potential for creativity, Freidson (2001) asserts.

The ideal-typical ideology<sup>14</sup> of professionalism stresses the lack of uniformity in the problems its work must contend with, therefore emphasizing the need for discretion. [...] Thus, in the broadest sense, the ideology of professionalism claims that its specialization is fitted to individual tasks rather than standardized production. (Freidson 2001:111)

Discretionary specialisation includes being flexible and adaptive 'in dealing with qualitative difference among individual tasks' (Freidson 2001:112). This

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14 Ideology in professionalism related to ideology in discourse theory will be discussed later in this chapter.



also points to the importance of *discretion* in professionalism, as a central argument for discretion is that it is needed in order to secure flexibility and adaption to individual needs (Molander 2013). Discretion is a performative trait of a profession, and it concerns reasoning about what to do in single cases when the rules are not clear (Grimen & Molander 2008). Delegation of discretionary powers is based on trust that the ones receiving this power have the will and ability to perform their tasks in a good and justifiable way (Molander 2013).

The character of specialisation includes its intrinsic *relativity*: something or someone is specialised only in comparison to something or someone else (Freidson 2001).

It follows from the relativity of the idea of specialization that it must represent a *relationship* rather than a free-standing position. One cannot talk of a single specialization: for one specialization to exist there must be another. [...] A specialization thus presupposes both a more general set of activities from which it is thought to derive or which it is designed to replace, and at least one other specialized activity that arises with it in the course of the division or differentiation of the more general set. (Freidson 2001:37-38, italics in original)

Applying this to the field of music education means that a music teacher who teaches in both a compulsory school and a school of arts could be perceived as a (music) specialist in comparison to the other teachers in the compulsory school, but a generalist in comparison to other school of arts teachers who only teach instrumental students. Because of the relative character of specialisation, specialisations need to be seen as part of an organised set of relationships (Freidson 2001:44). Freidson (2001:41) uses the term 'division of labour' to represent 'the structure of social relationship that organizes and coordinates the work of related specializations or occupations'. Here, social forces play an important role in shaping the degree of specialisation and the relationship between specialisations (Freidson 2001). In the occupational division of labour, as opposed to the divisions of labour based on free competition and bureaucracy, '[s]pecializations are stabilized as distinct occupations whose members have the exclusive right to perform the tasks connected with them. Functionally related occupations negotiate with each other the boundaries or jurisdictions of the specializations that their members are allowed to offer and perform [...]' (Freidson 2001:56). In these processes, priorities in a joint production process are established through the negotiation of jurisdiction. Jurisdiction will be elaborated later.

There are resistances towards specialisation, categorised by Freidson (2001) as 'populist generalism' put forward by consumerism, and 'elite generalism' put

forward by managerialism. 'Populist generalism' is closely related to liberalism and neo-liberalism and asserts that average people themselves have the capacity to learn all that is necessary in order to make choices on their own behalf (Freidson 2001). 'Elite generalism' claims that it can organise expertise efficiently because of a general knowledge superior to specialism (Freidson 2001). To contend with this critique, professionalism claims that the knowledge and skills needed for the work performed cannot be learned quickly through general education and that it is too complex to be managed by those who only have general knowledge (Freidson 2001). The ideology of professionalism asserts knowledge that is not only 'narrow depth of a technician, or the shallow breadth of a generalist', but rather those two combined (Freidson 2001:121).

### 2.4.3 Knowledge in professions

The ideal-typical position of professionalism is founded on the official belief that the knowledge and skill of a particular specialization requires a foundation in abstract concepts and formal learning and necessitates the exercise of discretion. (Freidson 2001:35)

Knowledge in professionalism is, according to Freidson (2001), advanced general knowledge as a base in combination with specialist knowledge acquired through formal learning requiring a foundation in abstract concepts. Discussing knowledge in professions has been important to scholars because of the view that what separates professions from other occupations is the kind of knowledge it embodies (Molander & Terum 2008b). Although there are disagreements, there has been reasonable agreement about the administration of research-based knowledge as a trait of professions (Grimen 2008; Molander & Terum 2008a). The 'classic professions' law and divinity do not, however, have a thorough practice in scientific methods (Fauske 2008). Freidson (2001:154) argues that because law, with no scientific foundation nor systematically use of abstract theory, is regarded as a fully established profession, 'it follows that a scientific foundation is not essential characteristic of professional knowledge'. This opens up for other ways of understanding knowledge in professions, which is relevant when discussing music teaching as a profession – given its fragmented knowledge base (this will be elaborated later).

Grimen (2008) argues that there is no clear defining line between theoretical and practical knowledge, but rather a continuum, and that the interaction between theoretical insights and practical knowledge is central in professions'

knowledge bases. Grimen (2008) puts forward a proposition that the knowledge bases of professions are characterised by being *heterogeneous* (consisting of elements from different fields of knowledge) and *fragmented* (the elements do not combine in a logical sense), and that the different elements are integrated as *practical*, and not theoretical, syntheses. Traditionally, however, it has been common to distinguish between theoretical-scientific knowledge and practical knowledge (Grimen 2008; Gustavsson 2000). Aristotle described three forms of knowledge, of which two derive from the pre-Aristotle Greek tradition: *episteme*, which is demonstrative knowledge about something everlasting and unchangeable and understood as theoretical-scientific knowledge, and *techne*, which is knowledge about how to make things and understood as practical knowledge (Grimen 2008; Gustavsson 2000). In addition to those pre-Aristotle forms of knowledge, Aristotle described another practical form of knowledge: *phronesis*. *Phronesis* involves a moral stance and is knowledge about how one can ensure the goals for a good life through action (Grimen 2008). It is characterised by practical judgement, or wisdom, learned by practise and examples (Georgii-Hemming 2013b). A difference between the two forms of practical knowledge, *techne* and *phronesis*, is that, in *techne* the actions are *heterotelic* (the purpose of its existence is outside itself because the purpose is the product), and in *phronesis* they are *autotelic* (the action is the purpose – it is inside itself, meaning you act morally) (Grimen 2008). *Phronesis* is important in professions, as it concerns our ability to consider how to act in order to promote what is morally good for individuals in specific situations (Grimen 2008:78). This is about the ability to use discretionary judgement, which is central in theories of professions.

Freidson (2001) distinguishes between different types of knowledge. *Everyday knowledge* is used unselfconsciously and could be referred to as taken-for-granted activity or common sense. It is shared by all adult members of a community, and consists of both informal knowledge and knowledge taught in schools (Freidson 2001). *Working knowledge* is addressed to accomplish work, and is shared only by those who do the same work. *Formal knowledge* is organised in institutions, and is therefore controlled by special groups of intellectual workers (Freidson 2001). This knowledge consists of ideas organised by theories and abstract concepts, is gained through special vocational schooling, and is essential for performing some kind of work but not others (Freidson 2001). Even though some work tasks are mostly manual, if they are grounded in abstract theories they are defined as mental (Freidson 2001).

The concept *expertise* refers to skills and knowledge that separate experts from novices, which means that the concept always is relational: one is an expert in comparison to a non-expert (Smeby 2013). Hence, to what degree one is an expert is dependent on the relations one is part of (Smeby 2013). Expertise is central in professions and, according to Abbott (1988), professionalism has been the main way that industrialised countries institutionalise expertise. However, in theories of professions there is most often focus on the importance of education, whereas in research on expertise the emphasis is on the importance of experience and practical training (Smeby 2013). Expertise can only to a limited extent be transferred from one person to another, because it relies on experience (Smeby 2013). This connects to the use of discretion.

There is a knowledge-related asymmetry between professions and the public: knowledge administrated by professions is relevant for solving given practical public tasks, but is not mastered by laypersons (Molander & Terum 2008a). Following from this is that professions will operate as mediators and interpreters. This can lead to power relationships between professions and the public, where professions control knowledge in society (Molander & Terum 2008a). Abbott (1988) asserts that to be in possession of *academic* knowledge is a question of power and prestige, in the sense that the public often mistake academic knowledge to be continuous with practical professional knowledge and the ability to perform the profession's tasks. The use of academic professional knowledge is, however, often less practical than symbolic, but it is important in the legitimation of professional work as it clarifies its bases and traces them to cultural values (Abbott 1988:54). Abbott (1988) argues that status within a profession reflects the degree of involvement with the organised knowledge system the profession applies: higher degree reflects higher status, which leaves academics on top. Whether or not this applies to music teaching depends on how the 'organised knowledge system' is defined. Knowledge in music teaching and the role of status within the profession will be discussed later.

Abbott (1988) puts forward two different forms in which occupations control knowledge and skill: control of its technique (crafts) and control of the *abstractions* that generate the practical techniques. The latter implies that 'practical skill grows out of an abstract system of knowledge' (Abbott 1988:8). Freidson (2001) asserts that skill is knowledge in use; it is facilitative in character and reflects the capacity to use knowledge when accomplishing tasks. Abbott (1988) perceives of abstractions as 'currency' in the competition about jurisdiction between professions. However, he also emphasises the *relativity* of the degree

of abstraction, as what is at stake is ‘abstraction effective enough to compete in a particular historical and social context, not abstraction relative to some supposed absolute standard’ (Abbott 1988:9).

#### 2.4.4 Jurisdiction and Abbott’s system of professions

Jurisdiction is connected to a profession’s external control and means that members of a profession have authority to perform a task (Fauske 2008; Molander & Terum 2008b). An occupational group has the right to determine the qualification for particular jobs and the nature of the tasks to be performed, according to Freidson (2001). Abbott (1988) argues that in order to understand professions, one has to study jurisdictions. For Abbott, the central aspect of professions is jurisdiction: the link between a profession and a particular task. He understands jurisdiction as the defining relation in professional life, and professions develop when jurisdiction become vacant (Abbott 1988:3). Thus, to analyse professional development is therefore to ‘analyze how this link is created in work, how it is anchored by formal and informal social structure, and how the interplay of jurisdictional links between professions determines the history of the individual professions themselves’ (Abbott 1988:20). The different professions are, through professional work, bound to sets of tasks by ties of jurisdiction (Abbott 1988). These links are never absolute or permanent, however, which means that the system of professions is an interacting system, an ecology, and within that system, professions compete over jurisdiction (Abbott 1988).

The tasks of professions are, according to Abbott (1988:35), ‘human problems amenable to expert service’. Qualities of a task may be either *objective*: given by natural or technological imperatives (understood as an inertia which reconstruction has to overcome), or *subjective*: cultural constructions (Abbott 1988). While objective qualities may be discussed as *if* they existed in themselves, subjective qualities ‘arise in the current construction of the problem by the profession currently “holding the jurisdiction” of that task’ (Abbott 1988:40). These subjective qualities are created by jurisdictional claims in three parts: claims to classify a problem (to diagnose), to reason about it (to infer), and to take action on it (to treat) (Abbott 1988:40). This refers to the *cognitive* structure of a jurisdictional claim. Jurisdiction also has a *social* structure: professions claim jurisdiction through exclusive rights. Those claims can be made either *within* the legal system or by professions putting pressure *on* the legal system

via public opinion (Abbott 1988). The workplace is also a possible informal arena for claiming jurisdiction, as claims concerning who can control the work and who qualifies for doing which tasks are put forward to control certain kinds of work (Abbott 1988). Hence, it is in the workplace that the diversity within professions is most visible and must be recognised (Abbott 1988). In Norway, jurisdiction usually takes place within the legal system as the state delegates authority to the professions, which gives occupational groups more-or-less exclusive rights to maintain certain tasks on behalf of the public (Molander & Terum 2008a). In the ideal-typical occupationally controlled labour marked by professionalism, it is mandatory by law to employ only those qualified by the occupation (Freidson 2001). Jurisdiction represents a double control or a double monopoly, meaning that professions have control over both 'the performance of a particular set of tasks and over the information required by the consumer who must choose someone to perform those tasks' (Freidson 2001:79).

#### 2.4.5 Professions controlling their work

In Freidson's (2001) logic of professionalism, professions control their own tasks. This control could be both external and internal and includes monopoly, autonomy, organisation and jurisdiction, and following from this: power (Freidson 2001).

Professionalism may be said to exist when an organized occupation gains the power to determine who is qualified to perform a defined set of tasks, to prevent all others from performing that work, and to control the criteria by which to evaluate performance. [...] The organized occupation creates the circumstances under which its members are free of control by those who employ them. (Freidson 2001:12)

Autonomy<sup>15</sup> is about professions' internal control, that they can control the performance of their tasks (Molander & Terum 2008a). It concerns both the profession's autonomy and the freedom of individuals within the profession.

The freedom to judge and choose the ends of work is what animates the institutions of the third logic. It expresses the very soul of professionalism. (Freidson 2001:217)

Autonomy allows decisions 'to be made on the basis of discretionary judgement' (Molander & Grimen 2010:169).

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<sup>15</sup> Autonomy in relation to discourse theory will be discussed later in this chapter.

*Associations* are part of a profession's autonomy as they represent way for professions to maintain their autonomy and control. Membership in an association involves handing some individual control over to the association (Svensson 2008). There are different types of associations, and Svensson (2008) suggests distinguishing between two types: *occupational associations*,<sup>16</sup> in which the affiliation is established through voluntary membership, and *professional associations*, in which membership is secured through employment or ownership, and which have a strong collegial control and claims of professionalism. The establishment of occupational associations has been an important part of an occupation's effort to gain status as a profession (Svensson 2008). The associations who organise music teachers in schools of arts are occupational associations.

Freidson (2001) argues that a 'core community' created by shared training and work experience is more inclusive than an association. He sees a profession as all people with the same qualifying vocational training, regardless of membership in associations. He argues that not all workers within a profession are members of an association and puts forward a concern that the profession may come to be represented by only a few active members – and these may not have the same interests as the rest of the members of the profession (Freidson 2001). Representation always implies a difference between the one who is being represented and the one who represents, which means representation involves the construction of something new (Laclau 1990). Freidson (2001) also points to the issue of several associations representing one profession, which could lead to lack of clarity about who is representing the profession. This is applicable for the music teaching profession. Several members are organised in MFO,<sup>17</sup> while others are organised in the Union of Education Norway,<sup>18</sup> in other associations or not organised at all.

A continuation of professions controlling their work is that they themselves are responsible for the *quality*. Freidson (2001) claims that we cannot necessarily assume that specialisation always means an increase in the quality of service or knowledge. The professional practitioners (members of a profession) do, however, vary their 'products' to the need of individual 'consumers' by making use of discretion. This implies that the work is more costly and less productive than standardised work, which means that in professionalism, 'the

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16 My translation from the Norwegian term 'yrkesorganisasjoner' used in the article.

17 Musikernes fellesorganisasjon/Norwegian Musicians' Union

18 Utdanningsforbundet

quantity and the cost of work defer to quality' (Freidson 2001:111). Another trait of professionalism is *commitment* to the quality of work (Freidson 2001). An example from the United States describes how academic professors, because they are interested in improving the quality of their work, 'sometimes try to raise standards so as to reduce rather than expand the number of their student consumers, often to the detriment of their economic self-interest. Paradoxically, they are criticized for *not* making any effort to realize any income from their work in the ordinary marketplace' (Freidson 2001:200-201, italics in original). Examples of this is also found in the data material of this study, where teachers give longer lessons and work 'for free' in order to maintain what they consider the necessary quality of teaching. This will be elaborated later.

#### 2.4.6 Music teaching as a profession

Music teaching displays many of the characteristics compatible with a profession, including specialisation, service being offered, some autonomy, indirect monopolistic traits, expertise, and a knowledge base typical for professions (Brøske Danielsen & Johansen 2012; Jordhus-Lier 2015; Molander & Terum 2008a). I suggest that music teaching has a knowledge base typical for professions, as it consists of different forms of knowledge which are integrated (Georgii-Hemming 2013b; Grimen 2008). Georgii-Hemming (2013b:33, italics in original) asserts that '[i]t is impossible to teach music without a judicious mix of the three forms of knowledge: *episteme*, *techne* and *phronesis*'. She argues that music education (and music) are *techne* by virtue of their craft and artistry, *episteme* in systematising ideas and bringing about reflection, and *phronesis* in their interpersonal character (Georgii-Hemming 2013b).

The knowledge base of music teaching is heterogeneous and fragmented, and it is integrated in practical syntheses, as music teaching draws on both humanities and social sciences, and the latter draws on various conflicting research traditions with no single meta-theory combining them (Grimen 2008; Jordhus-Lier 2015). Musicology and pedagogy are central, which both are heterogeneous knowledge bases of fragmented constituents. Pedagogy is heterogeneous as it contains various theories where the different elements are to be synthesised in the field of practice (Hovdenak 2014). Music teaching has a practical aim, where practice combines the various knowledge bases into the field of music education. Georgii-Hemming (2013a:209) claims that the knowledge base for the music subject in general education contains 'artistic, scientific, practical



and bodily dimensions, which music teachers [...] need to relate to intellectually, pedagogically and practically'. The combination of specialised high-level artistic competence with teaching competence that music teachers hold generates a unique and specialised knowledge that is inaccessible to those without relevant training (Jordhus-Lier 2015). Discretionary, as opposed to mechanical, *specialisation* is central in professions (Freidson 2001), and also in the music teaching profession. One could argue that learning an instrument involves mechanical specialisation, for instance when it comes to finger techniques. But in order to make music, discretionary specialisation needs to be involved. Making music is about the ability to express music. This requires creativity, establishing a connection to audiences, and expressing one's own shifting emotions, all of which require the flexibility offered by discretionary specialisation.

A performative trait in professions is discretion, which implies making use of experience and exercising practical wisdom, as in *phronesis* (Grimen & Molander 2008). Music teaching involves handling specific characteristics of individual cases based on judgement and interpretations, and includes both educational issues and questions related to assessment of musical quality in interpretation of music (Brøske Danielsen & Johansen 2012). Admission to teach in schools of arts is not regulated by law. However, Brøske Danielsen and Johansen (2012) claim that there is an apparent agreement among school of arts headteachers concerning the qualifications of teachers, for which a conservatory or music academy education is regarded as a requirement. The advisory curriculum framework for the school of arts (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016) introduces the implementation of competence requirements for teachers and headteachers.

Music teachers in schools of arts are not organised in strong associations or unions; indeed, not all are union members. The union organising a great amount of the music teachers is MFO, which is a union of interest where the affiliation is established through voluntary membership. Despite this, Brøske Danielsen and Johansen (2012:34) claim that the music teachers' unions 'still enables music teachers to act like a united group with a common self-understanding; and to some extent these organizations function as a collective agency working to legitimize its professionals claims'. MFO is technically a trade union, however, and not a professional association, which could mean it is more concerned about working conditions and salary than professional claims.

*Jurisdiction* in Norway most often takes place within the legal system, where the state delegates authority to professions (Molander & Terum 2008a). Regarding schools of arts, the Education Act specifies only the municipalities' obligation

to provide a school of arts offering for children and to collaborate with compulsory schools and the local community arts field. The content and curriculum are therefore left to others to decide. One might therefore argue that music teachers in schools of arts are given the right to administer children's musical training, as the law does not regulate it. In that sense, the state presupposes that teachers working in schools of arts are professionals and leaves them with responsibility. Dependent on this reasoning is that the teachers' competencies are so specialised that they are inaccessible to others without training, and that there are mechanisms ensuring that only specialised teachers work in schools of arts. A third element is that the public must be in need of this specialised competence. The trust that a profession is collectively awarded through its publicly acknowledged status is confirmed in the practitioners' interaction with their clients (Eriksen & Molander 2008). The 'clients' (here: students) do not have the same level of artistic competence as the teachers. Hence, if we assume that arts are important to society, the public is dependent on music teachers to fulfil the requirement enshrined in law that every municipality should provide children with the opportunity to study arts. An element working against music teachers having the right to administer children's musical training, however, is the Norwegian council for schools of arts' (Norsk kulturskoleråd) effort to have the curriculum framework they have compiled implemented in schools and enshrined in municipalities. This way, the Council rather than the profession itself, has made jurisdictional claims regarding the content of, and material to be taught in, the school of arts.

The curriculum framework emphasises the need for teachers to be able to articulate and justify their practice so that their particular expertise can be identified and their professionalism can be asserted. A process of professionalisation can put forward in order to increase an occupation's status and legitimacy, or allow practitioners to argue for what they see as important aspects of their practice (Granlund, Mausethagen, & Munthe 2011). To be recognised as a profession helps practitioners to define and control their work; it helps to ensure quality and a stronger influence in the public debate. There has been an increase in denoting general teaching as a profession both from the inside – from teachers themselves – and from the outside – from politicians (Granlund, Mausethagen, & Munthe 2011). This is also applicable for music teaching. When comparing the current and former curriculum frameworks for the school of arts, music teaching is increasingly denoted as a profession. Furthermore, the current curriculum framework emphasises the importance

of specialisation and knowledge in music teaching, which could be seen as part of a professionalising process because these aspects often are regarded as reflecting status and legitimacy (Granlund, Mausestagen, & Munthe 2011). Historically, there has also been a professionalising process for the school of arts' music teachers. The expansion of schools of arts in Norway, as elaborated in chapter 1, enabled municipalities to hire professional musicians and music teachers which contributed in securing access to professional music expertise in local communities (Ministry of Church Affairs Education and Research 1993).

## 2.5 A multi-perspective framework

As accounted for in the introduction of this chapter, discourse theory contributes with the overarching theoretical framework and as a tool for the analysis in this study, while theories of professions add another perspective to the discussion of the findings – tools to better understand which subject positions are constructed and tensions created. Jørgensen and Phillips (2002:154) argue in favour of combining different theoretical approaches to form a multi-perspectival framework because then 'research can cast light on a phenomenon from different angles and thus take more account of the complexity of the phenomenon'. However, they also emphasise the importance of relating the different approaches to each other and 'translating' non-discourse theories into discourse analytical terms (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). The social constructionist premise that research does not reflect reality, but that the theoretical framework contributes in constructing the field of study, must be the overarching premise when combining non-discursive theories with discourse oriented theories (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002).

'Translating' non-discursive theories means understanding them within the frame of the discursive approach selected for the study. This study builds on Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory, in which everything is seen as discursively constructed. Common to discourse theory and theories of professions is that they both provide systems for understanding the social: discourse theory through discourses, and theories of professions through logics or ideologies. The notion of difference and group formation are central to both. Within the literature on professions, there are views of professionalism as socially constructed (Evans 2008), which connect to discourse theory. One difference between the theories, however, is the understanding of agency. In discourse

analytical approaches, and especially in discourse theory, the concept of agency is not very well developed; a critique of discourse theory is that the subject is seen as determined by structures. In theories of professions, on the other hand, the notion of agency is present. Professions and the professionals have agency. They can claim jurisdiction (Abbott 1988), they have autonomy and are responsible for securing quality (Fauske 2008; Freidson 2001). Forming a multi-perspective framework combining those theories with discourse theory adds a certain degree of agency to the discursive structure of the study, which can be fruitful in the analysis and discussions of the findings.

Theories of professions are non-discursive, and need in this study to be understood within the discourse theoretical framework. The aim for this section is to 'translate' theories of professions: to explain how theories and concepts relevant for this study can be understood discursively.

### 2.5.1 Discourse of professionalism

In this study, theories of professions are integrated in the concept of professionalism, which is understood discursively as a *discourse of professionalism*. This discourse includes Freidson's (2001) interpretation of professionalism as a logic and Abbott's (1988) understanding of professions as a system, in addition to professional traits from the literature on professions. There is support for a discursive understanding of professionalism in the literature. Evans (2008) points to various literature on professions, stating that professionalism means different things to different people, and that professionalism cannot be seen as an absolute, but rather is a socially constructed concept-in-use. Evetts (2005, 2006) sees professionalism as a discourse of occupational change and social control. Discourse then refers to 'the ways in which occupational and professional workers themselves are accepting, incorporating and accommodating to the concepts of "profession" and particularly "professionalism" in their work' (Evetts 2006:523). Here, the discourse is constructed from within. Evetts (2005, 2006) also points to the discourse being constructed from above, by managers, supervisors and employers. She builds her understanding of discourse on Foucauldian concepts of legitimacy.

In order to understand what it means to interpret professionalism discursively, I refer to Dunn and Neumann's (2016) definition of discourse which was presented in the beginning of this chapter. Here, a discourse is understood as

a system having a certain degree of regularity, which ‘constructs the reality for its subjects’ (Dunn & Neumann 2016:4). In the literature on professions, ‘professionalism’, ‘professionalisation’ and ‘professions’ are understood as, among others, systems, logics, values, or ideologies – which all have some kind of regularity. Seeing professionalism as a discourse requires understanding the system as socially constructed, however. It is a system that has influence because someone has spoken on its behalf; it is constructed through language. It is constitutive for occupations, work places and professional identities.

A question, however, is whether it is most appropriate to speak of one or several discourses of professionalism. Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) emphasise that this depends on the research design of the study. The aim of this study is to identify competing discourses in the school of arts. The discourse of professionalism is one, competing primarily against the discourse of New Public Management, as well as against the discourses of centralised governance, collaboration and decentralisation (as will be elaborated later). I have chosen to study competing discourses at a level of analysis where the discourse of professionalism is seen in opposition to other discourses and not at a level where different discourses of professionalism are seen as competing against each other. Evetts (2005), on the other hand, distinguishes between two forms of professionalism: the discourses of *organisational professionalism* constructed from above (managers) and *occupational professionalism* constructed from within. The latter resembles the discourse of professionalism in this study.

The discourse of professionalism in this study is informed by Freidson’s interpretation of professionalism as a logic. Freidson (2001) perceives of professionalism as the third logic of organising work, opposed to the logics of the market, where work is controlled by consumers, and the firm (bureaucracy), where managers are in control. This logic is a description of an ‘ideal-type’ profession. This implies that it is not a description of ‘reality’, and could therefore be understood as socially constructed and more easily be ‘translated’ into discourse theoretical terms. In the process of ‘translating’, ‘organising of work’ could be seen as nodal point and floating signifier that both the discourse of professionalism and other discourses try to fill with meaning. These other discourses are, for instance, those Freidson (2001) describes as logics – namely those of the *free market* and *bureaucracy*. In the discourse of professionalism, the nodal point ‘organising of work’ gets its meaning by being related to signifiers like monopoly, freedom of judgement, discretion, autonomy and other traits of professionalism elaborated earlier. The signifier ‘competition’ is related to

'organising of work' in the discourse (or logic) of the free market and 'efficiency' in the discourse (or logic) of bureaucracy (Freidson 2001). However, although these logics or systems can be 'translated' into the discourse of professionalism, there is a need for clarifying some central theoretical concepts.

### 2.5.2 Central concepts

Freidson (2001:105) uses the term *ideology* to refer to the claims, values and ideas that provide the rationale for the institutions of professionalism. He asserts that '[s]ome elements of an ideology can be empirically confirmed in some times and places, and false in others [...]' and that '[i]deologies can be and often are fervently believed by those who advance them' (Freidson 2001:105). This point towards an understanding of ideology as social constructed, as sedimented discourses. Freidson (2001) also sees ideology as the primary tool with which disciplines gain political and economic resources, so that they can establish and maintain their status. To speak of something as a tool for gaining something implies agency: someone must use ideology as a tool. Hence, Freidson's concept of ideology could be understood as a discourse, but with the notion of agency.

*Objectivity* is a concept present in both discourse theory and the literature of professions. In discourse theory, objectivity refers to sedimented discourses that are so well established that the alternative possibilities are forgotten (but can become active again at any time) (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau 1990). Abbott (1988) uses the concept *objectivity* when speaking of objective qualities of tasks as qualities that resist reconstruction. These qualities are, however, 'not a reality that awaits discovery beneath the cultural images; they are an inertia that reconstruction must overcome' (Abbott 1988:37). Abbott (1988) upholds that objectivity is not natural facts but rather is fixed; it is deep-rooted beliefs having an objective quality. However, these beliefs 'may change as the culture itself changes, but jurisdictional claims are made over a considerably shorter time scale, within which these cultural facts appear like objective facts' (Abbott 1988:38). These objective qualities could be perceived as sedimented discourses, which are so well established that the alternative possibilities are forgotten, as *objectivity* is in discourse theory. To have 'forgotten' alternative possibilities means that we take the world for granted and have 'forgotten' that it is constituted by politics and power (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau 1990).

In discourse theory, *power* is what produces the social, and social relations are always contingent relations and power relations (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau 1990). Power is both a productive and constraining force, it produces the world but also precludes alternative possibilities (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). In theories of professions, power is often connected to the struggle over professionalisation (Fauske 2008) and, according to Abbott (1988), over jurisdiction. Power in theories of professions is more connected to struggle and status than in Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory where power is primarily productive.

When Freidson (2001:12) refers to *autonomy* he asserts that hardly any occupation can fully control its work, but those who come close are called professions. This relates to how autonomy is understood in discourse theory: always relative and never fully achieved. Autonomy in the discourse of professionalism must built on the same premise if theories of professions are to be understood within discursive terms. In the 'translation' of theories of professions into a discourse of professionalism I made earlier in this section, autonomy was seen as one of the signifiers that connected 'organisation of work' to the professionalism discourse. This implies that autonomy could be seen on a continuum where a high degree of autonomy points towards the discourse of professionalism having hegemony, whereas a small degree points towards other discourses, such as those of the free market or bureaucracy, being dominant.

### 2.5.3 Group formation and collective professional identity

Laclau and Mouffe understand group formation, or collective identity, according to the same principles as for individual identity: namely identification with subject positions constructed within discourses (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). Group formation is a reduction of possibilities, where some possibilities of identification are put forward and others are ignored (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:44). Collective identity exists only when it is constructed as difference.

In the field of collective identities, we are always dealing with the creation of a 'we' which can exist only by the demarcation of a 'they'. (Mouffe 2005a:15)

Here, the notion of the *constitutive outside* is central, meaning that 'the constitution of a specific "we" always depends on the type of "they" from which it is differentiated' (Mouffe 2005a:19). There are internal differentiations within a profession and it can be 'composed of a number of highly differentiated sub-communities loosely held together by a common occupational title [...]'

(Freidson 2001:144). Hence, various specialisations can be linked together in one profession, or in one group, according to the logic of equivalence or the logic of difference (elaborated earlier) (Laclau & Mouffe 2001). Heggen (2008) emphasises that, in professions, collective identity is constructed as members endorse a unified symbol and share a common understanding, whereas the members' individual professional identities concern their practices. The collective identity could then be unified at the same time as individual identities are diverse (Heggen 2008).

The notion of social closure, meaning exclusion of those who do lack some characteristic that is important to the group's members, is central in group formations (Freidson 2001). In professions, social closure is based upon competence and educational credentials (Freidson 2001).

The development of a specialized body of formal knowledge and skill requires a group of like-minded people who learn and practice it, identify with it, distinguish it from other disciplines, recognize each other as colleagues by virtue of their common training and experience with some common set of tasks, techniques, concepts, and working problems, and are inclined to seek out each other's company, if only to argue with each other. (Freidson 2001:202)

However, if a group is exclusive, it is also inclusive. The formation of boundaries unites the people within them as much as it excludes those outside. Without these boundaries occupations could not exist, because they 'create a mutually reinforcing *social* shelter within which a formal body of knowledge and skill can develop, be nourished, practiced, refined, and expanded' (Freidson 2001:202, italics in original). Freidson (2001:203) further asserts that exclusion and social closure also are social devices helping the development of disciplines and the quality of their practice.

That group formations and collective identities imply a we/they distinction raises questions about the relationship between 'we' and 'others'. Mouffe (2013:6) sees as crucial the establishment of a we/they distinction that is compatible with the recognition of *pluralism*. She upholds that we should not overcome distinctions through consensus, but rather 'construct them in a way that energizes the democratic confrontation' (Mouffe 2005a:6). This means that there could be opposing forces, but in a terrain that allows them to be adversaries and not enemies – where there is agonism instead of antagonism (Mouffe 2005a, 2013). A profession contains a number of contrasting disciplines that sometimes are in conflict (Freidson 2001).



Most important, some of these differentiated orientations and practices within the profession as a whole are in conflict with each other, so that by the nature of the case the profession contains a number of varied, sometimes contradictory disciplinary and policy positions. But because they are all positions within the profession, they are legitimate even when they contradict each other. (Freidson 2001:144)

Agonism implies that conflicting parts are adversaries and not enemies. Here, adversaries share a common symbolic space where the conflict takes place, not unlike how professions provide a common ground for mediating internal differentiation.

However, a threat to agonistic and pluralistic thinking, according to Mouffe (2005a, 2005b, 2013), is liberalism (and neo-liberalism), which she, in the present context, understands as characterised by a rationalist and individualist approach which is unable to grasp the pluralistic nature of the social world and therefore exclude the notion of collective identities. Freidson (2001) argues that there has to be some kind of a we/they relationship, and that it is in a group's nature to be exclusive. If the group 'did not exclude from membership those who lacked any consciousness of common experience, interest, and commitment, it would be an entirely different kind of group, perhaps not a group at all' (Freidson 2001:202). Liberalism tries to blur the we/they distinction because of the belief that different perspectives and values should be brought together to 'constitute an harmonious and non-conflictual ensemble' (Mouffe 2005a:10).

The notion of agency has been the most difficult area in the 'translating' process. The solution has been to 'translate' the other way around – to find a place for agency within the discourse theoretical framework. This is not without problems, but I believe Laclau and Mouffe's notion of agency is underdeveloped rather than rejected. In this sense, the theories of professions arguably add something which is lacking in discourse theory.

## 2.6 Summary

In this chapter I have outlined the theoretical perspectives underlying this study. Discourse theory, which is the overarching perspective, has been elaborated, and theories of professions, with emphasis on Freidson and Abbot, have first been accounted for and then 'translated' into a discourse theoretical universe. I have argued that Freidson's (2001) theory of professionalism as a logic and Abbott's (1988) system of professions can, together with other understandings

of professions and professionalism from the literature, be understood as a *discourse of professionalism* with the nodal point 'organising of work'. In this discourse, professionalism is understood discursively as constructed primarily from within. Because the aim of this study is to identify competing discourses in the school of arts, professionalism is understood as one discourse rather than several. This way, I have been able to increase my understanding of which discourses the discourse of professionalism compete against.

The concepts 'discourse', 'hegemony', 'nodal points', 'floating signifiers', 'moments', and 'elements' have been accounted for in this chapter, and will be further illuminated in the next chapter when the analytical process is described. Group formation is central in discourse theory, theories of professions (collective identities) and to this study. I have accounted for an understanding of group formation as identification with subject positions, which is in line with how it is understood in discourse theory. The construction of meaning as opposed to something else, because of its difference, is a central theoretical prerequisite in this study. Groups and collective identities are constructed in opposition to others where the concept of 'difference' is important. Mouffe's (2005a, 2013) definition of 'agonism' is relevant for the findings of this study, as she believes conflicts are less likely to take an antagonistic form if the world is seen as multipolar – a 'pluri-verse' with a plurality of hegemonies.



## 3 Methodology

How teachers view themselves in their environment is a question of how identities are constructed and practices are inscribed with meaning. Therefore, this study is methodologically anchored in qualitative research (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña 2014; Patton 2015) where qualitative interviews (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015) form the main method for data gathering, and discourse analysis (Gee 2014; Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001; Neumann 2001; Potter & Wetherell 1987; Taylor 2001a, 2001b) is the overarching method and theory for investigation. The study builds on qualitative interviews with sixteen music teachers in three different schools of arts and on document analysis of the previous and current curriculum frameworks (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003, 2016) and policy documents from the former and current government (Conservative Party 2015; Ministry of Culture 2009; Ministry of Education and Research 2014; Office of the Prime Minister 2013). In this chapter, I will discuss the philosophical foundations for qualitative research and discourse analysis, and elaborate on the research design, analysis and interpretation of this study. Validity and ethics will also be discussed.

### 3.1 Philosophical foundations

I wanted to study music teachers in their context and aimed at receiving a broad understanding of the field. Qualitative research is well suited for studying

'naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings', where '[t]he possibility for understanding latent, underlying, or nonobvious issues is strong' (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña 2014:11). To increase my understanding of music teachers' professional identities, investigating how they perceive their identity has been important. Qualitative data are 'fundamentally well suited for locating the *meanings* people place on events, processes, and structures of their lives and for connecting these meanings to the *social world* around them' (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña 2014:11, italics in original). In this study, to discover how meaning is being constructed by teachers and policy makers has been crucial in order to challenge taken-for-granted knowledge and discover potential struggle in the field. Qualitative research is thus the preferred methodology, as '[q]ualitative inquiries study how people and groups construct meaning' (Patton 2015:5). Patton (2015:5) further upholds that 'qualitative methodology devotes considerable attention to how qualitative analysts determine what is meaningful'.

In order to identify how meaning is being constructed, discourse analysis was selected as the method of investigation. Laclau and Mouffe's (2001) discourse theory has been the main theoretical base for the analysis (see chapter 2). This theory has its starting point in the post-structuralist idea that discourses construct the social world (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). Hence, the philosophical foundations of this study's research approach are rooted in post-structuralism. Post-structuralism builds on the structuralist idea that signs derive their meaning through relations within networks of signs, but rejects its view of language as a 'stable, unchangeable and totalising structure' (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:10). Hence, structures exist, but always in a temporary state where they are 'created, reproduced and changed' through language (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:11). Because of the view that everything is contingent (it could have been, and can be, different), epistemological questions are most central in discourse theory while the ontological is in the background (Neumann 2001).

Methods and theory are closely connected in discourse analysis; they are intertwined and represent a 'complete package' (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Neumann 2001). '[T]here is no analytical method', Potter and Wetherell (1987:169) assert, '[r]ather, there is a broad theoretical framework, which focuses attention on the constructive and functional dimensions of discourse, coupled with the reader's skill in identifying significant patterns of consistency and variation'. To increase the validity in such an analysis, the writings need to be transparent and the processes described and accounted for (Potter & Wetherell 1987). The latter is

the aim of this methodology chapter, but transparency and process descriptions are also central in chapters 4, 5 and 6, where the findings are described and discussed. Of the various discourse analytical approaches, Laclau and Mouffe's (2001) has few methodological guidelines (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). In this chapter I will describe how some concepts from Laclau and Mouffe's (2001) discourse theory have been used methodologically in this study.

## **3.2 Research design**

In order to answer the research questions for this study, qualitative semi-structured interviews and document analysis were chosen as the research design. Music teachers in schools of arts were interviewed, and the interviews provided me with information about how teachers construct meanings about the school of arts and their professional identities. As elaborated above, context plays a significant role in a qualitative study. I therefore chose to select informants from three different school of arts in order to vary the context and, by doing so, to acquire a broader understanding of the field. I also decided to include document analysis of curriculum frameworks and policy documents as the second part of the research design. I did this to enrich the material, as the documents provide information about how policy makers and politicians construct meanings.

It would have been interesting to study the teachers within all arts forms in the school and not only the music teachers. However, the decision to include only music teachers in this study is based on i) music being by far the largest art form in the school and music teachers the largest group of teachers, and ii) my background, knowledge and main interest, which lie in music, and therefore with music teachers. In this section, I will describe the process of selecting schools, informants and documents, and how the interviews were designed and performed. The participants are introduced, and considerations around what to include in the study will be accounted for.

### **3.2.1 Sample selections**

This study is not a comparative study, rather schools and teachers were selected purposefully in order to acquire rich information about the field and the teachers' professional identities.

## Schools

The selection of the three schools was made i) according to some given criteria, and ii) according to the purposeful sampling strategy 'maximum variation sampling', which 'aims at capturing and describing the central themes that cut across a great deal of variation' (Patton 2015:283). The given criteria were related to size, institutional collaboration and art forms. 'Middle sized' schools were chosen in order to have a large enough number of teachers to select from, as I needed five different teachers from each school to agree to participate in the study. The schools also had to be large enough for me to be able to maintain the informants' anonymity. Larger schools (big cities) were avoided in order to be able to get a good overview of the schools in order to contextualise the teachers' identities. Another given criterion was that the schools should have some institutional collaboration and activities in several art forms. This is related to being a local resource centre, which was more central in the study at the time of the sample selection (I will elaborate further below).

'Maximum variation sampling' was then used in further selection of the schools, based on the following criteria: collaboration with different institutions and some geographical dispersion. I searched for schools having institutional collaboration, but with different institutions. The idea of geographical dispersion was to make the data material more information-rich. Two of the schools were located in the eastern part of Norway, one in the western part. In order to make the selections, I used the Internet to gather information about schools. I then contacted headteachers and asked whether the schools were willing to participate. Of the three headteachers I originally approached, one turned down the request, but the next I asked agreed to participate.

## Informants

The selection of teachers was also made i) after some given criteria, and ii) according to the purposeful sampling strategy 'maximum variation sampling' (Patton 2015). The given criteria were as following: all should have a degree in music education or music performance, be employed as a *music teacher* in the school of arts, and have at least a 40% employment position. The aim of this study is to investigate the professional identities of *music teachers* within the school of arts, and I therefore needed informants who were working as music teachers and had been trained as music teachers or musicians. A minimum of 40% employment position was important in order to be able to give rich information regarding the school of arts and being a teacher there.

After those criteria were followed, ‘maximum variation sampling’ (Patton 2015) was used in the further selections. Criteria used were: instrument, age, seniority, genre, gender, pedagogical education, and collaboration with compulsory schools, upper secondary schools, and/or local community music and arts fields. In order to select from those criteria, I collected information from all music teachers in the schools by distributing a short questionnaire,<sup>19</sup> which included a question about whether they wanted to participate in the study. In the two schools located in the eastern part of Norway, I made arrangements with the headteachers to attend a staff meeting to introduce the study and distribute the questionnaire. The teachers were given the opportunity to ask questions, and they filled out the questionnaire and returned it to me at the meeting. At the school in the western part (school B), the headteacher informed the teachers, distributed the questionnaire, scanned the answers and sent them to me. The questionnaire did not contain sensitive information, and the headteacher did not participate in the selection of informants.

I then made a ‘maximum variation sample’ of informants based on the information from the questionnaires. One issue, though, was that not all teachers were at the meetings. As schools of arts have many part-time workers, not all teachers attend staff meetings. Those attending were the teachers with high employment percentage and those with small who happened to be working that day. Only teachers attending the meetings when I was there were available for me to select from. From these available teachers, I made a ‘maximum variation sampling’ of approximately five teachers from each school. In school A, I contacted seven teachers, but one did not respond. He was the only one available to me at that school who had background in a genre other than classical, so I ended up without genre variation in school A. In schools B and C, I contacted five teachers, all of whom responded and participated. In total, I ended up with sixteen informants. The data collection process took place in 2014. The interviews were performed between June and November.

## **Documents**

Documents analysed in this study are those I found to be constitutive in the field, providing me with information on how policy makers and politicians construct meanings within the school of arts. These documents are the advisory curriculum framework for the school of arts (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016), the former curriculum framework (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003), and policy

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<sup>19</sup> See appendices 5 and 6.



documents from the former (Ministry of Culture 2009) and current governments (Conservative Party 2015; Ministry of Education and Research 2014; Office of the Prime Minister 2013).<sup>20</sup>

### 3.2.2 The participants

#### Schools

All three schools have approximately 30 teachers (all art forms combined), employed in full- or part-time positions. *School A* is located in the eastern part of Norway. It has quite a lot of collaboration with compulsory schools and the local wind band. Music is by far the largest subject in the school, with some courses in dance and visual arts in addition. Music therapy is also included in the school. *School B* is located in the western part of Norway. It collaborates with the nearby upper secondary school and the local community music and arts field, especially the local orchestras. It offers courses in music, dance, theatre and visual arts. Music is the largest subject. *School C* is located in the eastern part of Norway. It is an inter-municipal school, which serves three municipalities. However, one of the municipalities is by far the largest and function as the 'host municipality' for the school. It offers courses in music, dance, theatre and visual arts, and music is the largest subject. It collaborates with the local community music and arts field.

#### Informants

As elaborated above, the criteria used to maximise the variation of informants were connected to their instrument, age, seniority, genre, gender, pedagogical education, and collaboration with compulsory schools, upper secondary schools, and the local community music and arts field. Most teachers in schools of arts now have pedagogical education; this is reflected in this study's sampling, as only two did not have it. Both men and women are represented, and their age ranges from around twenty-five to nearly sixty. One of the informants has worked only a few years in the school of arts, while the others have medium, long or very long

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20 The policy on schools of arts in the Conservative Party is included in the analysis because the Conservatory Party is one of two parties in the government (the other being the Progress Party). After a fruitless search for the Progress Party's school of arts policy, I sent an email requesting it. They confirmed that they do not have an official school of arts policy, only one of cultural policy in general.

working history. Three have background from popular music<sup>21</sup>, while the rest are classically trained. Some also play and teach folk music or contemporary music. Their employment percentages in the school of arts reach from 40% and up to 100%. Among the informants, there are teachers of string instruments, piano, woodwind instruments, brass instruments and guitar, as well as vocal teachers.

name <sup>22</sup>	instrument <sup>23</sup>	age	tenure <sup>24</sup>	genre	pe	ep
Alex	guitar	40–49	long	popular	yes	80–100
Ellen	strings	40–49	medium	classical	no	60–79
Emma	voice	20–29	short	popular	yes	80–100
Hannah	woodwind	30–39	medium	classical	yes	80–100
Jakob	piano	40–49	long	classical	yes	60–79
John	woodwind	50–59	long	classical	yes	40–59
Julia	woodwind	40–49	long	classical	yes	40–59
Karen	strings	50–59	very long	classical	no	40–59
Kristoffer	strings	50–59	long	classical	yes	40–59
Laura	piano	50–59	very long	classical	yes	80–100
Lucas	guitar	40–49	long	popular	yes	80–100
Lucy	voice	50–59	very long	classical	yes	80–100
Nora	brass	30–39	medium	classical	yes	80–100
Sofie	woodwind	30–39	medium	classical	yes	40–59
Thomas	strings	30–39	long	classical	yes	80–100
William	strings	40–49	long	classical	yes	80–100

**Table 1:** Presentation of informants, basic information (*pe*=pedagogical education, *ep*=employment percentage)

- 21 I have chosen to use the term ‘popular music’ in this dissertation to encompass musical genres such as jazz, rock, blues and pop. ‘Popular music’ resembles the term ‘rhythmical music’ (in Norwegian: ‘rytmisk musikk’) which is widely used in Norway and other Nordic countries as a generic term describing the jazz-pop-rock area.
- 22 The names are pseudonyms in order to keep the informants’ anonymity.
- 23 I chose to use instrument groups and not the specific instrument when describing the informants in order to maintain their anonymity. The teachers are not teaching all woodwind instruments, brass instruments or string instruments. Rather, in these three schools, all teachers are primarily employed as teachers of one instrument, for example flute teacher or trumpet teacher. Describing them as a ‘string teacher’ instead of ‘violin teacher’ is merely to maintain the anonymity.
- 24 Short 0–4 years, medium 5–15 years, long 16–25 years, very long 26 and above.

name	work tasks within the school	work tasks outside the school
Alex	instrumental teaching, talent development, administration, band	instrumental teaching in another school of arts
Ellen	instrumental teaching, performing music, talent development, orchestra, administration	non-music related
Emma	instrumental teaching, talent, choir, upper secondary school	
Hannah	instrumental teaching, music in compulsory school, upper secondary school	
Jakob	instrumental teaching, performing music, accompaniment	performing music
John	instrumental teaching	non-music related
Julia	instrumental teaching, music in compulsory school	
Karen	instrumental teaching, talent development, orchestra	performing music, projects
Kristoffer	instrumental teaching, talent development, orchestra	upper secondary school
Laura	instrumental teaching, upper secondary school	
Lucas	instrumental teaching, talent development, band, upper secondary school	performing music, projects
Lucy	vocal teaching, talent development, choir, other projects	
Nora	instrumental teaching, music in compulsory school, conductor wind band	
Sofie	instrumental teaching, talent development, children's music groups	conductor wind band, general music in compulsory school
Thomas	instrumental teaching, talent development, orchestra, performing music, upper secondary school	
William	instrumental teaching, music in compulsory school, orchestra	performing music

**Table 2:** *Presentation of informants, work tasks*

### 3.2.3 Designing and performing interviews

The interviews were designed as semi-structured, as I sought to 'obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena' (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015:150). The

interview guide<sup>25</sup> consisted of four topics: background, understanding of professional identity, the school of arts as local resource centre, and the road ahead (future). Within these themes, I had prepared some questions and keywords as guidelines to use throughout the interviews. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015:150) refer to the semi-structured life world interview as having 'a sequence of themes to be covered, as well as some suggested questions. Yet at the same time there is openness to changes of sequence and forms of questions in order to follow up on the specific answers given and the stories told by subjects'. There are, however, some extra dimensions when doing interviews in discourse analysis. Potter and Wetherell emphasise that interviews in discourse analysis differ from 'conventional' qualitative interviews in three ways: i) 'variation in response is as important as consistency', ii) 'techniques which allow diversity rather than those which eliminate it are emphasized' and iii) 'interviewers are seen as active participants rather than like speaking questionnaires' (Potter & Wetherell 1987:165). The latter is also supported by Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) as they emphasise the importance of a mutual knowledge production between the interviewer and the interviewees. I was aware of these issues when performing the interviews, and I tried to follow up on themes and traits the informants brought in. At the same time, I was careful to cover the topics in the interview guide.

The interview sessions unfolded approximately as follows. First, I told the informants about the project and myself. I then began the actual interview with an open question such as 'please tell me about yourself and your background'. This way, I got to know the informants a bit and had something to build the next questions around. The informants were active participants and provided me with varied information. When I introduced myself and told about my work experience in compulsory schools and schools of arts, I experienced that the informants saw me as one of them and not only as a researcher. It felt comfortable in the interview setting, and I believe it made the informants speak more openly. However, to be an insider in the community of research could also lead to some challenges, which will be further discussed.

The interviews lasted between one and a half and two and a half hours. Interviews with the teachers in school A were conducted in June 2014 and August 2014, one at the teacher's home, one at the Norwegian Academy of Music and the rest at school A. The interviews in school B were conducted at their school in October 2014, and the interviews in school C at their school in

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25 See appendices 1 and 2.

November 2014. The informants agreed to my recording the interviews, on the condition that I was the only one listening to them. I recorded (almost) all the interviews. Unfortunately, the recorder malfunctioned during the first interview. I wrote down all I could remember immediately after the interview. Luckily, the interviewee agreed on a follow-up interview the day after, which made it possible for me to ask about those things I did not quite remember. Prior to these interviews, I did a pilot interview in spring 2014 with a music teacher at another school of arts. This served both as training for the interview situation and as a way to improve the interview guide. I talked with the teacher after the interview, and we discussed the interview and the questions.

### 3.2.4 Omitted from the study

Performing a research project involves consideration and decisions. The researcher's methodological choices are made in order to answer the research questions in the best possible way. In qualitative studies, however, some things change along the way. A qualitative study is not a straightforward process of planning, conducting, analysing and writing up. Rather reflexivity is central; it is a dynamic process where things influence each other, and the researcher must adjust and navigate. Hence, the researcher is not separated from the research: the researcher and the world act upon each other (Taylor 2001b:17). I designed my project, but things changed – which I then acted upon, and made changes to the project. I experienced this process as somewhat 'messy', and I learned along the way and changed the research design where that felt necessary. In this section, I will elaborate on elements that were omitted from the final design of the study and describe some of the considerations made in relation to this.

Originally, my plan was to include survey and observation as methods for data gathering. The survey was intended to collect information from all teachers (in all arts forms) within each school, in order to increase the contextual knowledge. Observation was thought to give insight into negotiations of identities and potential struggles within the schools. The plan was to observe staff meetings. However, after seeing the meeting plan for one of schools, I decided not to include observation because the topics for the meetings seemed to be mostly related to organisational matters and exchange of information, which I was not sure would contribute to this study. In the process of designing the study, I also considered interviewing the headteachers of the schools or conducting a focus group interview with some teachers from each school. However, as

the research process developed, I began to think my time was better spent on the analysis and interpretation of the interview material and documents, rather than on gathering more data – data I was not sure would contribute significantly to the study. I also believe that a better way of gathering relevant information by observing would have been an ethnographically inspired study where I could be present at one school of arts for a period of time. I would then have been able to sit in the lunchroom and observe teachers in informal settings, drop into a lesson if a teacher invited me, attend concerts and join teachers travelling to a compulsory school to teach.

Another source of data I considered including was each schools' local curriculum framework. This was not done, however, first because the national curriculum framework was new in 2016, so if the schools had local plans (not every school has) they would most likely be framed after the former national curriculum framework. And second, because none of the participants in the study mentioned a local plan, which led to an assumption that it was not that central to them in their practice.

There has also been a change in the aim of the study, which initially was to investigate the teachers' professional identities in relation to the implementation of 'kulturskoletimen' (see chapter 1). However, because 'kulturskoletimen' was withdrawn with the change of governments, my project had to change. First, investigating professional identities in light of the school of arts as a 'local resource centre for arts and culture' (see chapter 1) was the plan. During the beginning of the analytical process, however, the 'local resource centre' did not emerge as the most central. What did appear as central, however, was the oppositions in the field, especially between breadth and depth and between versatility and specialisation. This could be related to the local resource centre, because being a local resource centre could be a way for a school to fulfil the vision of being 'for everyone' (see chapter 1). I chose, however, to focus primarily on the idea of the resource centre being 'for everyone', rather than its being a 'local resource centre'. In my view, this allowed me to explore the idea *behind* the 'local resource centre'.

### **3.3 Analysis and interpretation**

The interviews themselves were actually part of the analytical process, as I was constantly analysing the informants' answers in order to decide on the

following questions to ask or topics to discuss. In this section, however, I will elaborate on the processes of transcribing, coding and categorising, as well as on the ways in which concepts from discourse theory have been used in the analysis. The process of analysing has been circular: going back and forth between coding the material and analysing it. This can be described as an iterative process (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña 2014; Taylor 2001b).

The coding of data, for example (*data condensation*), leads to new ideas on what should go into a matrix (*data display*). Entering the data requires further data condensation. As the matrix fills up, preliminary *conclusions* are drawn, but they lead to the decision, for example, to add another column to the matrix to *test* the conclusion. In this view, qualitative data analysis is a continuous, iterative enterprise (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña 2014:14, italics in original).

This iteration is central to what is characterised as an *abductive* approach to the research process. Abduction is associated with the pragmatist Peirce (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015; Patton 2015), and can be used when studying ‘the unpredictable conversational world of human beings’ in opposition to a ‘stable entity we can analyze repeatedly in a number of cases to build general knowledge (induction) or that we already have general ideas from which we can deduce particular consequences to test (deduction)’ (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015:225). Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009:4) argue that abduction is ‘the method used in real practice’ in many research projects based on case studies. Abduction has some characteristics of both induction and deduction, but also adds new elements, including focus on underlying patterns (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2009). When using abductive method, the research process ‘alternates between (previous) theory and empirical facts whereby both successively reinterpreted in the light of each other’ (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2009:4). The analytical process in this study went back and forth between the empirical data and theory with codes deriving from both.

### 3.3.1 Transcription of interviews

Transcribing interviews is part of the analytical process, as a transcript is a construction: it can never reflect talk and interaction neutrally (Taylor 2001b). There are decisions and selections to make while transcribing, for example which of the ‘small words’ or gestures to include. A transcription can be more or less detailed, from very detailed (narrow) to much less detailed (broad), and this should be decided according to relevance based on the theoretical approach (Gee 2014; Taylor 2001b). Gee (2014:136) argues that a discourse

analysis should be based on the parts of the material that are relevant in the context and 'relevant to the arguments the analysis is attempting to make'. These judgements should be based on the researcher's theories of language and interaction both in general but also in the context of the study (Gee 2014).

In this sense, a transcript is a theoretical entity. It does not stand outside an analysis, but, rather, is part of it (Gee 2014:136).

This means that the most detailed transcript is not necessarily the ideal one. Rather, the validity of a transcript 'is a matter of how the transcript works together with all the other elements of the analysis to create a "trustworthy analysis"' (Gee 2014:136). Still, Gee (2014) argues in favour of starting transcribing more details than will end up being relevant, rather than the opposite. The discourse analytical approach used in this study is a study of the content of language in use on a macro-level (see chapter 2). Hence, the transcription should be located more towards the 'broad' part of the continuum than the 'narrow'. I started out transcribing at quite a detailed level; but as the analytical process developed I realised I could leave some details out, for instance sounds and small words produced when the informants were thinking. I left a (...) to indicate a pause, but did not include all the small sounds. The interviews were transcribed using the program Hyper Transcribe.

Transcription is one way of transforming data; writing up the findings is another. The latter is often difficult when doing a discourse analysis because of the quantity of data used (Taylor 2001b). To present the data in full and show how it was interpreted and how conclusions were reached would make the analysis most open. But this is difficult when you have a huge amount of data. The way I have chosen to write up the findings is more related to what Taylor (2001b:42) refers to as a second structure, namely that '[t]he analysis section presents only a summary of the data, perhaps with illustrative examples, and then explains the findings and conclusions and justifies them through argument'.

One issue in the presentation of the data is language. All the data material is in Norwegian, while the thesis is written in English. There is always interpretation and analysis involved when translating utterances from one language to another. I experienced both advantages and disadvantages connected to this. One advantage was that I was forced to analyse statements and quotations more thoroughly and to search for possible contradictions in order to find the most suitable words in English. A disadvantage is that because the readers will be presented with data that has gone through an extra interpretation, they are further away from the data material. I believe, however, that the advantages,



which include that more people have access to this study, outweigh the disadvantages of translating the material.

### 3.3.2 Coding and categorising

The data material has been coded in Nvivo. In line with the abductive approach, I started with some codes deriving from theory, previous research and my background knowledge, but most of the codes emerged from the material. Further, I built codes and categories as part of the coding and analysing processes. Several pieces of text were coded with multiple nodes. I tried to include as much as possible, and as the process went on, the number of codes increased. Potter and Wetherell (1987:167) argue that coding should be done as inclusively as possible, because 'we are in the business of producing a body of instances, not trying to set limits to that body'. When the number of codes increased, I started merging and organising them into hierarchies.

The documents were coded first. When I then started coding the interviews, I found that many of the codes were difficult to use. I therefore had to build new codes. I considered coding the documents and interviews separately with separate sets of codes. In the end, however, I decided to keep coding in the same set of codes, and add new codes when needed. I believed it would be easier to find patterns in the material if it was all were coded together. I began coding the interviews in Nvivo, but I found it difficult to really get into the material, or at least to acquire the overview I felt was needed at the time. I therefore coded them by hand and drew mind maps. This helped in the coding and analysing process. I then went back to Nvivo and coded the interviews again. My experience from this is that when coding by hand it was easier to see the larger picture, but when coding in Nvivo I discovered more details. In addition, it was easier to keep track and work analytically with the material afterwards. In the middle of the process and after coding all of the interviews, I categorised, restructured and merged codes.

### 3.3.3 Analysing the data material

After I finished coding each interview, I wrote a short narrative about the informant. These narratives included experiences related to music in their past, their practice as music teachers today, and their ideas for the future school

of arts and future music teachers. Polkinghorne (1995:15) argues that '[t]he outcome of a narrative analysis is a story – for example, a historical account, a case study, a life study, or a storied episode of a person's life'. The narratives I wrote were the teachers' professional life stories, some focusing more on their past than others. The purpose of writing those narratives was – after having deconstructed the interviews into codes – to get an overview and 'see' each teacher; to get to 'know them' and 'hear' their stories. I put the narratives away for a while when working on the discourse analysis. When reading them again, I utilised the tension between the individual narratives and the decontextualised analysis of the interviews in order to identify both the structural aspects of the teachers' identity formation through the subject positions and their own individual agency in forming their identities.

Discourse analysis is the main analytical method in this study. The point of entry is Laclau and Mouffe's (2001) discourse theory. The concepts of nodal points, floating signifiers, signifiers in chains of equivalence, discourses and subject positions have been central during the analytical process. A significant difference between discourse analysis and other data analyses is that the analytical concepts derive from how the research is located theoretically (Taylor 2001b).

The discourse analyst searches for patterns in language in use, building on and referring back to the assumptions she or he is making about the nature of language, interaction and society and the interrelationships between them. It is this theoretical underpinning rather than any sorting process which distinguishes discourse analyses. (Taylor 2001b:39)

In the following I will explain how theoretical concepts were used in the analysis. However, in discourse analysis, it is not easy to describe the analytical process in words, because 'it is not a case of stating, first you do this and then you do that', rather skills essential for doing a discourse analysis 'are developed as one tries to make sense of transcript and identify the organizational features of documents' (Potter & Wetherell 1987:168). I began the process of analysing the documents discursively parallel with coding the interviews. Identifying competing discourses in the school of arts field was the point of entry. I searched for *elements*, which are open signs where their meaning has not yet been fixed (Laclau & Mouffe 2001) (see chapter 2). Hence, I searched to find concepts which could be understood in various ways. After having singled out several elements in the documents, I aimed at identifying discourses trying to fill these elements with meaning. I then added the interviews to the analytical process.

After having identified elements and discourses in the material, *nodal points* were next in line. Nodal points are privileged signs that play a central role in the fixation of meaning (Laclau & Mouffe 2001). The most central elements from the analysis were identified as nodal points. Nodal points are empty; they get their meaning by being related to other signs (Laclau & Mouffe 2001). Therefore, the further analytical process involved identifying other signs in relation to the nodal points. A discourse is formed by the (partial) fixation of meaning around a nodal point (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001), and the following analytical process led to 're-identifying' discourses by taking new findings back to the discourses identified earlier in the process. I found that there were several opposing discourses in the field, and most of the nodal points were therefore also identified as *floating signifiers*, which refers to struggle between discourses (Laclau & Mouffe 2001). The analytical process identified various signifiers in different chains of equivalence articulating the same nodal point/floating signifier, which led to the identification of competing discourses. Some discourses were more overarching than others, and some overlapping, as they shared some central signifiers. This is not an unusual findings in discourse analysis, however, rather the contrary, as '[d]iscourses are discontinuous practices, which cross each other and sometimes touch, while just as often ignoring or excluding each other' (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015:258).

### **Subject positions**

The first step in searching for subject positions available for the teachers, was to identify the *master signifier/nodal point of identity*. What unifies the informants are their positions as music teachers in schools of arts. Hence, 'school of arts music teacher' became the nodal point of music teachers' professional identities. The process of identifying subject positions involved studying how the nodal point 'school of arts music teacher' was articulated by discourses into subject positions by being linked to signifiers in chains of equivalence. One example of this is how 'music teacher' emerged through the analytical process as a subject position where the signifiers 'variation in tasks', 'group teaching', 'collaboration with compulsory schools and the local community field', and 'teaching more instruments' were linked to the nodal point 'school of arts music teacher'. This again was articulated by the institutional discourses of *breadth* and *decentralisation* and the teacher discourses of *versatility* and *collaboration*. The process of identifying subject positions went on simultaneously with the

previous described analytical process of identifying competing discourses in the field.

### 3.4 Validity

The validity of discourse analytical studies relates to the validation and trustworthiness of qualitative studies in general, but also includes specific issues connected to discourse analysis. This is linked to the view that research does not reflect 'reality', because there is no reality, only people interpreting the world (Gee 2014). A discourse analysis is therefore 'itself an interpretation, an interpretation of the interpretative work people have done in specific contexts. It is, in that sense, an interpretation of an interpretation' (Gee 2014:141). Potter and Wetherell (1987) suggest various analytical techniques to be used to validate findings in discourse analytical studies. One of them, *coherence*, regards the aim of the analysis letting us 'see how the discourse fits together and how discursive structure produces effects and functions' (Potter & Wetherell 1987:170). This resembles Taylor's (2001a:321) emphasis on the importance of the 'richness of detail present both in the data and in the analysis presented to the reader, and on the other to the explication of the process of analysis'. In this thesis, it means I have to explain how the analytical process proceeded in the methodology chapter, as well as including quotations and descriptions of the data material in the chapters discussing the findings (chapters 4, 5 and 6).

Potter and Wetherell (1987) also suggest *participants' orientation* as a technique to validate findings. This means that for the researcher to see whether a statement is consistent or dissonant is not enough, of importance is rather what the participants see as consistent and different (Potter & Wetherell 1987). Potter and Wetherell (1987) also refer to *new problems* arising from discourse analysis, as well as the importance of *fruitfulness*, which refers to new studies by other researchers being able to build on the study. Gee (2014:141) emphasises that validity is never established once and for all, rather analyses 'are open to further discussion and dispute, and their status can go up or down with time as work goes on in the field'.

*Member checking* and *triangulation* are common techniques for securing the validity of findings in qualitative studies (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña 2014; Stake 2010). I did a member check by sending transcripts back to the informants for approval and comments, and I have triangulated data, as both interviews

and documents were used in answering the same research questions. However, in discourse analytical studies, these forms of validity could be problematic, as they often involve claims of truth (Taylor 2001a).

If the interpretation is not being presented as truth but as an analysis underpinned by theory, there is no reason why non-academic participants should be specially qualified to validate it. Even at the level of a transcript, the participant is being asked to comment on a construction rather than a transparent record. (Taylor 2001a:322)

When I did a member check by sending the interview transcriptions back to the informants, some of them approved the transcriptions, some did not reply, and two asked me to make changes. This was connected to correcting names and dates, removing some background information, changing some of the language into a more written style, and ensuring anonymity. After talking to these two informants, I made some changes in the transcripts. They read the changed transcripts, and both agreed to continue their participation in the study.

I did the member check mainly to show the informants the material that was going to be used for the analysis and to get confirmation that they still wanted to participate in the study. This reason for doing member checks is, however, more ethical than it is about validity. It resembles what Riessman (2008) suggests member checks being used for.

Whenever possible, it is desirable to take work back to the individuals and groups who participated in the study for ethical reasons alone. [...] Such practices embody an ethical relationship, but they are not the same as establishing “validity” with member checks. (Riessman 2008:198)

Riessman argues that member checking is politically important because it relates to ethics. Because there is no given ‘truth’ in discourse analytical studies, member checking would in these studies relate to ethics rather than validity. Member checking was ethically important in this study, as two of the informants had comments regarding anonymity and suggested deleting some of the text.

*Triangulation* could be a convincing form of evaluation in discourse analytical studies if claims of truth are avoided (Taylor 2001a). Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014:299) emphasise that getting inconsistent and conflicting findings, rather than corroboration when triangulating can be productive, for instance because it may force us to investigate why these inconsistencies and conflicts are there. I chose to triangulate the data material in order to acquire a richer material and to discover struggles and challenge taken-for-granted knowledge.

### 3.4.1 The role of the researcher

As there is little standardised instrumentation used in qualitative research, the researcher is the instrument of inquiry (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña 2014). This means that the researcher's skills, background and experiences are important to the credibility of the findings (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña 2014; Patton 2015). It is therefore crucial to account for the role of the researcher, in order to increase the validity of the study. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015:283) emphasise the craftsmanship of the researcher to be essential, especially in research building on theories that dismiss an objective reality against which findings could be measured.

Pointing to a researcher's special qualifications to interpret data could help in justifying discourse analytical research and increasing the validity (Taylor 2001a). Neumann (2001) asserts that the researcher having general and cultural knowledge of the area of study is a central prerequisite which must be fulfilled before research can begin. Having knowledge about the area relates to researchers making claims to an insider status by describing what they have in common with the study's participants (Taylor 2001a). However, focusing on the similarity with participants could lead to differences being toned down. Other issues to be aware of regarding 'insider status' is the false belief that there are no power differences – that the researcher and participants are equals – and the possible approaching of a truth claim as the researcher may think her 'insider status' makes her 'really' know what is going on (Taylor 2001a). I was in many ways an 'insider' because of my background as a music teacher in schools of arts and compulsory schools, but I was also a researcher doing a PhD at the most prestigious music academy in Norway. I tried to balance those roles by appearing professional but also showing that I understood the informants and their problems. The latter I could show, for instance, by asking follow-up questions when they introduced topics.

The qualitative researcher cannot be separated from the research. This can be referred to as reflexivity: 'the way that the researcher acts on the world and the world acts on the researcher, in a loop' (Taylor 2001b:17). To be aware of, and account for, the role of researcher is an important element in reflective research,<sup>26</sup> described by Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009) as having two basic

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26 Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009) view reflexive research as a particular, specified version of reflective research. However, this distinction will not be elaborated in this thesis. Rather, when referring to Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009), their overarching concept of reflective

characteristics: careful interpretation and reflection. The latter refers to ‘the *interpretation of interpretation* and the launching of a critical self-exploration of one’s own interpretations of empirical material (including its construction)’ (Alvesson & Sköldbberg 2009:9, italics in original). Reflective research includes taking a critical stand towards the role as researcher; clarifying similarities and differences between oneself and the participants, and accounting for one’s position in, and experience with, the field of study (Alvesson & Sköldbberg 2009). Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2009) emphasise the importance of critical reflection and awareness towards our positions as researchers. The researcher must be self-aware and try to understand how her presence and actions have influence in situations (Taylor 2001b). Although I was ‘one of them’ in the sense that I could understand and contextualise what the informants told me, I was still someone who was there not as a colleague, but because I was going to use the information they gave in my study. Hence, although I experienced the informants talking openly, and we had good conversations, I am aware that the conversations would have been different if we met ‘only’ as colleagues. There may well be things they did not tell me or issues they did not explain fully. But they provided me with rich information that contributed strongly in this study.

Reflexivity is important also in the process of writing up the findings, where ‘[t]he aim is to position her or himself within the project, as part of the social world in which the research is being conducted’ (Taylor 2001b:19). This involves including self-descriptions and accounting for the relation to the topic, participants and data (Taylor 2001b). I accounted for my relation to the topic in chapter 1. In this chapter, I have described the processes of designing and conducting the study, as well as the coding and analytical processes. I believe this has clarified my role as researcher and increased the validity of the study.

The identity of the researcher is relevant in discourse analytical research in various ways (Taylor 2001b). It can: i) influence the selection of topic, ii) affect the data collection, and iii) influence interpretation and analysis (Taylor 2001b). When *selecting a topic*, the researcher is most likely to choose a study which resembles her ‘personal interests, sympathies and political beliefs’ (Taylor 2001b:17). This is not seen as negative, but rather needs to be acknowledged. My choice of topic for this study derived from my own experience as music teacher (see chapter 1). The researcher’s identity can *affect data collection* because of power differences connected to approaching the participants as an

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research will be used. Taylor (2001b) talks about ‘reflexivity’, which will therefore be used when referring to her.

insider or an outsider (Taylor 2001b). I was aware that it was in my power to interpret the participants' statements, and they needed to trust me to maintain their anonymity and treat the information fairly. The identity of the researcher can also *influence interpretation and analysis*, because of 'the knowledge and general world view which she or he brings to the data' (Taylor 2001b:18).

### 3.5 Ethical remarks

This study has been approved by The Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD).<sup>27</sup> Informed consent is an important part of ethical issues in qualitative research (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña 2014; Patton 2015). The participants in this study received information about the project in writing and they all signed the letter of consent, which I distributed prior to the interview sessions.<sup>28</sup> Possibly *consequences* for the participants by participating in this study must be taken into account (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015). I was not addressing sensitive issues. I did not sense that the participants were concerned about participating in the study; rather they were interested and found the topic important, and therefore wanted to contribute. Some of them emphasised the importance of being anonymous. This may be because some of them were addressing issues concerning their workplace and positions within the school. Keeping the *confidentiality* of the participants is crucial in qualitative research (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña 2014; Patton 2015). In order to keep the anonymity of the participants in this study, I have given them fictitious names and not identified the schools to which they belong.

The latter was, however, not part of my original design. Rather, it emerged as a need after experiences some difficulties regarding anonymity when I was in the process of writing up the findings. Most of the teachers in the schools know their school is a part of this study, because I attended staff meetings. Those teachers may recognise their schools in the text, which may make it possible to guess the identities of the teachers involved. For this reason, I decided not to associate the various teachers with their schools. In some part of this thesis, however, there was need to connect a teacher statement to the school. I then chose to keep the teachers' anonymity by addressing them as for instance 'teacher 1, school B'.

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<sup>27</sup> See appendix 7.

<sup>28</sup> See appendices 3 and 4.



An addition, for the sake of anonymity, I have deliberately tried to ‘blur’ the teachers’ narratives so they cannot so easily be traced. This is done by focusing more on discourses, subject positions, struggles and hierarchy rather than following the different teachers’ stories and narratives. However, I have found it difficult, on the one hand, to give thick descriptions and show how the data material has been used, and on the other hand, to keep the informants’ anonymity. Hence, there is tension between thick descriptions and anonymity.

Also related to confidentiality is the issue of where the data will be stored and who will have access to it (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña 2014). I recorded the interviews and kept the recordings and transcriptions on my professional computer, which is secured with a password. I am the only one with access to the material. After the project is finished, the material will be deleted. This was explained to the participants in the letter of consent.

### **3.6 Summary**

This study is methodologically anchored in qualitative research, and discourse analysis is the method for investigation. It builds on Laclau and Mouffe’s (2001) discourse theory, which has its starting point in post-structuralism. Qualitative semi-structured interviews and document analysis were chosen as the research design for this study. The informants are music teachers from three different schools of arts. The documents analysed are curriculum frameworks and policy documents from the former and current government. This study is not a comparative study, however; schools, teachers and documents were rather selected purposefully in order to acquire rich information about the school of arts and its music teachers. The selection of schools and teachers was made i) after some given criteria, and ii) according to the purposeful sampling strategy ‘maximum variation sampling’ (Patton 2015). All the data material is coded in Nvivo. The analytical process consisted of identifying discourses, elements, nodal points, floating signifiers, signifiers and subject positions. I went back and forth between the different stages in the processes of designing, analysing and interpreting this study. I experienced this process to be a bit ‘messy’, but with learning opportunities along the way.

Validity of discourse analytical studies relates to validity in qualitative studies in general. It also includes specific issues, however, because discourse analytical research does not reflect a ‘reality’; it is rather an ‘interpretation of an

interpretation' (Gee 2014:141). In this chapter I have referred to various analytical techniques suggested by Potter and Wetherell (1987) in order to validate findings in discourse analytical studies. In qualitative studies in general, member checking and triangulation are common techniques for securing the validity of findings (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña 2014; Stake 2010). Member checking can be problematic in discourse analytical studies, however, because they often involve claims of truth (Taylor 2001a). I did a member check mainly to show the informants the material and get confirmation that they still wanted to participate in the study. This reason for doing member checks is more an ethical act than it is about validity, which is in line with what Riessman (2008) suggests member checks being used for.

To account for one's role as a researcher also relates to validity. As there is little standardised instrumentation used in qualitative research, the researcher is the instrument of inquiry (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña 2014). This means that accounting for the role of the researcher is crucial to the validity of a study. Reflexivity (Alvesson & Sköldböberg 2009) is central to this, because the qualitative researcher cannot be separated from the research. This implies taking a critical stand towards the role as researcher, where also balancing 'insider status' with the researcher role is of importance. Respecting the confidentiality of participants is crucial in qualitative research. The process of maintaining the anonymity of the informants in this study, however, created tensions between thick descriptions and anonymity that needed to be negotiated.



## 4 Institutional discourses in the school of arts

The aim of the next two chapters is to address the first research question:

*Which discourses compete in the Norwegian municipal school of music and performing arts?*

The analytic process has resulted in identification of various institutional and teacher discourses. The discourses were identified in the data material, but theoretical perspectives and previous research have contributed in forming the discursive structure of the study. The teacher discourses will be accounted for in the next chapter, while the institutional discourses are elaborated in this chapter. The institutional discourses are trying to imbue 'institution' with meaning; hence 'institution' is nodal point and floating signifier<sup>29</sup> in these discourses. The analysis has not identified any one single discourse as hegemonic; rather there are several discourses at play in the field. This is not surprising, given that one discourse can never establish itself so firmly that it becomes the only one structuring the social and that there always are several conflicting discourses at play (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:41; Laclau & Mouffe 2001).

The analysis has revealed the institutional discourses as often being in binary opposition. These are the discourses of *breadth* and *depth*, of *local autonomy* and *centralised governance*, of *'the House'* and *decentralisation*, of *New Public*

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29 See chapter 2 for explanation of the terms nodal point and floating signifier.

*Management (NPM) and professionalism, and of school of arts as school and school of arts as leisure activity.* Moreover, as shown in Figure 1, these binary oppositions should be understood as struggles to fill five distinct floating signifiers with meaning. These are: 'for everyone', 'ensuring quality', 'local resource centre', 'framework conditions', and 'societal role'. The figure also shows how each of the ten institutional discourses are established by a set of signifiers linked in a chain of equivalence. This will be elaborated in this chapter.

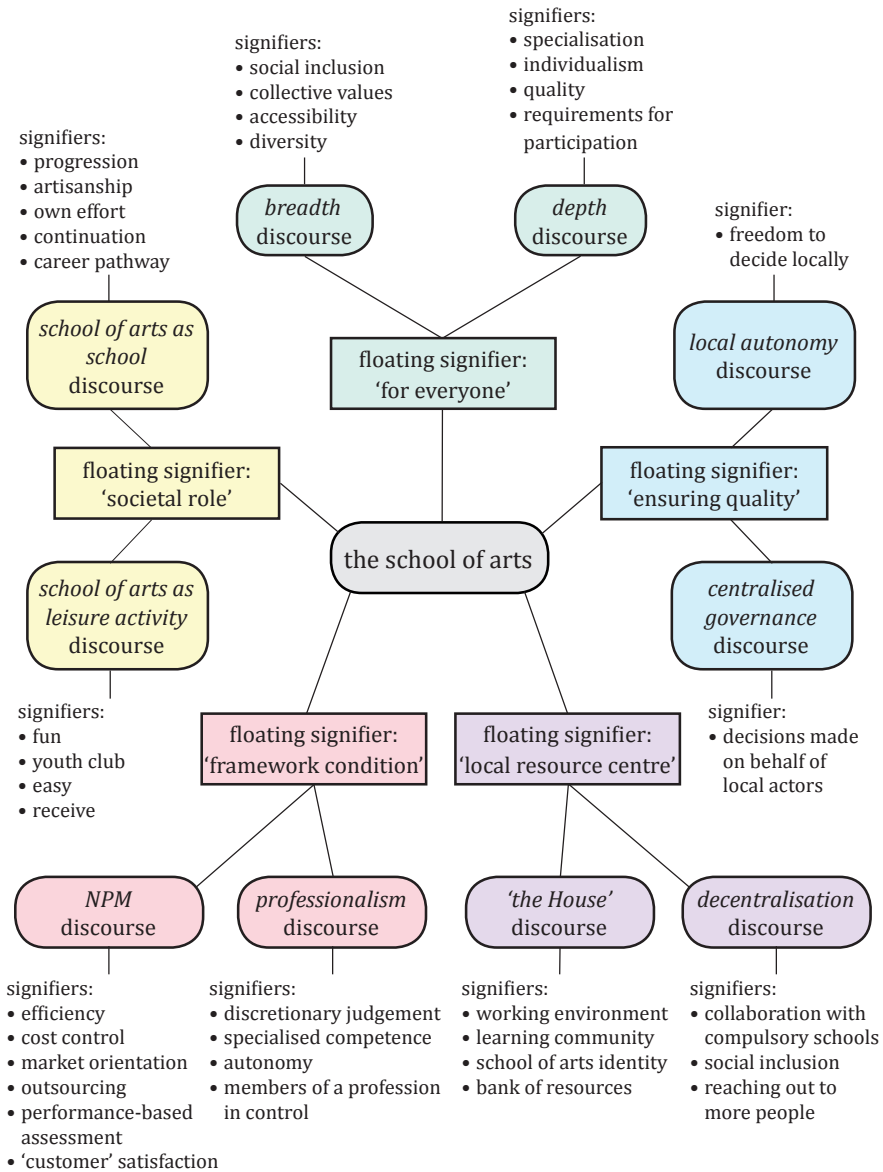


Figure 1: Institutional discourses

## 4.1 Discourses of *breadth* and *depth*

The most central institutional discourses are the discourses of *breadth* and *depth*, identified in both documents<sup>30</sup> and interviews. Central to the *breadth* discourse are ‘social inclusion’, ‘collective values’, ‘accessibility’ and ‘diversity’. Central to the *depth* discourse are ‘specialisation’, ‘individualism’, ‘quality’ and ‘requirements for participation’. It is stated in the curriculum framework (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:2) that the Council for schools of arts’ vision is a ‘school of arts for everyone’. Both breadth and depth are emphasised, as it is stated that ‘[t]he school of arts should be characterised by high quality and rich diversity, and should ensure both breadth and talent’ (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:2, my translation).

‘For everyone’ can be understood in various ways, and the discourses of *breadth* and *depth* both try to articulate it. This is a central issue when identifying what kind of institution the school of arts should be, and ‘for everyone’ is nodal point and floating signifier in these discourses.

### 4.1.1 Breadth: the school of arts for everyone

‘For everyone’ is articulated by the *breadth* discourse when connected to the signifiers ‘social inclusion’, ‘collective values’, ‘accessibility’ and ‘diversity’. The *breadth* discourse appears in the data material as a depiction of the school of arts as having a broad mandate to reach out to all children. The curriculum framework (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016) states that schools of arts should provide opportunities for all children and youth wanting to participate in arts activities, and that the school owners (municipalities) ought to provide places free of charge and for reduced payment to ensure equal opportunities for children. In several documents, social inclusion is articulated through phrases like ‘for a reasonable price’, ‘independent from social and economic background’, and ‘every child that wants’ (Ministry of Culture 2009; Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003, 2016). The ‘Convention on the rights of the child’ (article 31), which states that children have the right to relax and play and to join in a wide range of cultural, artistic and other recreational activities, is referred to in the curriculum frameworks (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003, 2016) and other documents (Ministry of Culture 2009; NOU 2013). Here, ‘for everyone’ is linked

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<sup>30</sup> The former and current curriculum frameworks and policy documents regarding the school of arts from the former and the current government.

to 'social inclusion' and is articulated by the breadth discourse. This is also evident in interviews with the teachers.

*I am a real school of arts enthusiast, the democratic thought that everyone should get the chance. (Julia)*

*I wish for the school of arts to be more open to everyone, as the politicians so nicely are saying. [...] Then the prices have to decrease a lot. [...] Because now it is quite expensive. (Sofie)*

Sofie argues that the cost of participating in a school of arts excludes some children. Children of parents with low income and little education, and children from ethnic minorities, are under-represented in the schools of arts (Gustavsen & Hjelmbrekke 2009; NOU 2013). Parents' limited capacity to follow up on activities is another possible excluding factor in the school of arts.

Connected to social inclusion is also diversity of art forms, genres and levels. Schools of arts started out as music schools in the 1950s and 1960s, mainly offering individual instrumental teaching in the classical genre (see chapter 1). The inclusion of other art forms, genres, and new forms of teaching emerged from the 1980s. This development could be seen as an attempt at social inclusion, as more children are likely to find an activity of preference. This is in line with findings in the report from Gustavsen and Hjelmbrekke (2009), where they assert that more diversity in art subjects would lead to a broader recruitment. This is also supported in the curriculum framework.

In order to offer attractive activities and thereby ensure a broad recruitment to the school of arts, it shall emphasise diversity in its activities. (Norsk kultur-skoleråd 2016:10, my translation)

The report from Gustavsen and Hjelmbrekke (2009) shows, however, that this is not sufficiently implemented in schools of arts yet. This is also evident in the interview material in this study. Alex is concerned about the uniformity of students recruited by schools of arts, being ethnically Norwegian and belonging to a relatively high economic bracket.

*Most of our students are middle-class children. Very few immigrants. And those who participate in the school's activities are mostly Vietnamese learning violin or piano. This city is as multi-cultural as many other places, so I think it is strange and a pity that we do not connect with other milieus. I actually asked a boy once, he was Kurd and I met him by chance at a bus stop. He saw me carrying a guitar, and he said: 'I play some guitar'. Then I said: 'Ok. I teach guitar'. 'Can you teach me?' he said. 'Yes, just enrol in the school of arts', I answered. But he hadn't heard of the school of arts. 'But there are many children playing an instrument in the school of arts, haven't you heard of it?' I asked. 'No, no' he answered. 'Are none of your friends in the school?' 'No, none', he replied. I then asked why that was,*



*but he didn't know. 'Is there nobody that teaches the music you are interested in?' I asked, because he had told me he would preferably play his folk music. ... Maybe we should be better at engaging people that have experiences from other cultures to teach in the schools of arts, other forms of expression. (Alex)*

Alex calls for more diversity in the school's activities and advocates for strengthening teachers' competence regarding ethnicity and cultural backgrounds, in order to include more students and students from groups that are under-represented today. The curriculum framework (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:46) states that music teaching in schools of arts should reflect the diversity and the dynamics of the society, and at the same time preserve its history and traditions. A challenge identified in the same document is the school's complex social mission. The curriculum framework asserts that in order to meet this challenge, a greater diversity of activities and programmes is required, which will potentially increase the recruitment of children with other cultural backgrounds (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016).

Collective values are central in the *breadth* discourse, where the idea of reaching out to the 'masses' is seen as more important than individualism. Collective values versus individualism relate to the tension Heimonen (2003) found in her research between the general (law) and the particular (individual needs of each student) in music education. She refers to the *right to an education*, which addresses the duty of the state to secure conditions and circumstances so that everyone can participate in arts activities, and where *positive freedom* is seen as equality of opportunities (Heimonen 2003). This is connected to the nodal point 'for everyone' in this study, articulated by the *breadth* discourse. The *right for freedom in education* points to individual needs regarding content, where Heimonen (2003) refers to *negative freedom* as taking individual needs into account. This relates to 'for everyone' articulated by the *depth* discourse.

#### 4.1.2 Depth: a school of arts for every child

In the school of arts field, 'for everyone' is articulated not only by the *breadth* discourse, but also by the *depth* discourse where 'for everyone' is connected to 'specialisation', 'individualism', 'quality' and 'requirements for participation'. In addition, statements focusing on *social justice* is found in connecting 'for everyone' to the *depth* discourse. This is for instance evident in Jakob's utterances. He is concerned with quality, progression and enough time to go in depth, which he believes is not possible with today's resources if every child who wants

lessons gets them. However, he is also concerned about social justice: that every child should have equal opportunities in participating in the school's activities regardless of their economic and social background.

*I wish the students could get more time for development so the quality in school could increase. For this to happen, I actually think we should accept fewer students and put aside the idea that absolutely all should have the opportunity to partake. Draw lots, and that's it. Don't leave it up to the money to decide, because money should not be a limitation [...]. (Jakob)*

Within the *depth* discourse, 'for everyone' is linked to social justice, as each individual is believed to have the right to participate. This is connected to the 'right for freedom in education', which refers to individual needs and choice regarding content (Heimonen 2003). Jakob also suggests dismissing students who do not work, in order to make space for engaged students. He asserts that there should be requirements for participation, which he believes is a fair way of distributing resources. This raises the following question: should the school of arts be for everyone who wants to participate, or for everyone who wants to commit to the school's requirements?

Variation connected to art forms, genres and levels in activities is also central in the *depth* discourse. This relates to each child's right to choose. The curriculum framework (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016) divides activities into three programmes:<sup>31</sup> breadth programme, core programme and in-depth programme. These can be seen as levels of specialisation within the school of arts. Compared to general music classes in compulsory schools, however, all these programmes are forms of specialisation and can be linked to the *depth* discourse. The in-depth programme includes the most specialisation of the three, and should 'provide opportunities for specialisation which can create the foundation for upper secondary school and higher education in arts subjects' (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:8, my translation). Whereas the breadth programme is articulated primarily by the *breadth* discourse, as it refers to easily accessible group activities with few requirements, the very idea of dividing activities into three programmes could relate to social justice and individualism, and thus the *depth* discourse. This is because there would be a broader range of activities to choose from, and hence more children would be able to choose activities of preference.

The statement in the 'Convention on the rights of the child' (article 31) that all children should have the right to join in a wide range of cultural and artistic activities (see previous section) could be interpreted either as the right to

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<sup>31</sup> See chapter 1 for explanation.

partake in random arts activities or to choose which activity to partake in. If, for instance, eight-year-old Anna wants to dance and play football, and is offered piano lessons and basketball training, would this qualify as partaking in 'a wide range of activities'? Put differently, what is more important: facilitating for all children to participate in an art activity or to facilitate for some (but preferably all) to partake and specialise in the activities they want? Both relate to social justice, but to collective values on the one hand (*breadth* discourse) and individualism (*depth* discourse) on the other, to the 'right to education' or 'freedom in education' (Heimonen 2003).

The connection between the *depth* discourse and social justice is also found in the school of arts policy of the current government and the Conservative Party<sup>32</sup> (Conservative Party 2015; Office of the Prime Minister 2013). The government states that they want to '[c]reate a framework for talented young people to pursue their professional development, independent of social and economic background, through the music and culture schools and their collaboration with voluntary actors and others' (Office of the Prime Minister 2013). The Conservative Party (2015) asserts this to be in opposition to the 'mass-teaching programme', a phrase they use when referring to 'kulturskoletimen',<sup>33</sup> which the former government initiated. The Conservative Party (2015) claim that such a programme would have resulted in poorer school of arts service as reaching out to everyone would mean a decrease in opportunities for going in-depth and would affect the quality of the activities. Hence, the Conservative Party (and thus the current government) is positioning themselves as opposed to the former government's policy. That being said, both the *breadth* and *depth* discourses were present in the former government's arts and culture policy 'Kulturløftet II' (Ministry of Culture 2009). They did, however, put effort into trying to get 'kulturskoletimen' enshrined in law, which could be seen as part of the *breadth* discourse connected to social inclusion. Therefore, the effort they put into the implementation of 'kulturskoletimen' meant that the *breadth* discourse – 'for everyone' connected to social inclusion – achieved hegemony. In addition, the Conservative Party's way of emphasising the *breadth* discourse in the former government's policy nurtures that hegemony.

Quality is central in the *depth* discourse. It is one of the terms occurring most frequently in the curriculum frameworks, and more often in the current than in the former. There are examples of quality articulated as opposed to the *breadth*

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<sup>32</sup> The Conservative Party is the main coalition partner in government.

<sup>33</sup> See chapter 1 for explanation.

discourse, for instance in the former curriculum framework where education was supposed to cater for 'both breadth and quality' (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003). The Conservative Party (2015) asserts that they will strengthen the school of arts as an arena for quality, which they, as elaborated above, articulates as opposed to the former government's 'mass-teaching programme'. Quality is here articulated as part of the *depth* discourse opposed to 'for everyone' linked to social inclusion articulated by the *breadth* discourse.

## 4.2 Discourses of local autonomy and centralised governance

*I want to believe that I myself have a lot to say, but much of my frustration connected to my job has been that there actually is someone outside myself deciding what is best practice teaching my instrument. (Julia)*

The institutional discourses of *local autonomy* and *centralised governance* struggle over articulating how to ensure quality in the school of arts, which makes 'ensuring quality' the nodal point and floating signifier in these discourses. Within the *local autonomy* discourse, local actors are given freedom to decide, whereas within the *centralised governance* discourse, someone else makes decisions on their behalf. This section addresses the notion of the local, of autonomy and of local autonomy.

The concept of 'autonomy', where the profession itself is responsible for ensuring quality, is central in literature on professions (Fauske 2008; Freidson 2001). The profession's autonomy and level of control is important for the quality of the work performed, as professional practitioners vary their products to the need of individual consumers by making use of discretion (Freidson 2001). In the literature on professions, the concept concerns both a profession's autonomy, and the autonomy of individuals. This chapter will address both, as well as the autonomy of the various schools.

Notions of 'local' and 'centralised' are relationally constructed. A concept gets its meaning in comparison to something else: to what it is not (Laclau & Mouffe 2001). Applied to the school of arts field, this implies several assumptions. First, that the various schools are 'local' in comparison to the Council for schools of arts or the government, as the latter can make decisions on behalf of all the schools. Second, one school or municipality is 'local' as opposed to a centralised inter-municipal arrangement of several schools. Third, the teachers in a school

are 'local' opposed to the municipal management or local politicians, who are responsible for the whole municipality. Fourth, a teacher is 'local' compared to the headteacher, who is responsible for the whole school. A teacher is mainly responsible for her students and own practice. The music teaching profession could also be seen as 'local' because the members of the profession are closer to practice and to issues around music teaching, in comparison to for example politicians or managements.

#### 4.2.1 Local autonomy and the music teaching profession

The music teaching profession could be seen as part of the *local autonomy* discourse, as members of a profession in general are close to 'clients' and practice. This, however, raises a question of whom within the school of arts field are seen as members of the music teaching profession. The municipal management is most likely not. They are bureaucrats and, according to Freidson (2001), part of an opposing logic. In the case of headteachers, it varies whether they are perceived to be part of the profession or not. In all three schools, the headteacher is seen as part of management. Still, teachers expect the headteacher to have teaching experience, in order to best understand them. The headteachers are somehow in a middle position needing to be balanced: opposed to the teachers, they are seen as part of the centralised government, while opposed to the municipal management or local politicians, they are seen as 'locals'. However, one of the teachers, Julia, asserts that headteachers and teachers always are in opposition to each other because as part of the headteachers' job description: they cannot criticise the situation of the municipality in public. According to Julia, this fact implies that the headteachers' loyalty is with the municipal management and not the teachers.

Teachers experience their headteacher differently in the three schools studied. In school A, the headteacher has not been a school of arts teacher, and the teachers speak of him/her as in some way opposed to them.

*The management has a distanced relationship to how we work. Our headteacher has never been a school of arts teacher, which is maybe the biggest obstacle in our school. It is challenging. [...] Situations occur where it is obvious that s/he does not understand what it takes to be a school of arts teacher. (Teacher, school A)*

This headteacher is not close enough to the practice to be perceived as part of the same group as the teachers. In school C, the headteacher has been a school

of arts teacher and a musician, and according to the teachers, s/he is 'one of them' and s/he gives them freedom and trust.

*Here, you have the possibility of doing what engages you, which I believe creates motivation. [...] People get to follow their ideas and a lot of things happen. We also have a headteacher who delegates... [...] Then you are empowering people. Instead of one pulling all the strings and controlling everything, you empower the individual teacher. (Teacher 1, school C)*

Although the teachers in school C appreciate the freedom, they also assert that their headteacher sometimes shows lack of management skills, that s/he is 'too much one of them'.

*We have the nicest boss and s/he has been in the business for ages. But I wish s/he had more control and was more present. It is a bit like we are a school where many teachers run their own school. (Teacher 2, school C)*

Some teachers say they lack opportunities to discuss pedagogical challenges with their headteacher. In school B, the headteacher has worked with cultural administration for many years, and the teachers see her/him both as one of them and as member of the administration. The teachers have freedom, but within the frames decided by the administration (led by the headteacher).

*It is almost as the administration is some kind of editor. They set the agenda, of course, but I feel that we also decide a lot. Of course I would like to decide more, but I am part of a quite large collegium. But I feel that we as a group is rather involved. (Teacher, school B)*

The Council for schools of arts is a significant stakeholder in quality assurance and policymaking. There are likely to be music teachers working in the organisation, but the Council as such is an organisation for municipalities (elaborated in chapter 1) as oppose to a union of interest organising the members of the profession, such as MFO.<sup>34</sup> Hence, even though music teachers might work in or be board members of the Council for schools of arts, the organisation represents the municipalities and is therefore not representing the profession. However, they represent the school of arts, and in comparison to other organisations representing other institutions, the Council could be seen as, in some ways, representing the music teaching profession.

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34 Musikernes fellesorganisasjon (Norwegian Musicians' Union)

#### 4.2.2 Local autonomy and centralised governance in policy

The intention of both the former and current curriculum frameworks is that various schools of arts should have local autonomy, while the curriculum framework provides a national standardisation ensuring quality. Although both curriculum frameworks assume a dualism between centralised governance and local autonomy, there is a tendency towards more centralised governance in the adoption of the current curriculum framework. This is evident when comparing the use of language below in (i) the former and (ii) the current.

The intention is that the curriculum framework for the school of arts should *give inspiration to* content and organisational solutions for high quality courses anchored in the various local communities, [and that] a curriculum framework for a *decentralised and locally governed school of arts sector [would] contribute with guiding national standards regarding the quality of the courses offered.* (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003:7,18, my translation, my emphasis)

The curriculum framework is a document for the development of national standards and local curriculum frameworks. *It presupposes an establishment of a system of quality ensuring for systematic supervision of the schools of arts' practice.* [...] The principle of equality in the educational system is overarching in Norwegian arts and education policies and the curriculum framework should contribute to *securing joint national norms for aims, content and quality* in the schools of arts. (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:5,13, my translation, my emphasis)

The language differs in tone. The former was framed as to 'give inspiration' through 'guiding national standards', while the current 'presupposes an establishment of a system' for 'systematic supervision'. Hence, the *centralised governance* discourse increasing dominates the current curriculum in articulating quality assurance, whereas the *local autonomy* discourse is dominant in the former. The former curriculum framework also emphasised local autonomy by stating that instrumental teaching should be offered within 'those instruments and genres where it is possible to get teachers with high artistic and pedagogical competence' (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003:29, my translation). Hence, what is possible in the local schools should be taken into account.

Assessment of schools and practice is a way of ensuring quality. From the former to the current curriculum framework, there is a turn away from the teachers' role in this assessment. The former emphasised teacher participation, which indicates the centrality of the *local autonomy* discourse. The management should have a key role, it stated, but teachers must be listened to and involved in the processes (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003). The current curriculum, however, states that the school owner (municipality) is responsible for establishing a

system of quality assurance, and that the school management is responsible for carrying it out. It does not focus on teacher perspectives or involvement, which indicates the domination of the *centralised governance* discourse.

The NOU (2013) adds another perspective to quality assurance, namely research communities. It puts forward a concern about the development of concepts and methods for quality assessment in cultural policy, and suggest that a framework should be developed in collaboration with research communities in order to increase expertise. It claims that in order to make a turn from focusing on development of cultural infrastructure to content in the infrastructure, there has to be a development of a more knowledge-based cultural policy (NOU 2013). In the current curriculum framework, but not the former, strengthening of research-informed and research-based teaching are mentioned as important for the development of professionalism. For this discussion, it is worth asking whether research communities are perceived to be 'local' or part of a centralised governance. In comparison to the various schools and teachers, researchers are unlikely to be seen as 'locals'. But research communities could be seen as 'local' compared to the municipal management, who are more distant from practice and the music teaching profession in relative terms. While not a task for this study, it might be worth asking whether researchers within music education are seen as academics or as part of the music teaching profession.

There is an increased policy emphasis on accountability in the compulsory school system (Evans 2008; Mausethagen 2013a), which often means an increase in documentation in order for those overseeing accountability to monitor measurements of quality. Mausethagen (2013a) is concerned about how accountability policies influence notions of professionalism. The school of arts field is generally not as influenced by accountability requirements as the compulsory school, but the tendency is clear, as expressed by Jakob.

*Here, the school of arts is organised under the school sector.<sup>35</sup> This means an increase in the obligation to document how we organise the school and what we are doing. This has led to a growing awareness in how we present ourselves to others and about the quality in our school. (Jakob)*

Jakob is critical because documentation takes time away from teaching and constrains freedom, but he also believes it leads to better quality through increasing awareness among music teachers of what the school of arts is and should be. Accountability requirements and documentation is part of the *centralised*

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35 As elaborated in chapter 1, the various schools of arts could be organised either under the school sector or under the cultural sector within municipalities.



*governance* discourse. There is, however, tension in the field between quality standards, on the one hand, and the wish for professional autonomy on the other. Kristoffer expresses this well.

*It should be concrete, like the mandatory curriculum framework for the compulsory school. It should be equivalent but without micromanaging [...], just saying something about quality and content [...]. That is how it should be, because now the politicians could just cut the allocations. (Kristoffer)*

The NOU (2013) also points to the lack of national standards.

The municipal arts sector is to lesser degree encompassed by national standards and rights than other municipal sectors. This creates the possibility of the arts sector being used as a 'balancing sector' in the municipal fight over allocations. (NOU 2013, my translation)

The *local autonomy* discourse is articulated in the policy of the Conservative Party, as they 'follow the principle of proximity and claim that the schools of arts still should be the responsibility of the municipalities [...] [which will] create diversity where the school of arts can develop in collaboration with the local community's wishes and needs' (Conservative Party 2015, my translation). Here, the municipality is put forward as 'local' in opposition to the state. Leaving the responsibility for the schools of arts to the various municipalities could indicate trust and the idea that people closer to something knows it best, but it could also point towards lack of interest and a disclamation of responsibility. Holmberg (2010) argues (as elaborated in chapter 1) that without documents controlling the content, music teachers could lose their power over the content they teach. This could undermine their competence and leave teaching in the hands of their students and the market.

The discourses of *local autonomy* and *centralised governance* struggle to fix the meaning of 'ensuring quality'. Laura has strong opinions on the matter, but finds that she needs to balance her view against the expectations of others. She sees balancing those concerns as difficult.

*The progression of a school of arts student is not statutory, which means it is quite open. [...] I guess it is about what I, as a professional practitioner, think it should be. But of course, if others tell me I am wrong, I have to accept that. But at the same time, I almost feel schizophrenic about this. Because I see that I have to function within the system, but at the same time, there is something inside telling me that I really feel something else. (Laura)*

Jakob argues that there has to be some kind of local autonomy to ensure quality. He sees the headteacher as representative of the school of arts (local autonomy) in relation to municipal management (centralised governance).

*They [the municipal management] often do not have the clue, to put it that way. They do not know what it takes to increase the quality. So they have no other choice but to leave that to the headteacher of the school of arts. (Jakob)*

### 4.3 Discourses of ‘the House’ and decentralisation

The institutional discourses of ‘the House’ and *decentralisation* can be observed in the way actors express concerns about localisation. ‘The House’ is a metaphor for centralising all the school of arts’ activities in one building. These discourses struggle over articulating how the school of arts should act as a local resource centre for arts and culture. This makes ‘local resource centre’ nodal point and floating signifier. Balancing concerns related to working environment, learning communities and reaching out to more people characterises this struggle. Central to ‘the House’ discourse is ‘working environment’, ‘learning community’, the development of a ‘school of arts identity’ and the notion of a ‘bank of resources’. Central to the *decentralisation* discourse is ‘collaboration with compulsory schools’, ‘social inclusion’ and ‘reaching out to more people’.

The curriculum framework states that the school of arts should be ‘a local resource centre and a cooperating partner in primary education and in the local cultural community’ (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:7, my translation). This expectation can be traced back to the late 1980s (NOU 2013). The Education Act (Ministry of Education and Research 1998) states that schools of arts should be organised in association with the compulsory school system and the local cultural community. Involving in the local community requires visibility and accessibility, but how can this best be achieved? By connecting with different milieus outside the school (*decentralisation* discourse) or by creating a working and learning environment at the school of arts building for others to seek out (‘the House’ discourse)? These issues will be addressed in this chapter.

#### 4.3.1 ‘I imagine us having this building’

A good working and learning environment is essential to the teachers interviewed in this study. They see the school of arts building as an arena for

collaboration and creativity where a school of arts identity can be created. The discourse of 'the House' is central.

*I imagine us having this building where all of us are located. And when the students are having their lessons, the parents could sit in the café talking to each other. [...] We could perhaps co-locate with the library, a cinema, concert hall, and then we could have proper arrangements, higher work percentages and maybe morning classes. That is a totally different world, but it would have been fun. A school of arts building like that is a lot more than a place where the teachers give 25-minutes lessons [...]. A school of arts building should be a building where voluntary organisations and the local cultural life can also use the facilities and collaborate, and maybe the school of arts teachers can be a resource for wind bands, choirs, and children wanting to play in a band. (Kristoffer)*

Lucy works in the same school as Kristoffer, and is also longing for a new building.

*The dream would be to have a house of our own. [...] The best thing would have been to have a local cultural centre, a vivid house, containing only arts and culture, not compulsory schools. The school of arts, library and a café, concerts in the evenings, many of those activities. (Lucy)*

One of the reasons why the teachers see having such a building as important is because they believe it facilitates a group identity.

*First, it does something with the working environment. You get the feeling of being a part of something, not just a wandering nomad. So I think it is incredibly important for the environment, for the affiliation to your job. Yes, to have an identity, that we are a group doing this together. Then, it [the job] will not be so lonely, it will be more meaningful. (Lucy)*

Teacher collaboration is also key factor, as informal meeting places is seen as crucial for collaboration between teachers.

*It is something about the professional environment you can have and opportunities to meet people during the breaks and so on. A lot of collaboration happens during breaks, we talk about orchestra projects and ... Just to be able to meet without having to organise it. (Kristoffer)*

Alex emphasises a good learning environment, because when the students attend activities at this building, 'they come to a place where they sense that they are a part of something bigger' (Alex).

The discourse of 'the House' also emerges in the teachers' utterances through their rejection of the *decentralisation* discourse.

*You get really fed up if you are isolated at a compulsory school building. The politicians want the children to receive lessons at their compulsory schools*

*so the school of arts teachers have to teach there. But then you have to travel around. (Kristoffer)*

*I have worked decentralised for many years before I came here, so I know what that is like. [...] Where the heat is turned off so your fingers get numb... and without... now I wonder, how could you teach without a locker, for example? We had nothing. [...] It has a lot to say for it, having a base. (Laura)*

There are differences in the locations of the schools in this study, and the discourse of 'the House' is articulated through the teachers' statements about their schools. School C is co-located with a compulsory school, but the teachers are not pleased with their facilities and are longing for a new school of arts building.

*I am a bit envious of those schools of arts having their own equipped building. Where there are music stands, and where you don't need to move desks around. Where you can come in the morning and do some planning. That would create a community. (Teacher, school C)*

School A has a relatively new building, co-located with the library and a youth club, among others. The teachers are quite satisfied.

*In previous jobs, I have to a greater extent felt I was working alone. I do actually work mostly alone now, but I don't feel lonely [...]. Now I am employed full time, but it is also because we have this base here at the school of arts, and there are always people here. (Teacher 1, school A)*

Teachers in school A also point to the great opportunities for collaboration when several arts and cultural institutions are gathered in the same building. School B has a building on their own, which means they do not have either the problems or the opportunities to which collaboration with other actors could lead.

#### **4.3.2 Travelling to teach**

In several documents, collaboration with compulsory schools is seen as an important part of being a local resource centre (Ministry of Education and Research 1998; Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016; NOU 2013). This often requires school of arts teachers to travel to these schools to teach. An implication of this decentralisation is that the teachers are visible to more children. They also reach students who have not the means to travel to the school of arts building. Hence, it could be part of a social inclusion process, as activities are more accessible to students when lessons are taught at their own school. It could also facilitate recruitment to the school of arts.

*Many years ago, I taught at a compulsory school and I had many students. [...]. I asked if I could have a classroom so the children could come straight from SFO. Then what happened was that five children from the same class started playing the violin<sup>36</sup> and everyone from first to fourth grade knew what a violin was. We had concerts at SFO and played at the Christmas party. Everyone walking in the hallway heard that sound .... So for the recruitment, that was excellent. (Karen)*

The struggle between the discourses of ‘the House’ and decentralisation is evident in some of the teachers’ utterances.

*I understand that people want us to be where the children are, at least when we are talking about small children. So there has to be some integration, you have to be flexible. But I remember the old music school, where you travelled with a really heavy backpack and huge bags with sheet music from school to school. (Lucy)*

*The organising is a bit difficult, because if we are to be available for compulsory schools, we [group of teachers] will automatically be more divided because people are heading out to different places. Which is ok for the job you are doing at the compulsory schools, but it is difficult when it comes to collaboration and planning. It needs to be balanced: to head out to schools where the children are, but at the same time have an identity connected to the school of arts. If too much of the teaching is decentralised, you lose some of the community feeling. (Emma)*

The teachers see the benefits of decentralisation, but also the disadvantages for them as music teachers, for the working environment and for the creation of a school of arts identity.

For William, decentralisation and the notion of travelling to teach is associated with another dimension: big performances aimed at reaching children outside the school of arts. He sees this as mainly negative, as it takes focus and resources away from the school’s regular activities.

*[The local resource centre] is more about those big projects that are supposed to encompass children outside the school of arts, who get a taste of dance through the project. It seems like it has become simply a mass gathering. [...] They [the management] work very creatively, and probably administratively, towards those projects, but we feel as losing some of the administrative resource that we are dependent on in order for the school to function. (William)*

Here, the local resource centre function somehow outside the schools’ regular activities, and many of the teachers have not really been involved in those projects.

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36 Violin may or may not be Karen’s main instrument; violin is a fictive instrument in order to protect the informants’ anonymity.

'Kulturskoletimen'<sup>37</sup> was a way of systematising the practice of 'travelling to teach', and thus is part of the *decentralisation* discourse. The interviews for this study were conducted in 2014, a year after 'kulturskoletimen' was withdrawn. Even though 'kulturskoletimen' was never made statutory, due to change in government, many schools arranged 'kulturskoletime' activities in 2012/2013, on the initiative of the previous government. The rise and fall of this political initiative had different effects on the schools in this study. School A has had long-standing collaboration with compulsory schools, and thus made few changes during the implementation of 'kulturskoletimen'. Schools B and C, on the contrary, had limited collaboration with compulsory schools prior to 'kulturskoletimen', and saw their collaboration increase during the year 2012/2013. When the initiative (and funding related to it) was withdrawn, in 2013, the collaboration schools B and C had established with compulsory schools more or less ceased. This affected not only activities initiated as part of 'kulturskoletimen', but also collaborative activities that predated the introduction of 'kulturskoletimen'. As these activities had been embedded in 'kulturskoletimen', they were now also affected by the cuts.

#### 4.4 **Discourses of New Public Management and professionalism**

The discourses of *New Public Management (NPM)* and *professionalism* struggle over the articulation of framework conditions. These include 'time', 'resources', 'facilities' and 'work percentage', and 'framework conditions' is nodal point and floating signifier. My identification of these discourses is theoretically informed. Central to the *NPM* discourse is 'efficiency', 'cost control', 'market orientating', 'outsourcing', 'performance-based assessment' and 'customer satisfaction'. Central to the *professionalism* discourse is 'discretionary judgement', 'specialised competence', 'autonomy', and 'members of a profession in control'. The social constructivism of discourse theory (Laclau & Mouffe 2001) implies that our understanding of the framework conditions are socially constructed. A school of arts building might have a specific materiality, but whether it is understood as well-suited for teaching arts is not a given fact: What is sufficient room size, equipment and teaching time?

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<sup>37</sup> See chapter 1 for explanation.

While professionalism is discussed in chapter 2, the concept of NPM needs elaboration. NPM is a way in which governments have tried to resolve the paradox of citizens demanding efficiency in public spending, while at the same time expecting better and more professional services (Evetts 2009). As a management approach, NPM is characterised by performance-based management, output controls, disaggregation and decentralisation, competition in provision and private sector styles of management (Dibben & Higgins 2004; Evetts 2009). Slogans include 'free choice' and 'doing more with less'. From an NPM perspective, the general public is often framed as consumers of services, rather than as rights-bearing citizens (Dibben & Higgins 2004). Hence, consumer satisfaction and managerial control are important parts of NPM. While NPM is a mode of governance, it is also a set of values, understood here as the discourse of *NPM*.

According to Freidson (2001), consumer satisfaction is central to the logic of the market, and managerial control to the logic of the firm, both which he sees as opposed to professionalism. Freidson (2001:3) asserts the two most central characteristics of professionalism to be 'monopoly', which opposes *competition* in the free market, and 'freedom of discretion', which is a contradiction to the managerial idea of efficiency gained by minimising discretion. Competition and efficiency ('doing more with less') are elements in the *NPM* discourse, which then can be seen in binary opposition to the *professionalism* discourse. Freidson (2001) expresses concerns about professional practitioners' position being weakened as he sees policy formation being driven by 'competition' (as in the free market) and 'efficiency' (as a result of skilled management in firms). This can be understood as the *NPM* discourse increasingly dominates the field.

In this chapter, the discourses of *professionalism* and *NPM* struggle over articulating the frameworks conditions 'time', 'resources', 'facilities' and 'work percentage' will be elaborated. 'Outsourcing', which is central to the *NPM* discourse, will also be discussed in relation to the school of arts field.

#### 4.4.1 Teaching time

*Getting more time with the students is something I really want MFO<sup>38</sup> and NMH<sup>39</sup> to work for. That is more important than salary. Then, the job will be meaningful, and we do not have to feel it is done in a hurry. (Lucy)*

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38 Musikernes fellesorganisasjon (Norwegian Musicians' Union)

39 Norges musikkhøgskole (Norwegian Academy of Music)

The length of lessons in schools of arts is specified neither in the law nor in the curriculum framework. Hence, it is up to each school to decide. In interviews, time, and especially teaching time, is frequently addressed, but in the curriculum frameworks and policy documents, it is almost absent. The former curriculum framework determined that ‘it is important that the student gets enough teaching time’ (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003:33, my translation) and pointed towards flexible solutions for organising the teaching. The current curriculum framework (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016) defines ‘amount of teaching time’ as a factor when striving to increase quality in the school of arts. However, it does not specify the amount of teaching time sufficient per student.

Enough teaching time in order to ensure quality is central to both discourses. But who decides what good quality is? And what is the amount of time needed to achieve it? In the *professionalism* discourse, the profession itself has this responsibility (Abbott 1988; Freidson 2001; Smeby 2013). Here, neither management nor the public has the expertise and specialised knowledge required to make these decisions. In the *NPM* discourse, however, the management control these decisions and rely to a great extent on ‘customer’ or ‘client’ satisfaction. Hence, where the *NPM* discourse has hegemony, time is likely to be pushed to a minimum because efficiency is central. If the *professionalism* discourse has hegemony, however, the teachers are responsible for deciding the amount of teaching time per student in order to ensure quality.

Most of the teachers in this study do have some freedom in organising their teaching time. Some organise students in groups, and hence ‘save time’ that can be transferred to advanced students. However, flexibility is limited. Teachers assert that almost whatever they do to rearrange the time, it is still insufficient to allow them to perform their job the way they want to. This can lead to stressful lessons affecting the experience and joy of making music.

*I was thinking about my lessons when I was a kid: they were 45 minutes. It was a calmness enclosing the lessons. Now, the students are just supposed to be shuffled through. (Nora)*

*It is difficult to know what to emphasise, because if you really go into practising the technique, the lesson is over almost before you get to sing. And in addition, it is supposed to be fun and the students should get to learn new songs. Where are you supposed to find time for that? (Lucy)*

In the teachers’ view of how the school of arts should be, ‘time’ is articulated by the *professionalism* discourse. Their experience, however, is that ‘time’ is



mostly managed according to the *NPM* discourse. Laura sees a trend towards more tasks and less time.

*At the same time as we are focusing on more than before, we have less time to do it. [...] And then you get the answer [from the headteacher] that you just have to think new and find new ways of doing things. But I believe that this [to learn an instrument] is a handicraft, which takes time. That worries me. (Laura)*

Here, the notion of doing ‘more with less’, which is central in the *NPM* discourse, is evident. Lucas describes how task load and time constraints negatively affect the instrumental lessons.

*In theory, I have enough time to prepare and practice, but in practice, it does not feel that way. It is a lot of things to do, not only teaching. [...] And a lot of shifting focus, which is tiresome. [...] Things happening in the evenings that is not part of the schedule. In order to deal with that, we are told to work less some other day. But when am I supposed to work less? Should I not prepare a lesson? That is frustrating. (Lucas)*

This points to a difference in what to consider the first priority within the job when the task load is heavy: instrumental lessons or other tasks such as performances or projects. Lucas’ top priority appears to be his students’ instrumental lessons, but he believes that the management have different priorities.

### **Allowing more students into the school**

Allowing more students into the school of arts without additional resources could decrease the quality. In schools A and B (but not school C), student numbers have been increased by shortening lessons or putting students in groups. This indicates the *NPM* discourse articulating the framework condition ‘time’. The amount of time to be spent on each student is not statutory. Julia believes that given the lack of statutory requirements, headteachers could be put in the difficult position of balancing efficiency and customer satisfaction with what the profession believes is sufficient time.

*It says nowhere how long a lesson should be, that is just something we think. [...] It has never been determined in our school. [...] So the headteacher, who is in an economical squeezed situation, would allow all who apply into the school, which means you get a lot of students that you just have to make room for in your schedule. That happened to me. [...] And when it gets to the point where you have ten to fifteen students more than another teacher in the same work percentage as you, that is when you start thinking. (Julia)*

Julia further describes the presence of expectations from the municipal management and politicians of increasing the level of activity in her school.

In school A, more students have been allowed in, but not accompanied by extra resources. The client focus of the *NPM* discourse is emphasised in teachers' description of this situation. A fair amount of the students in school A are members of the local wind band. All members of the band get their instrumental lessons in the school of arts. The band recruits new members every year, and some years ago they recruited more children than ever before. All these new members needed instrumental lessons. To please the wind band, which is one of the school's main 'clients', the school allowed more students in. The teachers opposed this, but felt neglected.

*When we suddenly got more students, I felt we were not listened to when we explained the increase of work it would lead to. There was no understanding that more students would take up more time. (Teacher, school A)*

School B has also allowed more students into the school. This was mainly a way to address concerns about efficiency, after pressure from the municipal management and politicians, and to please other 'clients' such as children who were put on waiting lists (and their parents).

In order to balance the above-mentioned concerns (handling more students without increasing the work percentage of the teachers) the schools in this study have made various group teaching arrangements. Many of the teachers are worried about this development. While they are not opposed to group teaching, they do not want it to happen at the expense of one-to-one teaching.

*Playing together is a good thing, but at the same time you get a break in their individual development which is not beneficial to them. (Hannah)*

*Teaching groups is nice, too, but it cannot be the only thing, it has to be a supplement. Because getting that individual contact is when you really see results and can focus on each student's problems. (Lucy)*

*I actually manage to get more out of the short 20-minute individual lessons I have now than the long group lessons I had before summer. I observe that many of my older and more experienced colleagues go back to teaching individually instead of groups because they find individual teaching important. There are so many small things that you get to work on in a different way when teaching individual students, and the contact with the students is on a different level. (Nora)*

In school B (and to some degree in school A), the teachers are not themselves able to decide on the extent and composition of group teaching. Rather, this is organised by the headteacher as a cost-saving measure or in response to please 'client' requests. One of the teachers says she understands mandatory group teaching to be a result of political decisions.

In schools A and C, there is flexibility in how to organise the teaching, but to different degrees. School A had initially 20 minutes per student and allowed more students in, while school C stipulates 25 minutes per student, and teachers are not asked to teach more students than their work percentage dictates. This allows the teachers in school C to perform more discretionary judgement in organising their teaching, which indicates the centrality of the *professionalism* discourse. Some of the teachers in school A do not experience their flexibility to be substantial, as the lack of time allows no space for flexibility. One teacher asserts this token flexibility instead could nurture unfairness when giving more time to some students at the expense of others, as most of the students, in her opinion, would get too little time. There is general agreement among the teachers, however, that high-level students are more in need of longer lessons than intermediate students, but that problems arise when the standard time of the lessons is compressed to the minimum. This dominance of the *NPM* discourse does not give the teachers enough space to use their discretionary judgement.

Some of the teachers give their students longer lessons and therefore end up 'working for free'. By doing that, they oppose the *NPM* discourse, and instead use their discretionary judgement. One teacher tells of 20 minutes lessons often becoming 30 minutes. Another has decided to give individual lessons every week in addition to the group lessons he is instructed to do. Even in school C, where the student-time ratio remains more generous than in the other schools, teachers have been working for free in order to provide good music education. One teacher says that she 'cannot bear these short lessons, so the students get at least half an hour and preferably more'. This relates to the *professionalism* discourse, as a trait of professionalism is *commitment* to the quality of work (Freidson 2001) – that professional practitioners not always do what is best in a market oriented way, they rather do what they believe is best with no thought about cost or efficiency.

### **Too few students**

Having *too few* students can also be an issue in schools of arts. This could occur for instance if someone is hired as a clarinet teacher in a 30% position, but one year there are not enough clarinet students to fill her teaching duties. In school C, this is solved by allowing teachers to use the extra time as they see best. Hence, the *professionalism* discourse is central.

*I am a couple of students short now. So I have the privilege of giving the others longer lessons. (Teacher, school C)*

This implies the trust of the headteacher. Several string and wind teachers in this study teach piano or guitar (which have waiting lists) if they have too few students. Ellen loves teaching piano in addition to strings. Others, on the other hand, dread the possibility of being asked to teach an instrument outside their specialisation.

*The employer determines a lot, really. Now, I have too few students, because some of my students have quit. I am a little anxious about what will happen. It has happened earlier that other teachers have had to teach other instruments than their main instrument. And that can happen to me too. (William)*

The struggle between the discourses is evident, as the importance of specialisation in the *professionalism* discourse challenges the notion of efficiency in the *NPM* discourse.

### **Non-specified time**

Non-specified work time is important to the teachers, and they appreciate being able to determine when and where work is done.

*I think it is a good thing that we have this freedom. To do things when you are ready, to spend three hours on a Sunday arranging music because that's when you have the peace and quiet you need. [...] The non-specified hours are a strength for the school of arts. (Hannah)*

Some of the teachers are happy with the non-specified time they have, others feel they have less non-specified time than before and that the actual time they have is easily filled with other tasks they are told to do.

School C does not have the same time pressure as the other two schools, as elaborated earlier, which is also evident regarding non-specified time. This is what one of the teachers there answered when asked whether she had enough non-specified time.

*Yes, I do. It is very generous of our headteacher. It is mutual trust. [...] I think that when you get to do it the way you want, you do it properly. You want to give something back. [...] I know many other places where it is not like that. (Teacher, school C)*

In contrast, William describes distrust in his relation to a management that is eager to get 'the most out of everything'. He refers to a lack of flexibility which constrains his ability to vary his teaching in the way he believes is best for the students. He sees the management as strict regarding how the teachers should use their teaching hours, and this lack of flexibility makes it difficult for him to venture beyond the regular lessons.

*The management told us that we have to teach all the hours we are supposed to teach [each week]. If we have a concert on a Tuesday, the Tuesday students have to get their lessons some other time. That has negatively influenced my eagerness to collaborate on projects. [...] You wear out the students if you have to teach them all these hours. I remember attending seminars where they told us to turn the schedule upside down and go to concerts or swim: do something else with the students once in a while. Our school, however, has left that philosophy. [...] I used to have these concerts where all my students participated. I made waffles for hours and it was really enjoyable. But the concerts only lasted for an hour, which meant I 'owed' the students four or five hours. This has led to a fear of collaboration because you just end up 'owing' hours. (William)*

#### 4.4.2 Facilities and resources

'Facilities' and 'resources' are other framework conditions that the discourses of *professionalism* and *NPM* struggle over articulating. This involves teachers' need for having their own space, and issues regarding co-location with other institutions. 'Resources' is also connected to the schools' activities, especially to the in-depth programme.

##### **Co-location**

Several schools of arts are co-located with other institutions. The curriculum framework (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016) encourages schools of arts to collaborate with the local cultural community in using facilities, and asserts that schools of arts should be able to use other municipal buildings free of charge. School A is located in the municipal cultural centre. The municipality owns the building, which accommodates both municipal institutions and commercial actors. This public–private collaboration connects to the *NPM* discourse, and has led to tension around the use of the cultural centre facilities, as pointed out by one of the teachers in school A.

*What is disappointing is that the cultural centre only wants to promote celebrities within the music field. Why? Maybe they think that it [a school of arts teacher's concert] does not generate enough money, or that only the best musician is good enough. (Teacher, school A)*

The reasons the teacher gives for being excluded – the ideas of market orientating and pleasing the 'clients' – connects to the *NPM* discourse. Who does the audience want to listen to and who would generate the most money? This commercialism could be problematic when schools of arts are to collaborate or co-locate with commercial actors.

To be co-located with a music section at an upper secondary school (run by the county municipality), however, could be beneficial for a school of arts, as county municipalities in general have higher budgets than local municipalities. Kristoffer explains how this type of co-location was planned in his school, but did not happen due to commercial reasons.

*It is an artificial separation there. The upper secondary school is brand new, and it is empty after three o'clock. [...] We had an agreement [of co-locating], but the upper secondary school demands a rent that is just beyond everything, so the municipality said no. Now, a great chamber hall, which we could have used for ensemble playing, is available in the evenings, meanwhile we have to move desks and teach in classrooms. [...] And the black box there, which our drama teachers really need, is rented out to a private ballet school. They pay good money. I believe that the reason we didn't get to rent it is due to economy. The upper secondary school can make money on renting out to others, but we as a municipal institution have limited money. The politicians are not willing to pay for it, so we don't have the facilities we need. (Kristoffer)*

Commercial interests and the idea of 'doing more with less', which are central in the *NPM* discourse, could therefore make the co-locating difficult.

Co-locating with compulsory schools, which are run by the local municipality, is not without problems either. Teachers in this study assert that compulsory school buildings are filled with activities to a larger degree than before. Hence, available and suitable rooms (for example large rooms for orchestra rehearsals) are not something one can expect to find. New compulsory school buildings are built with the minimum of what is needed, again in line with *NPM* principles, making them difficult for schools of arts to use. School C is co-located with a compulsory school, and they can use each other's rooms. Still, this co-location has created problems. One of the teachers complain about untidy rooms in the compulsory school part with no air conditioning or heating system in the evenings, while another is distressed about the compulsory school using 'their' rooms.

*I initially thought the small rooms downstairs were ours, but when I came to work one day, I found four guitarists from the compulsory school sitting there practising. [...] And there are many instruments there and sheet music... (Teacher, school C)*

A consequence of an increase in group teaching (discussed earlier), is a greater need for more large rooms. Teachers from all three schools complain about the rooms being too small, even the teachers in school A which has a new building.

*It is so sad that when you get a completely new building, it is built without thought for what is going to happen inside it. We have worked towards more group teaching, more across instrumental groups, and then you don't have rooms*

*to do it. We are stuck with studio rooms, which represent an old way of thinking about teaching. [...] These things take a lot of energy away from teaching, which will affect the teaching negatively. (Teacher, school A)*

Here, the *NPM* discourse is dominating as the building is built with a minimum amount of rooms and minimal room size, in order to get the most out of the money.

### **Your own space**

*Some teachers use the compulsory school's classrooms. You move around, you are never in the same room. I do not have my own room, but I wish I had. (Sofie)*

The importance of your own space relates to the *professional* discourse as it allows teachers to spend their time and energy on teaching instead of logistics. It also makes it possible to be more flexible in your practice. When everything needed for teaching is in the room, one does not need to plan as much in advance. In school B, teachers are happy about having their own rooms, although they are small with poor air-conditioning and sound insulation.

*I have my own room now. This is very good because we can use them during the daytime, which we could not at the school where I used to work. We had an office, but we could not practise and play music. I am delighted to have my own room with piano, desk and my own closet. (Teacher, school B)*

In the schools in this study where the teachers do not have their own rooms, there are available desks with computers. However, these are not much in use, because music teachers need a place they can practise and prepare teaching – with sound.

*Those who have their stuff in one of the studios sit there. Because if you are an instrumental teacher, you often sit by the piano because you need to use instruments. We need rooms for each single teacher where we can sit and try things out and play music. We do not have that during the daytime. (Kristoffer)*

Kristoffer raises another issue: the need for rooms where teachers can produce sound during the daytime, which makes co-location with compulsory schools difficult. The lack of rooms results in teachers working and preparing from home and only coming into the school of arts to teach. This makes it harder to create a good working environment and to collaborate with other teachers.

*I think many do as I do: work at home and then come here to make copies. I would like being able to practise at work and having coffee with my colleagues. (Karen)*

The curriculum framework could be understood as supporting the importance of teachers having their own space for preparation and practice, as it states that the quality of the school of arts ‘is dependent on the teachers having a *working situation* where they can develop as professional practitioners’ (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:16, my translation, my emphasis).

### Resources for the in-depth programme

*When asking people [who have in-depth programmes]: What does it take? How do you manage? The answer is resources and time. (Laura)*

There are often not enough resources put aside for various programmes in the school of arts, the teachers in this study assert. The curriculum framework (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016) divides the school of arts’ activities into three programmes: breadth programme, core programme and in-depth programme.<sup>40</sup> The in-depth programme requires the greatest resources. In music, the in-depth programme is supposed to include ensemble training, concert training, and theory and ear training, in addition to strengthened instrumental lessons (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:55). The inclusion of an in-depth programme implies an increased activity level in many schools. This increase is not always accompanied by increased resources. Two of the schools in this study have an in-depth programme where some students get theory and ear training, in addition to one extra instrument lesson per week.

*The lesson are so short that students are offered places at so-called talent programmes. [...] These offer longer lessons, which they [the students] have to pay extra for. So actually it is a poor service, but they get theory lessons for free. (Kristoffer)*

It is unclear whether students accepted in in-depth programmes have rejected the offer due to the extra cost, as this is known in advance and might discourage those who cannot afford it from applying. The schools in this study have included certain in-depth programmes as part of their activities, but without allocating significant extra resources into them. Again, this can be seen as reflecting the presence of a *NPM* discourse where ‘doing more with less’ is encouraged.

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<sup>40</sup> See chapter 1 for explanation.



### 4.4.3 Employment percentage

In this section, I address the dilemmas that come from balancing specialisation and small work positions with full-time jobs and doing things one is not trained to do. Most of the teachers in schools of arts are employed in part-time positions, and several of them in small employment percentages (Nicolaisen & Bråthen 2012; NOU 2013). The teachers in this study have quite high employment percentages, as it was one of the criteria for being included in the study. However, some have previously worked in other schools where their employment percentages were lower.

*In the beginning, I worked in three schools of arts and brought with me a suitcase full of sheet music from place to place. That was tiresome. In the long run, you are not able to do it – as you are supposed to relate to three administrations and attend meetings in all schools. (Kristoffer)*

Low employment percentage is related to specialised competence, which is central to the *professionalism* discourse. Another dimension, however, is that employing people in small percentages according to their speciality and not taking responsibility for them getting a full-time job is reflective of the *NPM* discourse and ‘getting the most out of it’.

Being a specialist working in a small municipality, a teacher is likely to get a low employment percentage. However, being willing to teach outside one’s special field can help get a higher employment percentage, as Hannah did.

*I really liked working in that school so I did a lot of different tasks to be able to get a full job there. Because it is nice not having to be one of those who travel around to five different schools of arts. Then I rather prefer doing other things than I am trained for. (Hannah)*

However, at the school where Hannah works now, she has a high employment percentage teaching her main instrument, which is the reason she changed jobs. Hence, she would ideally teach her special field, but rather than having to travel around she would teach outside her specialisation.

Collaboration could be difficult when teachers have low work percentages.

*The problem is that many of us work in small positions and people are busy everywhere. I work a lot in the mornings, while others have the mornings free and work in the evenings. So it is really hard to find times to meet. (Kristoffer)*

*How would you develop a good collaboration when people hardly are present at the school? And maybe they do not work the same day, either. (Hannah)*

Collaboration is important to the teachers because it contributes to a practice fellowship and a joint understanding. The *collaboration* discourse will be elaborated in chapter 5. Collaboration is also related to the *professionalism* discourse when connected to collective professional identity, which will be discussed in chapter 6.

#### 4.4.4 Outsourcing

Outsourcing, meaning the transferral of services to external providers, is central in the *NPM* discourse. There are signs of outsourcing practices in the data material. A key question in this regard is whether collaboration between schools of arts and compulsory schools should be instead of, or in addition to, general music in school. The NOU (2013) claims that the notion of schools of arts as local resource centres is becoming more pertinent, with the reduction of the aesthetic subjects in compulsory schools. Although this could be seen as a good way of using the competence in the municipality, it can also lead to outsourcing. An initiative known as the Cultural Rucksack is a particularly interesting example in this regard. The Cultural Rucksack is a collaboration between the cultural and educational authorities on a national and local level, in which all schools in Norway take part, where artists visiting compulsory schools introduce pupils to professional arts and culture (Ministry of Culture 2014). Breivik and Christophersen (2013) question whether the Cultural Rucksack and other external cultural initiatives could represent a beginning of outsourcing of arts education in school, and whether those initiatives in the long run could participate in weakening arts education instead of strengthening it.

An embrace of outsourcing is *not* evident in the curriculum framework, as it states that '[t]he school of arts' art and culture competence can *supplement* the mandatory education through a close collaboration with the compulsory school system' (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016, my translation, my emphasis). However, in many teachers' experiences, outsourcing is present.

*They [the municipality] will be able to save some teacher positions [in the compulsory school] because when teachers from the school of arts are doing a project in a compulsory school, the teachers there can be set to something else. That is good economy. (Julia)*

While money is a factor, the main reason for outsourcing arts education found in the material is competence, or rather, the lack of music competence (and priority) in compulsory schools.

Some teachers in this study express uncertainty about whether their projects in compulsory schools are intended to be in addition to or instead of regular music classes.

Anne: *This [school of arts coming into the schools] is supposed to be in addition to the regular music classes?*

Nora: *Yes, but that doesn't always happen. It varies a lot between schools. I think it is very strange ... [...] Some say: okay, so this semester you are here, then we don't need the regular music classes. [...] And it varies a lot how the teachers approach this; some ask us what we cover in Kunnskapsløftet<sup>41</sup> – 'could we cross this out'? Others are not present at all, they do not know what we are doing.*

*The compulsory school should in fact have additional music lessons, but in practice that rarely happens, so we take over the music education. (William)*

However, neither William nor Nora see it as their task to relate to, or fulfil, the mandatory written curriculum for the compulsory school.

In the material, there is also evidence of teachers opposing outsourcing practices.

Lucas: *There is talk about the school of arts going into the compulsory school, but I think rather that the educational institutions should do their job regarding music. [...] At some schools, there are music teachers doing a great job, but other places: none.*

Anne: *And then you would prefer those schools to have good music teachers employed instead of being served by the school of arts?*

Lucas: *Yes.*

*We don't want to go into the schools and take over their education. We believe we should be a resource in addition to, and collaborate with, the schoolteachers so they get more tools to keep on teaching music. However, I don't think it has worked that way. [...] I believe in taking advantage of the competence we have here and collaborating with the schools in order to make the music teaching in compulsory schools better. (Lucy)*

What is not present in the material are issues regarding whether the school of arts could benefit from collaboration with compulsory schools. The teachers are concerned about how they as school of arts teachers and music specialists could help the compulsory schools. Hence, they see themselves as part of a profession where they as specialists could 'help' those lacking specialised training and knowledge (Freidson 2001; Molander & Terum 2008a) – in this case the compulsory school and its music teachers. This relates to the *professionalism* discourse.

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41 Mandatory written curriculum for the compulsory schools.

There is also another sort of possible outsourcing present in the material, namely outsourcing of the in-depth programme *from* the school of arts to other institutions. The lack of resources connected to this programme, as addressed earlier, could move schools to seek out other options, like regional or national programmes, for advanced students.

#### **4.5 Discourses of *school of arts as school* and *school of arts as leisure activity***

Should the school of arts have responsibility for educating the next generation of musicians or primarily be a place for children wanting to participate in leisure activities without putting much effort into it? The institutional discourses of *school of arts as school* and of *school of arts as leisure activity* are observed in the data material as they struggle over articulating what kind of institution the school of arts is and what it should be. This makes the 'societal role' the nodal point and floating signifier in these discourses. Central to the *school of arts as school* discourse is ideas of 'progression', 'artisanship', 'own effort', 'continuation' and 'career pathway'. Central to the *school of arts as leisure activity* discourse is 'fun', 'youth club', 'easy' and 'receive'.

Most of the school of arts' activities are voluntary, based in the afternoons, and are not bound by a mandatory curriculum framework. However, there are traits compatible with being a school, such as expectations of progression and of students being engaged, committed and prepared. In addition, the school of arts is enshrined within the Education Act. The teachers' practice and aim of teaching depend on whether the discourse of *school of arts as school* or *school of arts as leisure activity* has hegemony. In this chapter, the struggle between these discourses will be discussed in relation to trends the teachers perceive in their own institutions, in compulsory schools and in society. In particular, this relates to what they see as crucial in instrumental teaching, namely students making an effort.

##### **4.5.1 A school**

The name of the institution itself, *school of arts*, points towards the *school of arts as school* discourse having hegemony. After all, the name could for instance have been 'music and arts centre'. To call something a school signals a certain

status, as taking responsibility for educating young people appears to be more important and relevant to society than ‘just’ offering them a leisure activity. Following from this, being a school would probably generate the most resources. The schools of arts started as music schools, where children could learn an instrument (see chapter 1). This implies a commitment to progression and artisanship – hence, the school of arts started out as an institution with many traits of a school.

Within several of the teachers’ utterances, the *school of arts as school* discourse has hegemony. Laura perceives of the school of arts’ primary task to be being a school.

*I hope we continue to be a school and not just a SFO-activity or leisure activity. [...] It is a handicraft to be learned and a form of arts to bring on to the next generation. There has to be a clear profile about what we are and what we are not, so that there is a difference between us and other activities. [...] [I]t is not mandatory, but it has to be a step forward for those who want to go all the way towards music at upper secondary school and higher music education. Per today, I think we struggle to be that. (Laura)*

In the *school of arts as school* discourse, progression is central.

*One relates to the idea that there should be progression. One relates to it in the instrumental teaching because when studying to become a music teacher there was clear directions on how to plan your teaching. (Nora)*

To Nora, focusing on instrumental progression is part of the tradition she has endorsed since studying music. Hence, if the school of arts should offer instrumental lessons without progression as a main focus, many teachers need to ‘re-think’ their own instrumental training. The idea of progression is also important, however, because seeing your student progress is motivating for the teacher.

*Eighty percent of the students do not practise, and they are here because .... Yes, I sometimes wonder why they are here, actually. But it is a huge pleasure with those few who ... When things happen from one lesson to another, that is what is fun. (Ellen)*

Jakob is one of the teachers who perceives of the school of arts as a school. He sees the increasing demand for assessment and reporting in the compulsory school also becoming visible in the school of arts. While he dislikes time being spent on reporting instead of teaching, he also sees the advantage of some reporting as it legitimises the notion of a school. For the same reason, he also welcomes parent–teacher meetings (which originates in the compulsory school).

If the students perceive it to be a school, he believes they will increase their efforts. Jakob also wants to see more sanctions, for instance regarding absence.

*If a 10th grade student has three weeks of exams, it happens that he does not attend my lessons for those weeks. However, I cannot just kick him out of the school [of arts]. I find this difficult. (Jakob)*

Julia describes a change in her teaching from focusing only on progression and students becoming musicians, to acknowledging diversity among students. This indicates a shift away from the hegemony of the *school of arts as a school* discourse in Julia's teaching, towards a situation where both discourses are present.

#### 4.5.2 The importance of practising

The importance of students practising is related to 'progression' and 'own effort' in the *school of arts as school* discourse subscribed to by most teachers in this study. When asked which age group he preferred teaching, William claimed that age does not matter, but effort does.

*I think students who practise are fun (laughter). I get happy when they have practised, and I try not to be too angry if they have not. (William)*

In this regard, teachers are concerned about what they see as a negative trend.

*Unfortunately, the culture for practising is not good. [...] Many students practise too little, and you can wonder what the reason is. But people are very busy; they attend many activities. (Kristoffer)*

For Jakob, progression is important, and he suggests kicking out those students who show lack of interest (elaborated earlier). Although he realises that some instrumental teachers are concerned about not getting enough students, which could jeopardise their employment, he still suggests being stricter. One reason he gives is the cost each student is to society, and the school's obligation to prioritise committed students. The importance of practising relates to the teachers' belief in progression as central in instrumental teaching. I will return to this point in chapter 6, where this is related to the subject position *instrumental teacher*. Another element Jakob addresses is the disproportion between the teacher's specialised competence and the student's lack of progression and interest, as he asserts that he 'struggle[s] with the students doing too little work' in relation to his competence.

Group lessons are a case in point. In Jakob's experiences, students see group lessons almost as having time off, and they practise less. This could indicate the *school of arts as leisure activity* discourse being central in the students' understanding of group lessons: as a way to meet and have fun with fewer requirements than individual lessons.

Both the former and current curriculum frameworks underline the teachers' role in making students practise between lessons.

The school of arts teacher must teach the student to take responsibility for her own effort in and between the lessons. (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:14, my translation)

The teacher has to pay attention to that the student, in a long-term perspective, is becoming her own teacher. [...] Especially when the student only receives teaching once a week, it is important that the teacher is making the student conscious about the importance of practising, good work habits, and what the student herself must take responsibility for in between the lessons in order to achieve expected progression. (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003:74, my translation)

But does this role entail that the teachers are responsible for students actually practising? Some of the teachers in this study do not believe so. Jakob is coping with students not progressing by placing the responsibility with the students: the reason they do not improve is because they do not practise, which, in the end, remains the students' own responsibility.

An interesting statement in the former curriculum framework (above) is that because the students only have lessons once a week, the teachers must teach the students how to be their own teachers. Kristoffer addresses this issue, by asking whether a solution could be to provide more resources so that students can receive more or longer lessons.

*When the lessons are so short, it is very limited what we manage to get out of it. [...] The most important is that the student practise, if they do not, there will be nothing. Not everyone has understood that. (Kristoffer)*

He has seen examples of music schools in other countries where students come several times a week for lessons, orchestra, chamber music and other activities, and he sees the value of organising music schools like that.

### 4.5.3 'Youth in today's society' – the school of arts as school or leisure activity?

Several teachers in this study believe there are too few requirements for youth in today's society: that children are used to getting things easy. Included in this is the view that students in schools of arts do not know what it takes to become good at an instrument. Part of the *school of arts as leisure activity* discourse is the perception of 'youth in today's society' where the signifiers 'easy' and 'receive' are central.

*It is a trend in society that everything should be easy: easy accessible and easy to achieve. But music is not always easy to achieve, especially regarding quality. So there is a conflict between this and the rest of the society, where everything can be consumed, everything can be bought, and everything can be achieved without too much effort for children. This culture is destructive, and can function as a destructive force in relation to the musical human being. (Jakob)*

For schools of arts to cope with this mind-set, Jakob believes we must increase the requirements for the students. However, he sees this as difficult because he believes there are too few requirements for students in the compulsory school system and in the society as a whole. To him, this influences the culture in the schools of arts. John asserts that much of what children do today, like playing computer games, does not require as much effort as learning to play an instrument. He believes many students have not understood this distinction. William prefers students that work independently, and tries to encourage them to do so. However, he finds it difficult, because the students expect teachers to teach them instead of taking responsibility themselves: they want to receive instead of putting in effort. (This relates to the subject position *coach*, which will be elaborated in chapter 6). The curriculum framework, however, stresses the importance of teachers putting forward requirements in order to increase students' effort.

The teacher's requirements and expectations towards results is of great importance for the student's efforts and motivation. (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:14, my translation)

Alex believes that some students and parents are failing to understand what it means to be a student in a school of arts. He teaches at another school of arts in addition to the one in this study. There, he teaches at a youth centre in the afternoons, when no other teachers are there. He experiences lack of effort put



into it by the students, and claims that neither students nor parents regard the school of arts as a school.

*Now, I sit alone at a youth centre and teach, and the students hardly even recognise that they are students in a school of arts. They believe they attend the youth centre and play guitar there. (Alex)*

Location, as discussed earlier, seems to be of relevance here. Would the students think they attended a youth club and participated in a leisure activity with few commitments if the lessons were held at a school of arts building where they would be part of a learning environment? Alex also upholds that the parents do not understand that they are required to follow up with their children. Hence, he is invested in the *school of arts as schools* discourse, while he sees the students and parents opposed to that, as part of the *school of arts as leisure activity* discourse. Kristoffer also addresses the importance of parents being involved. He believes it is essential that parents understand what it takes to be a student in a school of arts.

*You have to get the parents to work with you, so they follow up on their children practising. I hear stories about parents not having any idea what their children are doing; they just drive them to lessons. They do not follow up at home and have no clue what the student is doing. Then, it does not work out very well. (Kristoffer)*

The *school of arts as school* discourse is also visibly connected to ‘continuation’.

*Children try something and then they realise it was not so fun so they quit and do something else instead. This leads to lack of continuity. As it has become, many are shopping experiences instead of doing the same thing for years. I think that is a pity. (Alex)*

The lack of continuity Alex sees indicates the centrality of the *school of arts as leisure activity* discourse in how the teachers view the youth culture. How the students themselves view it is not part of this study.

## 4.6 Summary of institutional discourses

The analysis has identified the following institutional discourses in the school of arts field: *breadth, depth, local autonomy, centralised governance, ‘the House’, decentralisation, NPM, professionalism, school of arts as school* and *school of arts as leisure activity*. They all try to articulate what kind of institution the school of arts should be. In order to do that, the discourses try to define what it means for the school to be ‘for everyone’, how quality is best ensured, how the school

should be a local resource centre, to what extent framework conditions are required, and what kind of societal role the school should occupy.

The analysis has also revealed the discourses in the field often being in binary oppositions and struggling over defining the institution. However, the struggles do not end in one discourse achieving hegemony, because one discourse can never establish itself so determinedly that it is the only discourse structuring the social (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001). The school of arts is a field with several discourses at play. The institutional discourses are identified in the language used by different actors: in interviews with sixteen teachers and in public policy documents (Conservative Party 2015; Ministry of Culture 2009; Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003, 2016; Office of the Prime Minister 2013). The discourses identified in those sources of data are present in the field. However, if other teachers from other schools were interviewed, other discourses could have been identified. There is also a time aspect here, as discourses are only a temporary and partial fixation of meaning, and fixation of meaning is contingent: it could always be different (Laclau & Mouffe 2001). Hence, which discourses being dominant in the field will most likely change as time goes by. In the data material in this study, however, the two most central institutional discourses are those of *breadth* and *depth*. They are also the most explicitly articulated discourses in the documents. However, one of the aims of this study has been to identify discourses that are not explicit.

Although the discourses compete over fixing the meaning of different nodal points and floating signifiers, they are all connected and interact with each other. After all, they are all trying to articulate what kind of institution the school of arts should be. An example of this is how the *professionalism* discourse, in addition to articulating the framework conditions, is expressed in the discussion on how to ensure quality: by local autonomy or centralised governance. In the *professionalism* discourse, the profession's autonomy is important for the quality of work performed, and the profession is itself responsible for ensuring quality (Fauske 2008; Freidson 2001). One reason for this is the professions' use of discretion, which is not possible with centralised governance.

The *professionalism* discourse is also related to the discourses of *breadth* and *depth* because of jurisdiction. Jurisdiction implies that an occupational group has the right to determine the qualification for particular jobs and the nature of the tasks to be performed (Freidson 2001), and a profession is bound to sets of tasks through jurisdiction (Abbott 1988). This link is neither absolute nor permanent; rather, the system of professions is an interacting system. Within

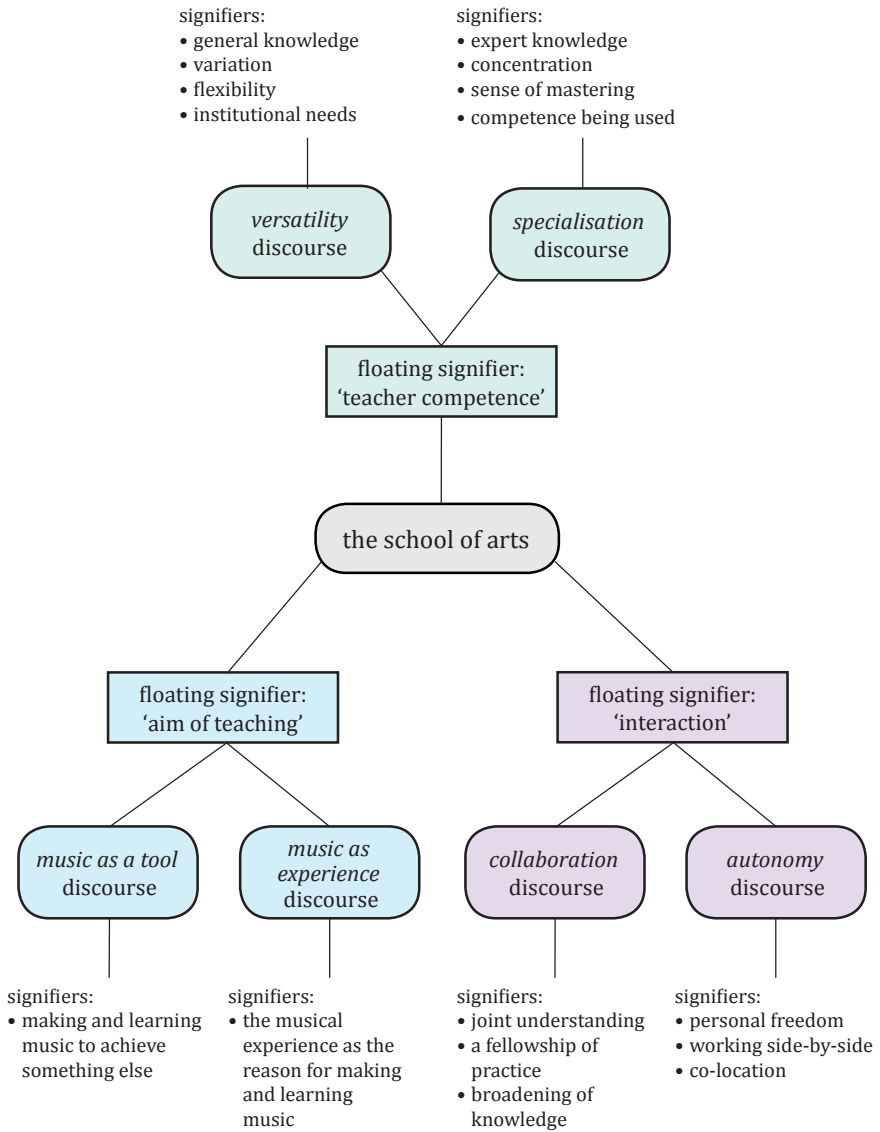
this system, professions compete over jurisdiction (Abbott 1988). A new occupational group could make claims that classify a particular problem, and then claim they are the ones who can solve it (Abbott 1988:40). The music teaching profession currently has jurisdiction over teaching music in schools of arts (elaborated in chapter 2). However, if the *breadth* discourse achieves hegemony other professions or occupational groups could have the opportunity to take over jurisdiction. A possible scenario is that the schools of arts are required to perform other (and broader) tasks than currently expected. This could lead to other occupational groups claiming a lack of compliance between music teachers' competence and these new, broad tasks, and therefore are claiming the right to perform these instead of the music teachers. Those occupational groups could be music therapists, cultural workers, or general arts teachers. The same problem could arise if the *depth* discourse achieves hegemony: an occupational group claiming jurisdiction over in-depth tasks could be musicians, as they could claim the need for their specialisation and experience for performing those tasks. An argument for jurisdiction could be their ability to function as musical role models and mentors.

Currently, neither the *breadth* nor the *depth* discourse has hegemony. Rather, the field is quite open, with several discourses struggling to define it. Several discourses at play could be positive, as this implies diversity, but several discourses in the field can also lead to conflict. According to discourse theory, meaning is fixed by its difference to something else (Laclau & Mouffe 2001). This implies that the social is constituted in ways that exclude other ways (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). Hence, there will always be a conflict between different ways of articulating meaning – also in the school of arts. One 'solution' is therefore to accept the differences and struggles, and respect opposing views, instead of trying to unite the different discourses (which is not possible) or to work for one discourse to achieve hegemony (which is only possible temporarily). These issues relate to Mouffe's (2005a, 2013) discussion of antagonism and agonism, (elaborated in chapter 2). The school of arts field could be seen as a 'pluri-verse' where each other's differences are acknowledged, and where potential conflicts arise on an agonistic level instead of as antagonism (Mouffe 2005a, 2013). In the school of arts field, it is also a matter of balancing private and social needs: balancing the *right to an education* and the *right for freedom in education* (Heimonen 2003). Balancing equality of opportunities and individuals' needs is crucial in a school that has as its vision to be for everyone.

## 5 Teacher discourses in the school of arts

*A school of arts is nothing but the people working there. (Ellen)*

The teachers are essential in schools of arts. Teacher discourses concern and articulate perceptions of what a teacher in the school of arts is; they try to imbue 'teacher' with meaning, which makes 'teacher' the nodal point and floating signifier. The teacher discourses identified in the data material are in binary oppositions. These are discourses of *versatility* and *specialisation*, of *collaboration* and *autonomy*, and of *music as a tool* and *music as experience*. Moreover, as shown in Figure 2, these binary oppositions should be understood as struggles to fill three distinct floating signifiers with meaning, namely 'teacher competence', 'interaction', and 'aim of teaching'. The figure also shows how each of the six teacher discourses are established by a set of signifiers linked in a chain of equivalence. This will be elaborated in this chapter.



**Figure 2:** Teacher discourses

## 5.1 Discourses of *versatility* and *specialisation*

The most central teacher discourses are the binary discourses of *versatility* and *specialisation*. They are struggling to articulate the competence that teachers in the school of arts represent. This makes 'teacher competence' the nodal point and floating signifier in these discourses. Central to the *versatility* discourse is 'general knowledge', 'variation', 'flexibility', and 'institutional needs'. Central to the *specialisation* discourse is 'expert knowledge', 'concentration', 'sense of mastering', and 'competence being used'. 'Teacher competence' articulated by the *versatility* discourse or the *specialisation* discourse is primarily related in the data material to issues regarding genre, tasks, employment percentage, working hours, and variation. This will be discussed in this chapter, after an elaboration of the two discourses.

### ***Versatility* discourse**

*In order to be a school of arts teacher and be part of a collegium, you have to be in possession of special attributes; you need to have a broad understanding of what it is like to work with music and arts education for children. (Ellen)*

The NOU (2013) describes the historical development of the school of arts from music schools with primarily individual instrumental teaching to today's expansion of the school's tasks and mandate. A result of this development, the NOU claims, is the need for more varied teacher competence. The curriculum framework (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:16) emphasises four categories of teacher competence required: artistic, pedagogical, various social competences (communicative, reflective, relational, and work ethical), and administrative competences (leader, curriculum, and assessment). Hence, it accentuates a versatile teacher competence.

The *versatility* discourse is also identified in teachers' expressions about their own competence. First, they describe a need for a broad understanding of what it means to work in a school of arts. Second, versatility responds to a need for flexibility, to tackle the diversity of things going on in the school today and in an unpredictable future.

*Maybe you need to learn a new instrument, maybe jump in on a percussion instrument. [...] You need to dare to do those things. You don't need to be an expert at once. 'Because you are a musician, right?' And all these things you don't know about yet, because this institution is changing. (Ellen)*

Ellen believes that as a specialist at one instrument, you are a musician, and as a musician, you can transfer skills and knowledge to other instruments

and art forms. The *versatility* discourse is also present when teachers stress the importance of students being open minded. Versatile teachers can be role models in this regard.

*That they [the students] can experience their teacher in other settings make them not have this unilateral view of their teacher just sitting by his instrument teaching them. It leads to the students expanding their horizons and seeing people as versatile. (Jakob)*

### **Specialisation discourse**

The teachers in this study are eager to avoid taking on too many different tasks. They also strive towards a sense of achievement, and want their competence to be used. All of this is connected to the *specialisation* discourse. Specialisation is framed in the data material in opposition to a workday that easily can become too varied. For many teachers, being acknowledged as a specialist is necessary in order to be allowed to concentrate on fewer things. Hannah quit her job at another school because she wanted more time to teach her main instrument, which she was allowed in the school she now teaches.

*I felt the need to specialise more on one thing, because in the end it was just too many different things we needed to have under control [...]. (Hannah)*

Specialisation is also connected to a sense of mastering, which is important to the teachers. This is mostly related to instruments and genres. Kristoffer, for instance, teaches his main instrument, but has played and studied other instruments. He does not feel like a specialist on these instruments, however, and prefers teaching only his main instrument.

This relates to what Ingersoll and Merrill (2011:190) address as 'out-of-field teaching' (see chapter 1), which refers to 'the extent to which teachers are assigned to teach subjects which do not match their fields of specialty and training'. Teaching subjects outside the teachers' speciality leads to qualified teachers becoming unqualified (Ingersoll & Merrill 2011). The limit of a teacher's competence is not given, however, because who should decide a teacher's competence: the teacher herself, the headteacher, or others? In professionalism, it is the members of a profession who, by the use of discretion, decide what they can and cannot do with their competence (Freidson 2001; Molander & Terum 2008a). 'Out-of-field teaching' is also connected to specialisation as a way of getting to use competence. The teachers have specialised competence they have spent years gaining, and they see it as important to get to use it in their work.

Being able to use one's competence is related, in the data material, to genre and level. Kristoffer, for instance, has specialised in classical music. He does teach other genres, but only up to a certain level. Beyond that, he sends his students to another teacher who is an expert in that genre. Lucy expresses a similar correlation between education level and genre specialisation.

*When you become a school of arts teacher, you do not get far with romances and opera (laughter). However, romances and opera is what I fancy teaching the most, because then I feel I have the most to offer. [...] It is also a lot of fun with the advanced students, because then I get to use more of my knowledge and of myself. (Lucy)*

Genre will be further discussed later in this chapter.

### 5.1.1 Versatility and/or specialisation

In the future, a school of arts teacher is one who can do many things, but who also has high competence in all he is doing. (Jakob)

In both the curriculum frameworks and in the interviews, a need for versatile *and* specialised teacher competences in schools of arts is expressed. However, the teachers are concerned about their ability to possess both at the standard they see necessary. They recognise the benefits of having both versatile and specialised competence, but find it difficult to achieve in practice. Nora is worried that the *versatility* discourse is getting hegemony in her school.

*I hope that we still can be able to teach advanced students, that we are not becoming only 'potatoes' [multi-taskers, or versatile]. I am a bit sceptical towards the practice at our school where everybody is supposed to know so much, that we are supposed to be so creative, we are supposed to do everything. I am worried that by following this line of thought, the ability to play an instrument well is forgotten. [...] One should in fact have different professions within each special field, but then you would lose some of the holistic way of thinking. [...] I think it would be nice if everybody knew a lot, but at the same time, I want us to be good at our instruments and be able to teach that properly. (Nora)*

While the curriculum frameworks and the teachers stress the need for both versatile and specialised teacher competences, it is not a given that all teachers need to possess both. An alternative would be a more diverse organisation, where some teachers could hold versatile competence while others hold various specialised competences. In combination, such a school of arts would represent versatility. Several of the teachers see a solution where the collegium combined holds both versatile and specialised competences.



*The school of arts field is in need of a broader teacher competence, at least if it should be a resource centre. But do all teachers need a versatile competence? Could we allow a pianist, who is an excellent classical pianist [to teach in the school] when that is the only thing he knows? Or would that be 'outside' the rest of the teachers? This is difficult to balance. [...] I think it is a good thing that teachers can be experts on some arenas, but the fact that the school of arts has developed towards a broader focus makes it more difficult. (Emma)*

*I think that one of the strengths of the school of arts is that you have a combination of competences. Some [teachers] are more introvert, some more extrovert. A diversity of professional competences. (Julia)*

*I have in recent years realised that everybody has something to offer, that a collegium need all varieties [of teachers]. (Karen)*

The current curriculum framework states that '[t]he individual school of arts should emphasise and stimulate different teacher competences' (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:16, my translation) and the former asserted that the school needs to facilitate for a versatile work community where the teachers can complement each other (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003:77). This could indicate that there should be room for teachers having different competences. Also evident in the current curriculum framework is a notion of the school of arts teachers as being in possession of a manifold of competences as it describes the professional school of arts teacher's many roles (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:16). This relates to the subject position *school of arts teacher*, which will be elaborated in chapter 6.

Also interesting in the former curriculum framework, is that the level of specialisation was dependent on what each school was able to recruit.

*The school of arts needs teachers with a versatile competence, teachers that can play and stimulate the children's artistic potential [...], but also teachers with as much specialised competence in each subject as it is possible to recruit. (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003:21, my translation)*

This leads to a discussion about whether curriculum frameworks should represent great visions or aims possible to achieve with today's resources. (A discussion that is outside the scope of this study.)

Among the teachers in this study, the *specialisation* discourse is dominant. To them, being a specialist is a requirement for performing their job in a satisfactory way. This is a central trait of professionalism, according to Freidson (2001). The teachers also believe, however, that the *versatility* discourse is increasingly articulating teacher competence. They do not necessarily oppose this development, but they do fear for the music teaching profession if the *versatility* discourse achieves hegemony.

*It looks like there will be need for more versatile competence. But I hope there will be a need for specialised competence as a foundation. There has to be room for specialisation in the school of arts. You have to be flexible, but I hope we are not getting to the point where you are supposed to manage everything between the earth and the sky. If we are to reach for everything, there might be nothing left. (Laura)*

There is also concern that the *versatility* discourse is becoming increasingly dominant in the higher music education field.

*You see how the music education programme has developed during the time I studied there and later: it has become more versatile. It is maybe what we need, but if you get advanced students, should you then just pass them on? To where? (Nora)*

Nora expresses a dilemma between the utility value of a more versatile programme and the need for specialised training in order to be able to teach all students.

A need for specialised training is evident in statements about teachers as artists. In the data material, 'teacher competence' is mostly articulated by the *specialisation* discourse when related to 'teacher as artist'. To be a musician (artist) presupposes specialised competence (see chapter 2). The curriculum frameworks emphasise the importance of teachers being musicians and artists.

The teachers' role as active performers create good role models for the students. (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:16, my translation)

Listening to fellow students, teachers and other musicians is part of the musical training. Due to this, the teacher as a musical role model and performer is very important for the student. (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003:28, my translation)

Being good role models is put forward as the main reason for the importance of teachers being artists in the curriculum frameworks. But teachers in this study identify with the subject position *musician* for other reasons as well. To them, being a musician also implies a desire to play music and to have fun while playing, and it allows them to teach their instruments in a better way.

*It cannot only be pedagogics; you have to be good at your instrument as well. [...] You have to have reached a certain level in order to be able to know where the shoe pinches and know how to do things. You need a technical understanding and a musical understanding; you need good musical training. (Lucy)*

This will be further addressed in relation to the subject position *musician* in chapter 6.

To summarise, a need for both versatile and specialised teacher competence is identified in interviews and the curriculum frameworks. However, a discourse

will always try to establish hegemony, which means there will at all times be struggle over meaning (Laclau & Mouffe 2001). In the curriculum frameworks, both discourses are present, but the *versatility* discourse is dominant. In the interviews with the teachers, however, the *specialisation* discourse is most central. In their understanding, specialisation is emphasised because of the quality of tasks performed, in line with the notion of professionalism (Abbott 1988; Freidson 2001), while versatility is seen as a requirement for the school of arts as an institution.

### 5.1.2 Genre

Genre<sup>42</sup> is related to ‘teacher competence’. Having specialised competence in one or a few genre(s) means your competence is articulated by the *specialisation* discourse. Having general knowledge about several genres, on the other hand, implies that it is articulated by the *versatility* discourse. Findings from the interviews show that the teachers have a larger repertoire of genres when teaching than when performing music.

In the previous section, whether each teacher was required to have versatile competence or if versatility could be obtained with an ensemble of teachers were discussed. This discussion is also related to genre. In particular, this concerns instruments that attract many students, such as piano, guitar and voice. Here, there are possibilities of having specialised teachers within different genres.

*There are many students playing the piano, which makes it possible to have one teacher who focuses on the classical repertoire and another who knows more genres, or maybe only the jazz-pop-rock genre, which we are starting to see at our school. I think there are possibilities there. [...] I don't think that we can conclude what is best, but for instruments that have a limited employment percentage [fewer students] maybe we ought to rely on teachers with a broad genre competence in the future. (Jakob)*

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42 Genre is a debated area, as music can be divided into different genres in different ways. In addition, a lot of music is hard to divide at all. And is it even productive to speak of musical genres? I will not enter this discussion here. Genre in this study is understood discursively, as constructed through the language of the teachers. Ruud (2016:219) emphasises that when genre is understood discursively, the discourse about what is, for instance, jazz or classical contributes in constituting the genres. The teachers in this study mainly speak of the genres classical, popular and folk music. They define themselves within a genre, and others within other genres they see is different.

Traditionally, the classical genre discourse dominates in the school of arts. According to the teachers, however, this is starting to change.

*We now seek to employ teachers that know more genres because there is a need for it, both for the students but also in the local community (Jakob).*

Jakob has mixed feelings about what he believes is a trend. He sees the benefits of employing teachers with a versatile genre competence, but at the same time, he sees a tendency towards teachers with competence in popular music being preferred when employing new teachers. He presents two parallel arguments in defence of prioritising classical music: i) classical schooling as a base competence, and ii) classical music as a marginalised genre.

*In many cases, for example piano, there is a need for a certain classical schooling before moving on to another genre. (Jakob)*

*You can also turn it around and say that we should focus most on classical music because that genre has a weak position generally, both in society and in the local community. We should have a stronger focus on it in order for it to survive. (Jakob)*

Nora points to recent job advertisements from her school seeming to rank applicants with a popular music or flexible background.

Laura expresses her own limitations when it comes to genre versatility. Trained as a classical piano teacher, she does not feel comfortable playing or teaching outside that genre. Her school recently hired a piano teacher with a background in popular music, which she asserts suits her, as she can concentrate on what she knows the best. This ties into the idea of the school or the collegium having versatile competence because there is a plurality of specialisations combined. Jakob and Laura are both specialists in the classical genre and endorse the idea of being specialists. They see the need for other genres in the school, but the solution for them is, if possible, more teachers teaching the same instrument but within different genre specialisations. Here, 'teacher competence' is articulated by the *specialisation* discourse.

John, on the other hand, sees the value of having a more versatile genre competence. He is also classically trained, but plays some jazz. Because of his classical training, he perceives of himself as a classical specialist but admires new and young teachers with what he believes to be more versatile competence.

*To have more legs to stand on would be good for a person. I believe you would feel happier if you manage to play in more arenas. Only to be in the Classical or Romantic period when there is so much else the youth is interested in... However, we shouldn't go too far, we must not forget what has been. It is both. (John)*

Here, 'teacher competence' and genre are articulated by the *versatility* discourse. John expresses the need of relating to music in which the students are interested in order to motivate them. As most of teachers are specialists in one or a few genre(s) but need to relate to more genres when taking student wishes into account, this is one of the key factors in the struggle between the discourses.

*We need to have a dialogue with the students in order not to push them away. We need to take what they bring in seriously. We cannot sit on our high horses saying: 'Do you want to learn Mozart, my friend?' when he really wishes to play Pirates of the Caribbean, right? Then we play Pirates of the Caribbean, and maybe we do both. I think this is very important, and I see it as a pedagogical platform, really. (Kristoffer)*

Having strong focus on students' wishes, Julia calls 'populist teaching'. She believes motivation is about 'getting hooked' on a piece of music. Student motivation is an important factor in adapting to other genres.

*I use quite a lot of pop music when teaching, which you can get a little tired of, but you have to start where the students think it is fun. The most important thing is that they think it is fun, because then they want to practise, otherwise they go home and do not practise. (Lucy)*

Lucy also uses other genres when teaching because of the belief that it can help the students mentally in developing as singers.

*It is often so nice to go through a little jazz, let yourself loose, dare using your voice, dare jumping out in it. Maybe it goes wrong, but then you learn from it. It is better than going with the safe option all the time and being uptight physically. So I use that as a supplement to classical and opera. (Lucy)*

Several of the teachers in this study adjust genres to the different students, which is related to the use of discretion as they adapt their teaching to the individual needs (Freidson 2001; Molander 2013).

In the interviews, the *versatility* discourse is also present in relation to the notion of 'Bildung'<sup>43</sup> as the importance of giving students an early introduction to various genres and music forms, which will make them capable of choosing their specialisation later. This perspective shows in several of the teachers' statements, and is also a stated aim in school B. Importantly, in order for a school to maintain the Bildung perspective, there is need for versatile competence. Again, this begs the question of whether genre versatility applies to each teacher or to the school as a whole.

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43 (In Norwegian: 'dannelse'). I will not go into theories of Bildung as it is outside the frames of this study's research questions. However, Bildung is here understood as the music subject in a Bildung perspective as it is elaborated in Nielsen (1998) and Hanken and Johansen (1998).

*I think that the school of arts should be responsible for introducing the students to different things, and then, when they are more mature, they can make a choice themselves. They need a foundation for making that choice, which we need to give them. [...] I don't necessarily feel that it is my responsibility, rather the school of arts as an institution. I have my specialisation, and we also have a collaboration with the neighbouring municipalities. (Thomas)*

### 5.1.3 Tasks-based notions of competence

Tasks relate to 'teacher competence' as the data material shows that what teachers do on a routine basis at work shapes their notion of competence. In fact, for several teachers, this is the most important thing defining their competence. Lucy and Laura, who have both been working in schools of arts for a long time, both have a combined specialised and versatile education. However, for many years now, they have mostly used their specialised competence because their tasks have been related to individual instrumental teaching. Because of that, they assert they are no longer in possession of versatile competence. Their competence is now articulated by the specialisation discourse. On the contrary, Hannah and Ellen have a specialised education as classical musicians, but view themselves as having versatile competence because they have been performing various tasks since they started teaching.

*I am starting to see that the more I work in schools of arts, the more versatile my competence gets. But I think it is an advantage to have taken a specialist education because I have a high level on my instrument, which makes it easier to transfer it to other things. [...] You learn the versatility; at least I did. (Hannah)*

There is mutual benefit in different forms of competence, and Hannah states that she might have been even more competent to perform some of the tasks if she had a more versatile education. Both education and practice are important for how the teachers understand their own competence, but for several teachers tasks performed are most important.

All the teachers in this study are trained musicians, but Kristoffer, Lucy and Sofie do not work as musicians and therefore do not see themselves as having that competence. Identifying with, or rejecting, the subject position *musician* will be further discussed in chapter 6. Seeing 'teacher competence' in relation to tasks raises the question of the durability of a competence when it is not in use. How long will you maintain your specialised competence as a musician and instrumental teacher if you stop practising your instrument and stop having instrumental students? Sofie is trained as a specialist instrumental teacher, but

she has gained a versatile competence during work and courses. Sofie does not practise her instrument much anymore, and she says she will not be teaching instrumental students in the future; she will teach only general music groups, conduct or teach in compulsory schools. For how long will she maintain her specialised competence?

As tasks are shaping teachers' perception of competence, who controls and what determines the distribution of tasks is of crucial importance. Lucas claims they are told to perform a variety tasks by management.

*The teachers are put to do a lot of different things, things they maybe didn't think they were going to be doing when they studied. (Lucas)*

Most teachers in this study feel they have some control over which tasks they perform, but in dialogue with the headteacher. However, at any given time some tasks are available and some are not, depending on the discourses in the field. There will be more and varied tasks available if the *versatility* discourse has hegemony, for instance, which could be positive for those teachers with versatile competence, or positive for schools that can recruit teachers with different competences. However, more and varied tasks could also compel teachers to do 'out-of-field teaching' (Ingersoll & Merrill 2011:190) or expand their competence.

#### 5.1.4 Employment percentage and working hours

'Teacher competence' is also related to employment percentage. A specialist on an instrument with few students or in a small school of arts might get only a small employment percentage to teach her/his speciality. Those who want to work full time need to perform many different tasks and have a versatile competence. Hannah was previous employed in a small school.

*I think it must be a challenge in many small workplaces, because it is five percent and ten percent employment. The further out in the countryside you are, the more 'potato' [versatile] you have to be. (Hannah)*

None of the schools in this study is particularly small. Still, most teachers have to perform a variety of tasks if they want a full job within the school. Julia, Nora and William increased their employment percentages by doing projects in compulsory schools in addition to their other tasks. Ellen has increased her employment percentage by teaching piano in addition to her main instrument.

Working hours is another aspect of 'teacher competence'. In order to avoid working too many afternoons, some teachers start to perform daytime tasks such as teaching general music in compulsory schools, projects in SFO, or theoretical subjects in upper secondary schools. Nora and William are examples of this. Performing tasks that differs from the other tasks performed in the school of arts imply the need for another competence. Several of the teachers assert that they lack experience and training in teaching large groups.

*It gets worse when the groups get larger, I do not have that competence in the same way. I am so impressed when I go into compulsory schools and see the students walking in a line into the classroom, working peacefully and ... that really impresses me. That is something I do not think I manage. (Laura)*

In contrast, Sofie and Emma have versatile competence in teaching both individual lessons and large groups, and compare themselves to other colleagues who they believe lack this competence.

*Only a few of the teachers have competence in teaching groups. So if there are tasks where you need this competence, the headteacher would ask me to do them. (Sofie)*

*What do you do if you are going to teach general music in a compulsory school? [For many teachers] in this school of arts, I think that issue is as far away than teaching math almost, because they have never done it. (Emma)*

A general impression in this study is that the teachers' experience of lack of competence in teaching in compulsory schools (or SFO) is connected to group size to a greater extent than content.

In addition to teaching in compulsory schools as a solution for getting more daytime work, some of the teachers request administrative tasks. Some do so to balance family commitments, as working in the afternoons and evenings do not combine well with having small children. William has asked for administrative tasks because of working hours, to get more variation in work tasks, and to get to use all his competence.

*I wish the school of arts had more tasks, which it would if we had managed to create a collaboration across the municipality. We could have done some administrative work in the culture sector a couple of days, for example. [...] We could have used more of our competence in the municipality. (William)*

High employment percentage and daytime working hours are related to the *versatility* discourse. On the contrary, working voluntary part time could be connected to the *specialisation* discourse. Hannah chose to reduce her employment percentage in the former school in order to avoid having to perform too many different tasks. Lucas chose to reduce his position to avoid too much work



in the evenings. Performing more versatile tasks in, for example, compulsory schools could maybe have been another option. The *specialisation* discourse is present when reducing positions is the preferable option. This relates to the Fafo report (Nicolaisen & Bråthen 2012) addressing whether voluntary part-time really is truly voluntary (see chapter 1). Employment percentage and working hours are not elaborated in either curriculum frameworks.

### 5.1.5 Variation

*I really like my job, and I like that it is so varied. (Nora)*

Nora teaches instrumental students, collaborates with compulsory schools and conducts a wind band. Like many of the teachers, she expresses a need for variation in her job to be satisfied. But teachers also want variation to be balanced, as performing too many different tasks is stressful. This relates to the *specialisation* discourse, because a limited number of tasks could allow you to hold a specialised competence related to the tasks performed. In the data material, 'teacher competence' is articulated by the *versatility* discourse when linked to the signifier 'variation', where variation consists mostly of related tasks, level, and time. Julia, for instance, says she likes having students across all levels (beginner, intermediate, advanced), as it encourages adapting her role as a teacher, which she finds exciting.

Variation over time is expressed by several teachers as a need for breaking up a workday that otherwise gets too monotonous. Some have taken supplementary education in administration and management, to get more varied tasks. Alex works both as an instrumental teacher and with administration.

*I like having varied tasks... [...] I have visualised the scenario [working full job as an instrumental teacher] sometimes, but that is a lot of students per week. I am glad I have more variation than that. (Alex)*

Having a full job teaching instrumental students is not something many teachers want.

*I would never have managed to have instrumental students in a hundred percent position. Then, I don't think I would have been a good teacher. (Sofie)*

Sofie asserts that she does not only need her days to be varied, but also weeks and years. She even likes not knowing everything about her job from a year to the next.

Other teachers also express a similar sentiment: Variation over time supports personal development. Most of the teachers expressing this have been working in a school of arts for ten years or more. They say they like their job, but are also longing for new challenges.

*It is a 'could I be used to something else' feeling, the feeling of having done the same things over and over again. You think, is this really good? What am I actually doing now? (Lucas)*

Further education or development courses are another way to avoid stagnation and to achieve a more varied career.

*I have been working quite a few years; it has been a long time since I was a student. I miss focusing especially on one area, working thoroughly with something in order to achieve new knowledge. [...] I would like to immerse myself in something and also get some supervision. [...] I was trained as a specialist in what I am doing now, and if I ever want to do something else, I have to go back to school or teach myself. [...] To me, I think this is about personal development, but for others it could be because they have to. (Thomas)*

The thought of additional training in order to be able to perform other tasks relates to the *specialisation* discourse as the connection to the signifiers 'expert knowledge' and 'mastering' are central.

The school of arts' ambition to be a local resource centre has created opportunities for new and more varied work tasks.

*It [the school being a local resource centre] first and foremost influences my work tasks. And it makes it more interesting because you get to do a lot of different things. [...] I get to play in an orchestra once a week and meet people there, and then I play in the church. (Thomas)*

In the curriculum frameworks, variation is articulated mostly in relation to practice: that teaching needs to be varied in order to adapt to a broad spectre of students and for the students to be motivated and learn from different methods. Hence, there is also a need for variation in organisation, work forms and methods.

## 5.2 Discourses of *collaboration* and *autonomy*

The teacher discourses of *collaboration* and *autonomy* compete to define the interaction between teachers in schools of arts. Hence, 'interaction' is the nodal point and floating signifier. Central to the *collaboration* discourse is 'joint understanding', 'fellowship of practice', and 'broadening of knowledge'.

Central to the *autonomy* discourse is ‘personal freedom’, ‘working side-by-side’, and ‘co-location’. The level and ways of interaction between teachers varies between the different schools and different teachers. Before elaborating further on these discourses, I will clarify some concepts. Working in a school of arts implies having colleagues, and therefore there has to be some sort of *interaction* between the teachers. However, this interaction might entail varying amounts of collaboration. At the one end, teachers may work alone but say ‘hello’ to their colleagues in the hallway; at the other end, teachers may engage in daily collaboration about teaching methods. Interaction does not necessary imply collaboration, but could be articulated in different ways. The collaboration addressed in this chapter is primarily collaboration at teacher level (as opposed to at institutional level).

*Autonomy* as a concept is elaborated in chapter 2. In the literature on professions, autonomy concerns both a profession’s autonomy and the autonomy and freedom of individuals, where an essential part is the freedom individuals in professions have when practising their work (Freidson 2001). Central to the *autonomy* discourse articulating ‘interaction’ is personal freedom. Hence, it is the freedom of individuals that is the focus of this chapter, rather than the autonomy of the profession. Autonomy is also always relative, it can never be fully achieved, as it then would be a useless concept – because it would not have anything to be autonomous from (Laclau 1990). In this context, this implies that there always is some kind of connection between the teachers. Autonomy can only be partially realised, but if the *autonomy* discourse is dominant, personal freedom, working side-by-side, and co-location are central.

### 5.2.1 Collaboration is central

*Without colleagues, this would be a depressing place. (John)*

Having colleagues is important to the teachers in this study. For Ellen, it is the main reason she works in a school of arts.

*Here, you have a collegium. You have people you can work and play music with. That is the main reason I am here. I think it is nice to teach children, but it is also extremely important to have musicians you can be with on a permanent basis and do things with: be creative together. [...] I am not here only because of the teaching, it is more complex. (Ellen)*

In Ellen’s statements, interaction is articulated by the *collaboration* discourse because she works and collaborates with other teachers on a regular basis.

Collaboration also appears as important in other teachers' utterances, for instance in Kristoffer's.

*You have colleagues, right? To be able to collaborate a bit and meet people... In the end, we are social. That is important. The working environment means a lot. (Kristoffer)*

Being around other people is crucial to Julia. For her, this is what makes people who they are: people are formed in contact and communication with each other.

*I believe that when people interact, something will happen. If it only is to eat lunch together, there is something about knowing each other. Then it is easier to start collaborating. [...] If you sit alone in a school and have all the music lessons at that school, you will burn yourself out after some years. (Julia)*

Also in the curriculum frameworks, interaction is mostly articulated by the *collaboration* discourse. This was especially evident in the former curriculum framework, which addressed the topic more often than the current one does.

The staff should function in a community of colleagues that together can reflect upon the school of arts' practical day-to-day life and upon the school's importance for upbringing and education. [...] The teachers have to work together, within and across disciplines. They must collaborate on decision making and planning, implementation and assessment of the school of arts as a whole. (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003:76, my translation)

Collaboration between colleagues in relation to ensuring quality and to the development of teacher competence is emphasised in the curriculum frameworks.

As part of the schools' competence development, it is recommended to make use of colleague-based guidance as method. The intention is that the single teacher should get help from colleagues in order to raise awareness and develop her reflection about teaching and her work as a teacher, but also that the school of arts teachers as an occupational group should develop its professional knowledge, work ethics and practice. (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003:77, my translation)

Increase of competence for teachers through systematic colleague-based collaboration can contribute to teachers' development of their own practice and competence of reflection. (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:14, my translation)

Both these excerpts from the curriculum frameworks and interviews with teachers show that there is a wish for, and intention of, collaboration in schools of arts. However, the next subchapter will discuss the opportunities for interaction and therefore also for collaboration.

### 5.2.2 Possibilities for interaction in the three schools

The three schools in this study differ in the level of interaction between teachers and the ways they interact. In school B, the *collaboration* discourse has hegemony, whereas in school C, the *autonomy* discourse has hegemony. School A is more complex. Here, the *collaboration* discourse is articulated through expectations of collaboration from management. But there is a lack of regulation of collaborative practices, which also gives room for the *autonomy* discourse to articulate the interaction.

School B has a set core time every day when the teachers must be at the school (except those teaching in compulsory schools). They also have regular meetings once a week. Furthermore, the staff is divided into teams that have additional weekly meetings. Generally, the teachers in this school appreciate collaboration, but taking too much time away from teaching can be seen as a negative.

*I enjoy it [the collaboration]. However, I feel it can be too much. Although I think what we have here is luxury. A lot of teachers other places would say this is quite unique. But I think the management and us teachers have different views of it, because the management says that we need more time together. I don't understand what they are talking about, because I don't think we are doing anything but talking to each other. (Teacher, school B)*

School C has no set core time and not much teacher collaboration. The organised collaboration is related to projects, not practice in the daily work.

*It [the collaboration] is not so good, actually. Not much playing together and that sort of things. I collaborate with one teacher, but not the rest. But it is probably something you can facilitate yourself. No one tells us to do it. People sit on their mound and do their own things. (Teacher 1, school C)*

There is some random collaboration going on, however, as this teacher expresses. Another example is two teachers who drive together to work once a week, which for them is an opportunity to talk about practice, students and other issues related to their daily work. Some of the teachers would like more organised collaboration related to student- and practice-focused issues, but others endorse the freedom.

*Some say they want more steering from management, but I disagree. We have the freedom and we take responsibility. (Teacher 2, school C)*

School A has quite a high amount of collaboration, but freedom related to who to collaborate with and what to do.

*We control a lot ourselves. You find someone to work with, which you enjoy being with and ... you do not want a workday to be harder than it has to be, so you collaborate with those you enjoy the most being around. [...] It is a bit arbitrary; it is a bit ad hoc. (Teacher 1, school A)*

Not all teachers in school A embrace this freedom.

*We have time for collaboration; it is part of our job. However, the initiative must come from us; there are no restrictions from the management about when to meet. There is a lot of freedom. [...] However, the holistic structure on collaboration is what is lacking. (Teacher 2, school A)*

The arbitrariness of the collaboration leads to the same students being involved in too many projects and some teachers collaborating a lot more than others do, one of the teachers asserts. None of the discourses has hegemony in school A. There is a wish both from the headteacher and from several teachers for collaboration, but because of lack of facilitating from the management, the *collaboration* discourse is not dominating.

The number of teachers working in part-time positions affects how teachers interact in the different schools. Of the three schools, school C has the highest number of part-time teachers and school B the lowest. This fits with the findings that the *collaboration* discourse has hegemony in school B, whereas the *autonomy* discourse has in school C. One of the teachers in school C asserts that with too many teachers working part-time in a school, collaboration is not possible.

*To collaborate is a problem because of the enormous time pressure and teachers working part-time. If you are to break up the usual schedule and put in some extra, it is a huge puzzle. [...] Small work positions are not good. They should be at least fifty percent. (Teacher 1, school C)*

Another teacher in school C believes collaboration between teachers working in part-time positions is possible through effective communication.

*If the teachers had a set core time, it would be easier to meet and discuss things. However, I am not a big fan of this because I know that many of the teachers work several places and travel around. But we work together on projects, concerts and performances, which I think is no problem. Today it is easy to communicate via phone, email and everything, so I think it works out just fine in our school. (Teacher 2, school C)*

These two ways of seeing collaboration linked to part-time positions could be explained by the difference in tasks and employment percentage between

teacher 1 and 2. Teacher 1 works part-time as an instrumental teacher while teacher 2 also works with administration and have a high employment percentage. Most of the teachers in school C express the need for a time and a place to meet more often, in order to create a fruitful collaboration.

Part of the *collaboration* discourse is connected to what *kind of* collaboration takes place in the schools, and what the teachers prefer to collaborate on. Common for all three schools is collaboration on projects, concerts and performances. In meetings, they tend to discuss organisational issues and strategic visions. Many teachers, however, call for collaboration on issues connected directly to practice: to pedagogical and methodological questions.

*I believe in more control from the management, but with the right focus. It should not be... I think they misuse our time sometimes: you sit there listening to the vision of the municipality when you could have spent the time on subject-specific collaboration. [...] It is something about creating that culture: the culture for collaboration. I believe the headteacher has a difficult task doing that, but it is an important task. (Julia)*

Several teachers in schools A and C ask for better coordination from management regarding collaboration. They want the collaboration to be about practice- and subject-related issues, and they see the value of the headteacher being part of this discussion. Teachers from all three schools call for more informal time to meet colleagues to allow for and to discuss practice- and subject-related issues.

*It is something about the professional community you can have here, meeting people during the breaks and so on. Then, a lot of collaboration happens. [...] Just to meet without having to arrange the meeting. (Kristoffer)*

In contrast to this emphasis on collaboration, the teachers also talk in favour of personal freedom and autonomy.

*It [personal freedom] is important because I am the one who know best how to organise string teaching. Two others know it as well as I do [the two other string teachers], but they are not in management. (Thomas)*

Thomas favours personal autonomy because he has a specialised competence others lack (Freidson 2001). He sees management as an editor; they set the agenda, but the teachers need to have freedom to decide in areas within their special competence.

### 5.2.3 'Collaboration makes you think more broadly'

The idea that collaboration broadens a teacher's understanding and competence is present in the former curriculum framework, which stated that '[i]nterdisciplinary projects should contribute to develop the teacher's professionalism by open up for impulses from colleagues leading to a wider cultural horizon and new knowledge' (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003:71, my translation). Learning from each other implies being somehow different from each other, which links to the idea of maintaining versatility by combining teachers with different specialised competences. This idea is expressed in the interview material.

*It is nice not to be alone all the time, it is always nice to collaborate with colleagues and you also get some input on things you haven't thought about yourself. We complement each other. (Lucy)*

Findings from the data material show that collaboration challenges teachers to think more broadly because the various teachers have different specialised competence from which they can draw inspiration and learn from each other. Emma has been challenged to think beyond her own genre, both due to pressure from the management, but also because she gets inspiration from specialists in other genres.

*It is easier to teach other genres when you can ask other teachers for advice about repertoire and exercises. This has challenged me in thinking more broadly, which is quite important for how I see the profession. [...] Before I came here, I was more sceptical towards teaching classical, which has something to do with me not having a strong classical identity. I think it is a good thing that I have become better at doing that, because I see it is valuable for the students even though it is not my favourite genre. I think the fact that we are many teachers working together has influenced my understanding of what a vocal teacher should know. (Emma)*

Nora explains how working in compulsory schools together with a team of other school of arts teachers expanded her knowledge and broadened her competence.

*I started working in compulsory schools with several others that had worked there for many years. I got a lot of advice and participated in what they did. It was positive and I learned a lot. Now, I have found my own way, at the same time as I have kept some of what they did. (Nora)*

Several of the teachers point to collaboration with teachers in compulsory schools as fruitful. Julia explains that when she first started having projects in compulsory schools, she worked in a team consisting of teachers from the



school of arts as well as the compulsory school. Even the compulsory school's headteacher participated in some of the planning.

*You learn a lot from each other when you work in a team. You become secure about those you work with, and the compulsory school has many good teachers from whom you can learn pedagogical tricks for teaching large groups. (Julia)*

Julia not only asserts that the school of arts teachers can learn from the teachers in compulsory schools, but also that the school of arts as an institution should adapt some of the ideas of working in team from the compulsory school.

*To develop the school of arts, we have to do what they do in the compulsory school. They work in teams; they work on how to communicate things, how to teach and how to learn. They have come so much further than we have. (Julia)*

These experiences from collaboration with compulsory schools show that collaboration can broaden knowledge connected to content and methods, but also ways of organising collaboration, for example by working in teams.

#### 5.2.4 Collaboration or 'just' co-location?

As stated in the beginning of this chapter, working in the same school necessarily entails some sort of interaction between teachers. Interaction does not have to be articulated by the *collaboration* discourse elaborated thus far in this chapter. When articulated by the *autonomy* discourse, interaction is rather connected to 'working side-by-side' and 'co-location'.

Julia asserts that some of her colleagues are not very eager to collaborate. Rather, they organise and do their own things even though they are employed in the school of arts. They are co-located.

*Many teachers work part-time in this school. They also work other places, they have their focus somewhere else, and they just stop by here and leave again. They do not wish to collaborate because it leads to extra work. I experience the same from those who work full time as well, that they are too busy with their own 'firm'. They just get their salary and work independently. (Julia)*

For Julia, collaboration with other teachers is an important reason for being a school of arts teacher, and she believes all teachers should participate in collaboration.

Some of the teachers who work mostly alone do not feel lonely. Rather, they feel like part of a fellowship. Because colleagues are working in neighbouring rooms in the same building, the co-location gives them a sense of community.

Alex, for instance, feels alone when he works at another school (than the school included in this study). In this school, he is the only one working on a given day. Hence, he seldom sees his colleagues.

*First, I sit there [at the other school] alone, no one else is there. Here, I have colleagues and it is people around all the time. If I walk out of my room, the hallway is full of people: parents sitting there waiting or ... Here, I experience to be a part of a bigger community. (Alex)*

This relates to the discourse of 'the House' (see chapter 4), and the need to facilitate for the school of arts teachers to work at the same place at the same time. It is also important for the facilitation of informal meeting places, as discussed above.

*It was a very lonely job in the old days. We were all on our own, we never saw anybody. We came to dark [compulsory] school buildings... [...] You were on your own. Very sad. I felt lonely. It was not always nice to have that job. But now, we have common lunchtime: us who work the same day meet in this room. We have much more contact with each other. And even though we can talk about everything between the earth and the sky, we often discuss the next concert or students playing together, it is a bit like a meeting although it is a break. Firstly, this does something with the work environment, you feel that you are part of something, not only a nomad trekking. I believe this is very important for the community feeling and for the job affiliation. To have an identity, that we are a group doing this together. (Lucy)*

However, the teachers expressing this feeling of belonging are all enjoying relatively large employment percentages. Working part-time in several schools is a lonelier job and makes it harder to be part of a fellowship.

### **5.3 Discourses of music as a tool and music as experience**

The teacher discourses of *music as a tool* and *music as experience* articulate the aim of teaching in the schools of arts. This makes 'aim of teaching' nodal point and floating signifier. Teaching aims shape practices and ways of teaching, which again can be related to teachers' views on music and music teaching. Central to the *music as a tool* discourse is 'making and learning music to achieve something else', while central to the *music as experience* discourse is 'the musical experience as the reason for making and learning music'. Whether music is a tool or an experience sufficient to itself is a subject of debate in Norwegian music education (Angelo 2012; Bamford 2012; Varkøy 2012). This relates to different

understandings of music as a school subject. Nielsen (1998) and Hanken and Johansen (1998) contribute to this discussion, as they refer to various ways teachers view the music subject, of which some are more connected to seeing music as a tool and others to music as experience. Ruud (2016) addresses different aims for music teaching, either as ‘upbringing *to* music’ where the music itself is the object for music teaching or ‘upbringing *through* music’ where the student is central and the music could have a social effect, for example. It is not the aim of this study to go into this discussion, however, but rather to identify how these discourses play out in the school of arts.

### 5.3.1 Music as a tool and as experience intertwined

Findings in the data material show that for several teachers, the discourses of *music as a tool* and *music as experience* are intertwined in their aims of teaching. Julia and Nora are examples of this. For Julia, ‘musical moments’ that occur when students play music at a lesson, are very important to her (*music as experience* discourse). She also expresses, however, how students who struggle in other subjects suddenly can flourish when they play music, and she believes music is a tool for well-being and for creating a sense of achievement (*music as a tool* discourse). Nora describes how she believes teaching music in compulsory schools can create a shared sense of community for the students. Hence, the music becomes a tool for something more than ‘just’ the musical experience. In order to achieve this shared community, Nora asserts that teachers from compulsory schools need to be involved.

*Where the [compulsory school] teachers take part and use what we from the school of arts use when we are there, it creates this kind of a shared community feeling, a unity. And it is like it infects everything else, as easy as that. Everything gets more positive. [...] Using music actively towards children in compulsory schools and towards school subjects, seeing that music can be used as a tool in all subjects, seeing how music can create unity and understanding, I have started to really believe in that. (Nora)*

The use of music as a tool for creating unity and understanding is most evident when Nora talks about collaboration with compulsory schools, but it is also present when she refers to her other tasks. However, that the *music as a tool* discourse dominates her utterances does not mean that the *music as experience* discourse is absent. She also refers to the importance of children getting to experience music – to experience the joy of playing an instrument or sing and being part of a group performing music.

Karen emphasises the importance of playing music as a form of expression, that the students need a language to express themselves and that music could be that language.

*As for teaching, I really believe that students primarily should feel the joy of playing, and that it should be a way for them to express themselves. (Karen)*

To express feelings while playing music could be part of the *music as experience* discourse, as feelings and experience are closely connected. However, it could also imply the need for learning to play an instrument in order to appropriate a language to express feelings, which could be part of the *music as a tool* discourse. Then, playing music would be a tool for expressing feelings. This is evident in Karen's comments regarding children with special needs.

*Some children need to see that this could be a channel for them, to get it out, having a language. We have had some children with strange diagnoses who absolutely need it. I really love to play music, it is what keeps me going in this job. I have experienced so much joy and nice experiences with playing since I was little, and I really want those who need it to have the opportunity to learn it. (Karen)*

The *music as a tool* discourse and *music as experience* discourse are also intertwined when teachers adapt their teaching aims to the individual student. Alex believes students have diverse reasons for being in the school of arts, and he argues that teachers must see this and adapt their teaching accordingly.

*Everyone who teaches has some sort of ideal they want their students to reach. [...] However, it is not certain that all your students will become musicians. Maybe some of them are satisfied with learning just a little bit. Some attend the school of arts for social reasons; they need that type of environment as a relief from something. I do not believe teachers should run a 'mini conservatoire' on their own, instead one must be willing, even though you have an ideal, to see other ways of doing things, see the various destinies, and see that students have all sorts of reasons for being in the school of arts. (Alex)*

The school of arts' aim of being for everyone (discussed in chapter 4) implies that it should be for both those who want to become musicians and those who do not. This could mean that if a teacher's teaching aims are articulated by the *music as experience* discourse, tension could arise and s/he might have to adjust aims if a student appears to attend the school of arts only for social reasons. Findings indicate that seeing music as a tool or as experience is intertwined not only when teachers talk about their practice and views of teaching, but also when they explain how they see the school of arts being for everyone.

### 5.3.2 Music as a tool for social competence?

One of the school of arts' aims, stated in the curriculum framework, is to 'strengthen the students' aesthetic, social and cultural competence' (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:8, my translation). It further upholds that '[a]rts activities create arenas for affiliation and social communities [...]' (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:7, my translation). Using music to develop social competence and social communities is part of the *music as a tool* discourse.

Teaching in groups is relevant when working with social competence.

*I want to teach more large groups – not only individual teaching – because I think it has so many social effects on groups, which is very positive. (Julia)*

Being part of a group also relates to the performances many schools of arts host once or twice a year. Here, there are opportunities for students to be part of a large ensemble. Some of the teachers emphasise the pride participants feel when joining in these performances. To get students to feel pride through participating in musical activities could be understood as part of the *music as a tool* discourse. However, Ellen stresses the experience students get when participating in those performances, which she believes could lead to an understanding of music as experience.

*The role that we have, if it is to help the students with a performance or in becoming good at their instrument, what is fundamental is that they get an experience of something. [...] We teach them to work together in a unique way. They get a revelation, which is groundbreaking. Our role is that we take what they are doing artistically to another level. (Ellen)*

Ellen sees the school of arts teachers as facilitators of this experience for the students, as teachers can provide the quality necessary in order to enhance the musical experience. Ellen asserts that students get a high-quality musical experience by joining these performances.

There is also evidence in the data material of seeing music as a tool for inclusion of students from other cultures. Nora, who collaborates with compulsory schools, values a sense of achievement as especially important to students who may have difficulties in other subjects because of language problems.

*We have many foreign language students at some of the [compulsory] schools who experience a sense of achievement through this [music]. The sense of achievement is the main thing, which then rubs off onto other subjects. And when you see [compulsory school] teachers being aware of this, that they can also use it in other subjects, then you suddenly experience that a [compulsory school] teacher*

*gets an 'aha experience' in how music can be used, which is great. Then I feel that what I am doing is helpful and valuable. (Nora)*

In Nora's way of reasoning, the *music as a tool* discourse is central.

## 5.4 Summary of teacher discourses

The analysis has identified the following teacher discourses in the school of arts field: *versatility*, *specialisation*, *collaboration*, *autonomy*, *music as a tool* and *music as experience*. They all try to imbue 'teacher' with meaning. In order to do that, the discourses are struggling over defining teacher competence, the interaction between teachers, and the teachers' aim of teaching. When identifying teacher discourses, both interviews and documents were sources of data.

The most central teacher discourses are the discourses of *versatility* and *specialisation*. The character of specialisation includes its intrinsic relativity; something or someone is specialised only in comparison to something or someone else (Freidson 2001). Hence, specialisation must represent a relationship and not a free-standing position, meaning that if one specialisation should exist, there must also be another (Freidson 2001:37). A specialisation presupposes a general set of activities from which it derives, as well as at least one other specialisation deriving from the same general set (Freidson 2001:38). The relational aspect also applies for the concept of expertise: you are an expert in comparison to a non-expert, which means that in which degree you are an expert is dependent on the relations of which you are part (Smeby 2013). All the music teachers in this study are trained as specialists, and they are experts in their respective area(s). The relativity of specialisation applies to the findings of this study, as the teachers see themselves as specialists compared to other teachers, whom they perceive to be specialists in other areas. Several teachers also believe that the school as a whole, or the teachers combined, could represent a general set of activities, while the individual teachers are specialists. These specialisations could for instance be connected to various instruments, group teaching or collaboration with compulsory schools. The school as such would then have a versatile competence, while there is a diversity of specialised competences among the teachers.

Although the most central discourses are the discourses of *versatility* and *specialisation*, all the teacher discourses operate in contact with each other as they struggle to define 'teacher'. On one level, the *versatility* discourse and

*collaboration* discourse could be linked together. Broadening of knowledge is central to the *collaboration* discourse, which implies increased versatility. The *specialisation* discourse and the *autonomy* discourse could also be linked, as teachers demand autonomy and personal freedom in organising their own work and legitimise their demands by referring to the specialised competence that they have and others lack. The *collaboration* discourse is central in both the curriculum frameworks and the interviews. Identified in the teachers' statements is the importance of balancing collaboration with autonomy and personal freedom, and collaborating on issues related to practice. Some teachers see collaboration as a central part of being a school of arts teacher, while others mostly work alone within the school; they 'just' co-locate. This is, however, also related to employment percentage and whether the *collaboration* discourse or the *autonomy* discourse dominate in a particular school.

The discourses of *music as a tool* and *music as experience* are somehow intertwined in most of the teachers' expressions about their aim of teaching. However, as the *breadth* discourse is central in articulating 'for everyone', several teachers see social competence as important and understand music as a contributor to development of social competence. This is contributing in making the *music as a tool* discourse more central. Collaboration with compulsory schools does for several teachers imply using music as a tool for creating and developing unity, social competence, and feeling of mastering for those who do not get that feeling in the other school subjects.

The *autonomy* discourse is linked to the discourse of *professionalism*. Heimonen (2003) argues that autonomy and personal freedom are important in music education in order to ensure the *right for freedom in education*, which points to students' individual needs regarding content. Teachers' personal freedom and autonomy, rather than a centralised regulation of content, relate to the discourse of *professionalism* in two ways: i) because when there is lack of regulation, professionalism contributes to ensure quality, and ii) because in order to take individual needs into account, the use of discretion is central. Discretion is connected to specialisation in a way that contrasts with mechanical specialisation (Freidson 2001) (See chapter 2). Teaching requires discretionary specialisation. One could, however, argue that learning an instrument also involves mechanical specialisation, because of the need for learning finger technique, for example. Hence, both mechanical and discretionary specialisation are present in music teaching, although discretionary specialisation is most central. Internalising skills is an important part of learning an instrument. This relates to the concept

of expertise, which refers to skills and knowledge that separate experts from novices (Smeby 2013). Within the literature on expertise, Dreyfus' model of skill acquisition (Dreyfus & Dreyfus 1986), which describes how to acquire skills through instruction and practising when going from novice to expert, is central (but will not be further elaborated here).

Research on expertise emphasises experience and practical training, while theories of professions tend to focus on the importance of education (Smeby 2013). The music teaching profession embodies both. As teaching needs to rely on both education and practical training, being an expert on an instrument entails the internalisation of skills (practical training) but also a level of reflection that only education can offer. This dualism relates to this study's finding that the tasks teachers perform shape their notion of competence. This raises questions of whether experience and practical training, as focused in expertise research, are more important than education, which is central in theories of professions. The findings show education to be important, however. This is evident, as teachers express i) the importance of getting to use their competence and the sense of achievement – related to the *specialisation* discourse, ii) being more versatile and flexible than others because of their education – related to the *versatility* discourse, and iii) that education lays the ground for building new competence. Hence, tasks are shaping the notion of competence, but only if these build on competence acquired from education.

Some of the teachers acquired versatility because they transferred knowledge and skills from their specialised education to other areas within music and music teaching. Knowledge, expertise, skills, education, experience and training somehow work together in music teaching, and in the articulation of what a school of arts teacher is and the construction of teacher competence. Competence is necessary in order to be able to perform tasks, but tasks also shape one's notion of competence.





## 6 Music teachers' professional identities

The aim of this chapter is to address the second research question:

*How are music teachers' professional identities constructed within the discourses in the school of arts?*

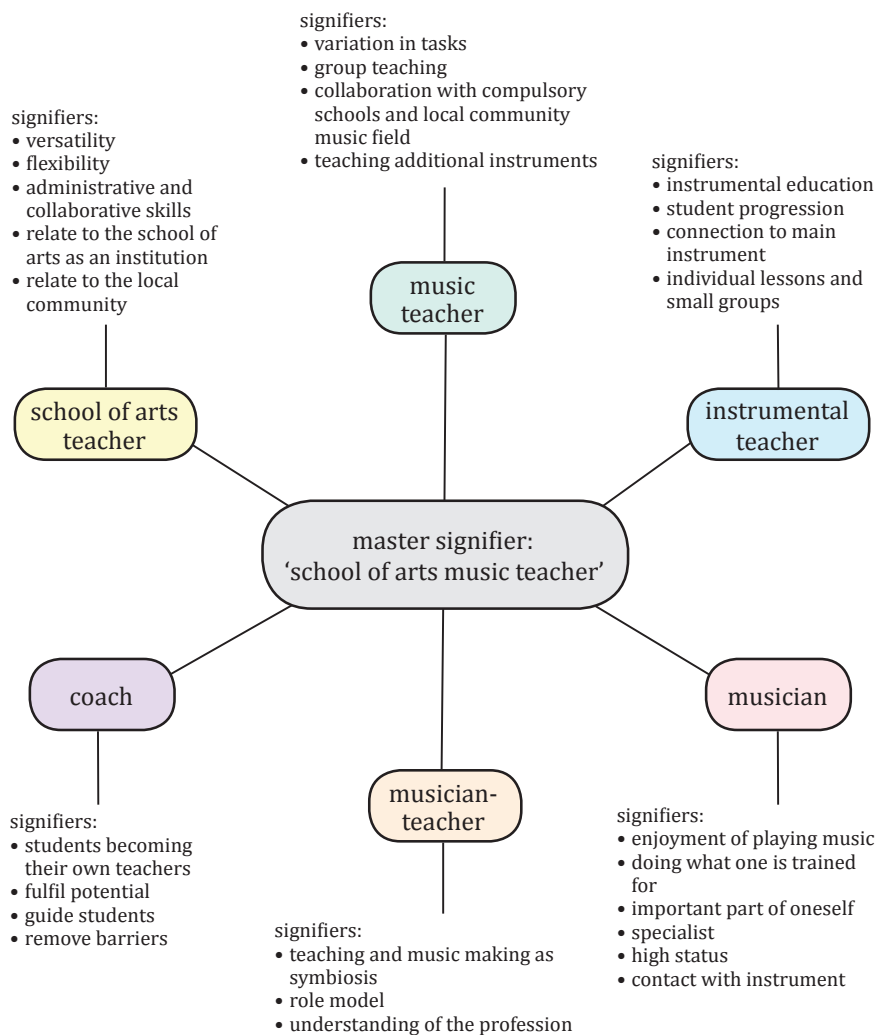
In discourse theory, subjects acquire their identity through identification with subject positions (Laclau & Mouffe 2001). Laclau and Mouffe built their understanding of the subject on Althusser and his understanding of interpellation, which 'denotes the process through which language constructs a social position for the individual and thereby makes him or her an ideological subject' (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:15). Althusser perceives of ideology as a system of representations hiding the true relations between people, but to Laclau and Mouffe, there are no 'true' social relations (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). However, they still see people as interpellated by language, where discourses designate positions for people to occupy (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001). A discourse could be understood as a way of talking about and understanding the world (as elaborated in chapter 2), and, through that, people are interpellated into subject positions. The link between discourses and subject positions, and thus identity construction, is central, as identities are 'points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us' (Hall 1996:19).

## 6.1 Subject positions

The professional identities of music teachers are constructed as subject positions within the discourses in the school of arts field. During the analytical process of this study, six subject positions were identified through interview statements about teaching and the teacher role, and through the representations of school of arts music teachers in the document material. Hence, these subject positions are constructed within the discourses in the field, through language used by teachers and in the documents. The six subject positions are *music teacher*, *instrumental teacher*, *musician*, *musician-teacher*, *coach* and *school of arts teacher*.

One discourse can never establish itself so definitely that it is the only discourse constructing the social (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001). This means that the subject is positioned in several ways by different discourses: the subject is fragmented (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). Hence, the teachers could identify with several subject positions, either at the same time or interchangeably according to the situation. A teacher could, when working in a compulsory school, identify with the subject position *music teacher*, when teaching instrumental lessons, *instrumental teacher*, when playing a concert, *musician*, and when discussing cultural politics at a dinner party, *school of arts teacher*. Because there always are several discourses at play, the subject is overdetermined: positioned by several conflicting discourses at the same time (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001). As accounted for in chapter 2, this study takes into account that subjects have some degree of agency. Hence, there are opportunities for resistance to ideologies, although the discourses limit the subject's freedom of action.

The terms 'music teacher', 'instrumental teacher', 'musician' and 'coach' were used by the teachers. 'School of arts teacher' was hardly used by the teachers, but is found in the documents. 'Musician-teacher' is a constructed term, which will be elaborated later. Three of the sixteen teachers in this study identify only with a single subject position, the rest identify with several. The nodal point of identity, or *master signifier* in Lacan's terms (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002) for all the subject positions is 'school of arts music teacher'. The discursive relations between the six identified subject positions and the nodal point of identity is visualised in Figure 3. The figure also shows how each of these subject positions are established by a set of signifiers linked in a chain of equivalence.



**Figure 3:** Subject positions in the discursive field

### 6.1.1 Music teacher

In the construction of the subject position *music teacher*,<sup>44</sup> the master signifier is linked together in a chain of equivalence with the signifiers ‘variation in tasks’, ‘group teaching’, ‘collaboration with compulsory schools and the local community music field’,<sup>45</sup> and ‘teaching additional instruments’. Several discourses are struggling to fix the meaning of central signs, which means that the subject positions are constructed within several discourses, with some more central than others. The subject position *music teacher* is constructed within the discourses in the field, the most central being the institutional discourses of *breadth* and *decentralisation*, and the teacher discourses of *versatility* and *collaboration*.

About a third of the teachers in this study identify with the subject position *music teacher*. One teacher, Emma, has previously identified with it because of her broad education and training, but now she only teaches instrumental lessons and therefore identifies with the subject position *instrumental teacher*. However, she says that she could see herself as a music teacher again if her work tasks change. The data material shows that a central reason for identifying as, or rejecting, the subject position *music teacher* is work experience. Some of those who reject this subject position were trained as music teachers (broad education), but have subsequently mostly taught individuals or small groups. Hence, work experience and work tasks are crucial for the identification with subject positions.

Another example is Julia, who was trained as a music teacher but started out working as an instrumental teacher, and because of that identified with the subject position *instrumental teacher*. However, after some years she started to collaborate with compulsory schools, teaching large groups and other activities than her main instruments, such as singing and dancing. She started doing this because she was invited to by her headteacher. Julia asserts that teaching other than her main instrument was frightening at first, but that, after a little while,

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44 The teachers in this study used both the terms ‘music teacher’ and ‘music pedagogue’ when speaking of themselves. I have chosen not to see ‘music teacher’ and ‘music pedagogue’ as different subject positions, but rather as one: *music teacher*. This is due to the level of analysis, and was a choice I made during the analytical process based on other issues emerging as more central than the difference between ‘teacher’ and ‘pedagogue’.

45 The local community music field refers, in this thesis, to wind bands, choirs, and other locally anchored music activities outside the school of arts and compulsory schools.

she started seeing herself as a music teacher with versatile competence who is able to perform multiple tasks.

*When I started working, I was an instrumental teacher. Then I got the experience because I have done a lot [of different stuff]. Even though I have music pedagogical training, I did not feel competent to ... [...] But the experience has made me able to call myself a music teacher. (Julia)*

While Julia now identifies with the subject position *music teacher*, she is concerned that her versatile competence would disappear if her work tasks were to again become more narrow. What has also changed for Julia is the aim of her teaching. The students' instrumental progression used to be the aim of teaching, but now students' experiences are. Progression is central to the subject position *instrumental teacher* (as will be elaborated), so moving emphasis from progression to experience is part of rejecting the subject position *instrumental teacher* and identify with *music teacher*.

Collaboration is important to Julia and is one of the main reasons she now enjoys teaching in compulsory schools.

*You learn from each other when you work in a team, you get to trust the people you work with. There are plenty of good teachers in the [compulsory] school that can teach you some pedagogical tricks about teaching large groups. (Julia)*

Collaboration with compulsory schools is also related to Julia's claims of music teachers being able to reflect at another level of abstraction than instrumental teachers. That music teachers see the bigger picture. This relates to the *breadth* discourse.

*It is something about groups [...] Going into compulsory schools and not only work with students that have an inner motivation. Being able to impart aesthetic subjects and not only music. Because everything is interrelated, arts, dance, theatre ... and, in addition, related to the level of reflection: you see yourself as part of the Norwegian children's educational pathway. (Julia)*

Also Nora asserts that teaching only instrumental students gives a narrower focus, which she does not want. She prefers combining instrumental lessons with other tasks. The varied set of tasks she performs in her job are relevant for the identification with the subject position with which she identifies. However, education and training are also important to her.

*I am primarily a music teacher. It has to do with my education. Even though I have studied music performance as well, I have never really felt like a performing musician. Not aimed for it, either [...] I feel I am doing a lot of different things,*

*which fits with being a music teacher, [...] it embraces a lot, I think. [...] Conductor, musician, I feel everything is embraced by music teacher. (Nora)*

The subject position *music teacher* is here constructed within the *breadth* and *versatility* discourses, because of the emphasis on variation in tasks. (Being or not being a musician will be discussed later.) However, even though variation is important to Nora, she also believes that music teachers in schools of arts need to be specialists at their instruments in order to be able to teach it properly and because they ought to be role models. In both the interviews and the documents, being a good role model mainly implies being good at your instruments, which again implies specialisation and expertise. Nora sees both specialised and versatile competence as important for school of arts music teachers to have, but she also finds it difficult to maintain what she considers to be a sufficient level of expertise at her instrument, due to a varied workload and lack of time. Hence, there is a contradiction between her idea of what a music teacher should know and be, and what she finds is possible within the discourses in the field, with the centrality of the discourses of *NPM*, *decentralisation*, *breadth* and *versatility* in the field. This demonstrates the difficulties in identifying with the subject position *music teacher* in combination with *instrumental teacher*, *musician* or *musician-teacher*, which to a higher degree are constructed within the discourses of *depth* and of *specialisation*.

Kristoffer has a broad education, which includes subjects other than music. However, he is very conscious about what he can master. This leads him to believe that his current work tasks are what he masters, whilst his education is not that important. Again, as elaborated in chapter 5, work tasks shape teachers' notion of competence. This also indicates that the discourses of *local autonomy* and *professionalism* are central in Kristoffer's identity construction, as he expresses the importance of setting the limits for his competence. Kristoffer's work task in the school of arts is primarily instrumental teaching, and he identifies with the subject position *instrumental teacher*. However, he also works in an upper secondary school, where he teaches other music subjects. Because tasks there are more varied, he identifies with the subject position *music teacher* while working there. Although work tasks shape teachers' notion of competence, education is also important (see chapter 5). When working in the upper secondary school, Kristoffer builds his professional identity on his education, a master's degree, which he experiences makes other teachers respect him. However, in the school of arts, his professional identity is more

connected to the tasks he performs. Hence, Kristoffer identifies differently according to the situation.

As elaborated above, Emma identifies primarily with the subject position *instrumental teacher* because of the tasks she performs. However, her identity is also constructed within the *versatility* discourse. Because she has background and education from the popular music genre and with large groups, she sees herself as more versatile than teachers trained as classical musicians. She also believes versatility has to do with a general attitude towards teaching. Versatility and variation in tasks is important to William, and he identifies with the subject position *music teacher*. This has to do with tasks he performs, as he expresses seeing himself as a music teacher because that is what he is employed as. He teaches instrumental students, orchestra and music in compulsory schools. He would also like to perform administrative tasks. This does not involve teaching and can be done during the daytime – two things he sees as important in order not to be worn out. He believes administrative tasks should be distributed among teachers in order to create variation in tasks, but also because it would be beneficial for the school if administrative tasks were performed by someone close to practice.

Sofie identifies with the subject position *music teacher*, and expresses the importance of variation in tasks. She asserts that she prefers group teaching to individual lessons, because she finds group dynamics exciting. Sofie is trained as a musician and instrumental teacher, however, and her aim was originally to become a musician. In her first job as an instrumental teacher in a school of arts, she was asked if she also could teach music groups for children. She reluctantly accepted the offer because she needed more work. However, it turned out she did like it. Later, the same happened with teaching wind bands and music in compulsory schools: she did not think she would like it, but she did. Sofie sees development courses being important for her, as she does not want to stagnate. She was not trained as a music teacher, but has been following several courses on group teaching. For Sofie, the tasks she currently performs shape how she views her competence, but she is also concerned about further professional development. The importance of variation in tasks and competence development, expressed by several teachers, can be seen in relation to a fear for stagnation.

Lucas identifies with the subject positions *musician* and *music teacher*, the latter because he combines instrumental teaching with other forms of working with music. He also refers to his versatile education. Hence, both education and



performed tasks are important in his understanding of professional identity. Lucas identifies more strongly with the subject position *music teacher* when he teaches bands or orchestras than when he teaches individual instrumental students. Hence, he identifies differently according to the settings.

*When I teach band I take a step back and see the whole group. Then I have to cater for everybody, not only the guitarists. Then I am more a music teacher. Or other settings like a project at upper secondary school, I also need to see everything that is going on in order to ensure everything is together. And when I am a Kapellmeister, which is a freelance thing, I am also a music teacher because I need to get things to function together and pull the right strings. So it depends on the situation. (Lucas)*

Lucas also asserts that he identifies with the subject position *music teacher* when there is need for seeing things more holistically and where roles are combined.

### 6.1.2 Instrumental teacher

In the construction of the subject position *instrumental teacher*,<sup>46</sup> the master signifier is linked together in a chain of equivalence with the signifiers ‘instrumental education’, ‘student progression’, ‘connection to main instrument’ and ‘individual lessons and small groups’. Tasks performed by teachers identifying with this subject position are less versatile than those performed by teachers identifying with the subject position *music teacher*. The tasks are also more connected to learning an instrument. The subject position *instrumental teacher* is constructed primarily within the institutional discourses of *depth*, *local autonomy* and *school of arts as school*, and the teacher discourse of *specialisation*. The teacher discourse of *autonomy* is also present.

About half of the teachers in this study identify with this subject position. Hannah is one of them.

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46 The teachers in this study used the terms ‘clarinet teacher’, ‘violin teacher’, ‘vocal teacher’ etc. in addition to ‘instrumental teacher’. I have, however, decided to merge all these possible subject positions into one: namely *instrumental teacher*. This has to do with the aim of the study and what appeared in the data material as the most central issues, which again influenced the level of analysis. The anonymity of the participants is also more easily maintained. The level of analysis chosen for this study is relevant also for merging ‘instrumental teacher’ and ‘instrumental pedagogue’ into the subject position *instrumental teacher*.

*My profession is instrumental teacher.<sup>47</sup> That is what I am. Music teacher has a broader platform than I have. (Hannah)*

Hannah identifies with the subject position *instrumental teacher* because of her education, but also as she has a strong connection to her instrument.

*The instrument is my identity. [...] It has to do with my education, I guess, and I have my strength there. (Hannah)*

The way she describes the instrument as closely linked to her identity is characteristic for the subject position *instrumental teacher*. This is also evident in Julia's descriptions of how she had to work very hard to let go of her instrument when she first started teaching groups in compulsory schools.

*The first year that I worked, I just stood there in a corner clinging to my instrument. 'Whoa! Seventy-eighty kids are entering the room, what should I do?' But I have developed from that, and now, I dare a lot more. (Julia)*

John identifies with the subject position *instrumental teacher*, and he also expresses that his instrument is an important part of his identity. This is evident in his engagement in the national and international flute<sup>48</sup> community.

*I know the flute community, to put it that way. I have a lot of awareness about being a flute teacher, to be a flautist and ... what is composed for the instrument, about traditions, yes, about everything that has to do with it. I am very interested in this and pay attention to what is going on. And I try not to stagnate. (John)*

As mentioned earlier, importance of variation in tasks and competence development can be seen in relation to a fear for stagnation. Variation is central to the *versatility* discourse. For John, however, not stagnating is achieved by going in-depth into the flute repertoire and the flute traditions, which links to the *specialisation* discourse. Hence, although most of the teachers are concerned to avoid stagnation, they find different solutions. These, in turn, relate to the discourses from which they construct their subject positions. John has a versatile background, but is narrower in his practice: he only teaches instrumental students. Hence, tasks shape how he perceives of his identity. However, he sees versatility as important for future teachers, and emphasises genre versatility as important. He is classical trained himself, but admires the younger teachers who he perceives as having a more versatile genre competence.

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47 In this and following quotes, the participants may have said for instance 'clarinet teacher'. However, in order to keep their anonymity, I have chosen to write 'instrumental teacher'. Some utterances required a specific instrument, but I have then chosen an arbitrary instrument within the teacher's instrumental group.

48 Flute may or may not be his instrument; an arbitrary woodwind instrument is chosen to keep his anonymity.

Laura identifies only with the subject position *instrumental teacher*. She compares herself to the other and younger teachers, whom she admires for their versatility, level of training and confidence when performing their work. She sees herself as lacking competence in teaching large groups and non-classical genres, but expresses a strong attachment to her instrument. She was taught to play by a private teacher as a child, and says that playing the piano was the only music-related thing she knew when she started studying music; she had never sung in a choir or played in ensembles. Laura thinks there are too many tasks to perform in the school of arts, which take time away from teaching and practising the instrument. This results in students getting too-short lessons. She believes the school of arts should be versatile, but that each teacher could be a specialist. Hence, Laura's identity is constructed within the discourses of *specialisation* and *depth*. However, she sees teacher competence being increasingly articulated by the *versatility* discourse (as elaborated in chapter 5). Laura says that, in her teaching, she focuses on the students and on interpretation. She asserts that the school of arts should be a school and not a 'youth club'. This implies that she believes parents and students should be expected to meet certain requirements, and this shows that her identity also is constructed within the *school of arts as school* discourse.

The subject position *instrumental teacher* being constructed within the *school of arts as school* discourse is also apparent in Alex's utterances. Alex identifies with the subject position *instrumental teacher*, as he is closely connected to his instrument. For students' learning, he thinks it is important to create an environment where teachers, students and parents can agree on the school of arts being a school. Learning an instrument is central to the subject position *instrumental teacher*. Emma has a versatile education but performs tasks that makes her identify with the subject position *instrumental teacher* (elaborated above). So does Lucy. She used to have a more versatile job, but now her tasks have changed and she mainly teaches instrumental students.

There is also notion of status and hierarchy in the data material. This is most evident related to the subject position *musician*, but can also be found connected to the subject position *instrumental teacher*. Thomas, who identifies with the latter, talks about status when explaining what he is not: for instance cultural worker. The quote below is a response to me asking him about his identity.

*It is political what kind of title you use because it has some consequences. For example, when you mention the word cultural worker I become a bit like ... because I associate it with something else, which probably has to do with status*

*and salary. So it is a bit remote to call myself cultural worker even though I deep inside know that it is what I am too. (Thomas)*

Salary is often connected to education. Cultural worker implies neither the education level of a music teacher, nor the level of specialisation.

Alex and Thomas both identify with the subject positions *instrumental teacher* and *musician*. Alex primarily identifies with the subject position *instrumental teacher*, but it changes according to the situation.

*Alex: I identify the most as instrumental teacher.*

*Anne: But when you are out and are playing music, are you then also an instrumental teacher?*

*Alex: No, then I am a rocker, a musician.*

*Anne: So you are not always an instrumental teacher?*

*Alex: No, it depends on the situation*

The same apply for Thomas, but there is one situation where he identifies with both at the same time.

*I tend to speak of myself as two [identities], and that is musician and instrumental teacher. [...] I alternate between them. When it is a combination, is when I play in the amateur orchestra. There I am perceived as both, and I also see myself as both. (Thomas)*

Alex and Thomas identify differently according to the situation, and for them, the two subject positions are clearly separated.

### 6.1.3 Musician

In the construction of the subject position *musician*,<sup>49</sup> the master signifier is linked together in a chain of equivalence with the signifiers 'enjoyment of playing music', 'doing what one is trained for', 'important part of oneself', 'specialist', 'high status' and 'contact with instrument'. Those teachers who identify with the subject position *musician* are specialists at their instrument. Hence, this subject position is constructed within the discourses of *depth* and

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49 The teachers in this study used the terms 'flautist', 'guitarist', 'violinist' etc. in addition to 'musician' when speaking of themselves. I have, however, chosen not to consider these terms as different subject positions. Due to the aim of the study and level of analysis, in addition to findings from the analysis of the discourses in the field, I chose to include all these term within the subject position *musician*. It also contributes in keeping the anonymity of the participants.

*specialisation*. In addition, the *music as experience* discourse, the *collaboration* discourse, and the *professionalism* discourse are central.

Hannah primarily identifies with the subject position *instrumental teacher*, but also *musician*. She expresses how the latter is the base for her work as an instrumental teacher.

*I am a musician<sup>50</sup> and an instrumental teacher. I have maybe gradually become more an instrumental teacher and pedagogue. But you carry the musician part with you at all times; you are a performer in combination with teacher. You are a musician, which is why you are an instrumental teacher. (Hannah)*

Karen primarily identifies with the subject position *musician*, and describes how this is an important part of herself.

*I am proud to be a school of arts teacher also, but the other side is more important to me personally. The school of arts music teacher should put the students in front and be a catalyst or .... But me as a string player is more me and my personality. (Karen)*

Karen says she has always felt the joy of playing music.

*Already when I was little, I loved playing for people. If somebody walked into the room I asked if I could play for them. (Karen)*

Alex identifies with this subject position in addition to *instrumental teacher*, and he also emphasises the joy of playing music, when being asked if playing music is important to him.

*I believe so. It gives a good input as well, which I bring forward into the teaching. [...] In addition, it is great fun. (Alex)*

Ellen expresses that breadth and holistic thinking are important parts of being a musician. She asserts that her job as a district musician<sup>51</sup> a long time ago made her develop an understanding of what a musician is.

*I quickly got an understanding of what a cultural worker in the districts does, and it [the job] was incredibly meaningful. When you are in that kind of setting you understand what it means to be a musician, not only an artisan on your instrument. (Ellen)*

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50 In this and following quotations, the participants may have said for instance 'guitarist'. However, in order to keep their anonymity, I have chosen to write 'musician'. Some utterances do, however, require a specific instrument, but I have then chosen an arbitrary instrument within the teacher's instrumental group.

51 In Norwegian: 'distriktsmusiker', a municipal job in the districts where the tasks are divided between teaching and performing music.

An understanding of musicians as not only artisans but also requiring competence development and reflective practice, indicates that the subject position *musician* also is constructed within the *professionalism* discourse. Ellen asserts that musicians in schools of arts need to be flexible and versatile in order to play different instruments in different situations, for instance the drums in a group project or the piano when accompanying students. However, she also sees specialisation as important, as being a good musician or music teacher requires a certain level of proficiency on one's instrument. In the data material, a musician is perceived as flexible and versatile, but also as a specialist. This is linked to quality, as evident in William and John's reflections on respectively instrumental and genre versatility.

*I do play some piano. And then I mess around with other string instruments like ukulele and mandolin and that stuff, but it is no quality, I would not say. (William)*

John is classical trained but says he has also played jazz and rock, but 'only at an amateur level'.

Although not all of the teachers in this study identify with the subject position *musician*, being or not being a musician is something that concerns all. Teachers who reject this subject position see themselves as different from those *they* perceive to be musicians. Reasons given for not identifying as a musician included not working in an orchestra, not being good enough, not practising enough, not performing concerts, and not playing professionally but only with amateurs. Central in identifying with, or rejecting, this subject position is the question of how to define a musician. A teacher who does *not* identify with this subject position is Kristoffer. He sees himself as opposed to those *he* defines as musicians.

*I have a lot of respect for calling yourself a violinist.<sup>52</sup> Then you are professional, you play partitas for an audience and you play Beethoven sonatas. You play concerts. I do not play concerts as a soloist, but I play in ensembles. As long as I do not play solo concerts, I will not call myself a violinist. (Kristoffer)*

This also leads to a wider discussion about hierarchy and status, which will be addressed later. However, when those who do identify with the subject position *musician* talk about being a musician, they express no difference concerning performing as soloists or part of an ensemble. Some of them do not even see performing concerts as crucial, but only practising and 'being in contact' with

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<sup>52</sup> Violin may not be his instrument; it is chosen to make his utterance more understandable, but at the same time maintaining his anonymity.

their instrument. Ellen, who identifies with this subject position, describes how this has changed for her.

*Until few years ago, it was very important how others saw me as a musician. [...] But now, I am not that concerned about what others think, because to practise is such an important part of me in order to feel whole. I do not practise in order to get others to call me a musician. Before, it was important to play concerts, but now the important thing is that I get to practise and to be with my instrument. (Ellen)*

### **Rejecting the subject position *musician***

Some of the teachers in this study have previously identified with the subject position *musician*, but do not do so any longer. Although some teachers express a sadness about this, others seem to be fine with it. John says he has a good foundation for teaching because of his background as a musician, and teaching instrumental students makes him maintain his connection to his instrument and the 'flute' community. Sofie describes how it was a relief when she realised that she did not need to become a musician although she was trained as one.

*It feels good. It has been a long process because I was trained to become a musician. I have gone through many phases, and at least in the beginning, I thought I never got to practise enough. But then it hit me that being a musician is not what I want, really. So I realised that it was much better for me to develop and educate myself to become a better teacher. (Sofie)*

Julia no longer identifies with the subject position *musician*, which she regrets.

*It has been a sadness, in a way, not being a musician anymore, 'did not become a musician'. But it is a choice I made myself. Or choice ... I did not want it enough. If you want it enough, to become a musician, you will succeed because you have reached a certain level. But in a way, it was not what I wanted. (Julia)*

Julia explains not being a musician as a choice she made. The way she speaks of it, however, indicates a more indirect choice and maybe a self-justification. One of the reasons she does not identify with the subject position *musician* is that she defines a musician as someone who plays professionally.

*You could play in a wind band and keep ... but am I willing to do that? Because it would be under ... [...] It would not be a profession, but a hobby. And that is quite heavy when you are trained as a musician. (Julia)*

Lucy also sees a musician as someone who performs music professionally, as part of her paid work.

*When you do not do it for a living, I think it is wrong to call yourself a musician. (Lucy)*

This suggests that the subject position is being constructed within the *professionalism* discourse. Both Julia and Lucy were trained as musicians, but it is what they do now and not their education that is most important to them when rejecting the subject position *musician*.

Related to this is status and hierarchy, which is present in the data material. Some teachers dreamt of being musicians when they were little or when they were studying. They emphasise that they are now happy teaching. However, they still express a perceived hierarchy.

*When I applied for the academy, I wrote in the application that my dream was to become a good teacher and go back to my hometown to teach, because I did not dare to write that I wanted to become a soloist; that was too scary. It is strange, because that is how it went. However, that was not what I primarily dreamt of; it was what I dared to write. But I am in the right place; I love to see these children blossom. (Lucy)*

The most central discourses constructing the subject position *musician* are the discourses of *specialisation* and *depth*, where expert knowledge is central in the *specialisation* discourse. Having expert knowledge and being an expert implies the superiority of others in those areas. This leads to expectations about how to act and what to say, both for those identifying with the subject position *musician* and those rejecting it. Feelings of superiority and inferiority create hierarchies. Lucy expresses a feeling of exaggeration if she calls herself a musician, which implies the view of being a musician as more valuable and important. Lucy also says that she used to feel she was not good enough as an instrumental teacher because she had not had a career as a musician.

*For many years, I had a feeling of not being good enough because I only was a teacher. Because it was an established fact that you should have had a career as a musician before becoming a teacher. And of course, you know better where the shoe pinches if you have been an active musician, but I do not think you necessarily become a good teacher if you have been a musician for half of your life. You do not necessarily need pedagogical training, but at least you need to have a genuine interest in people; trying to see them and understand them. I have started now when I am older to think that to be a teacher actually is a profession, it is not something you do because you do not get anything else; rather it is important in itself. Before I used to believe I 'only' became a teacher and that I was not good enough. However, I do not think like that anymore. (Lucy)*

This leads to definition exercises around professions and sub-communities within professions (was addressed in chapter 2 and will be further discussed at the end of this chapter). In the way that Lucy used to think, it might seem that instrumental teacher is a part of the musician profession, because of the idea



that a good teacher needs to have experience as a musician. This also raises questions about authenticity, where not being a good teacher without having been a musician represents a view of musician as the authentic.

Although Lucy says that she no longer worries about not feeling good enough, she expresses a hierarchy where the subject position *musician* is ranked above *music teacher*. This is also evident in the interview with Kristoffer.

*In a way, I would like to be a violinist,<sup>53</sup> I would have been proud of that. [...] In a way, I am, but it is a bit vague. It [to be a musician] has higher status in music communities, [...] and to be a top violinist, then people start looking up to you. I feel I am not there, that I am not part of the gang. I would love to be counted in when someone is looking for freelance musicians or someone to hold a seminar. (Kristoffer)*

Kristoffer does not feel included because he is not a musician in the way he defines it. However, he feels included at the upper secondary school where he also teaches, which is important to him.

*When it comes to me being a music teacher in the county,<sup>54</sup> then I know I am part of the gang. I know who all my colleagues are and we are a team. That is a completely other thing [than among the string teachers in the area]. (Kristoffer)*

Kristoffer asserts that he would have liked to have more time to perform music and teach instrumental lessons, but at the same time, he is not willing to create free time by quitting his job as a music teacher at the upper secondary school because there he is 'counted in' and he 'is someone'.

## **Musician within or outside the school**

*Musician–music teacher* hierarchies are also evident in William's rejection of the subject position *musician* within the school of arts, but identification as a musician outside the school.

*As a music teacher, you get difficulties with convincing people that you are a professional musician. But if you define it as something you do on the side, and only are a music teacher in the school, it feels really liberating for me. It is tiresome to try to convince others that a school of arts teacher also is a good musician. I'd rather be a musician outside the school. (William)*

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53 Violin may not be his instrument; it is chosen to make his utterance more understandable, but at the same time maintaining his anonymity.

54 Upper secondary schools are administrated by counties. The music teachers in the county that Kristoffer is talking about are those working in upper secondary schools within the same county as Kristoffer's school.

William specifies parents and other professional musicians as people to convince. Other teachers, for instance Karen, also address this issue.

*A drum teacher once told me that he had this student who had been taking lessons for many years. The teacher sat in his studio playing the drums while the student's mother opened the door and said: 'Oh, so you can play the drums?' Right ... (Karen)*

The *professionalism* discourse is central in constructing this subject position, which is evident in Jakob's case. To him, being a musician within the school of arts is a way of raising professional pride for teachers. Hence, he implies that there is a hierarchy in which the subject position *musician* is superior. Jakob identifies with the subject position *musician* within the school, and asserts that he enjoys his job more when he also can function as a musician.

Being a musician within or outside the school relates to the positive aspects of getting to use competence and possibilities of a more interesting job, but also the negative aspects related to lack of resources and restrictions on freedom of arts. To William, lack of artistic freedom, not enough time for practising and not being able to choose fellow musicians is motivating factors for his rejection of the subject position *musician* within the school of arts. He also claims that the administration has too little time to organise concerts and performances.

*I do not want to feel exploited as a musician. The management often uses arguments such as 'this is important for you' and 'this is fun for you'. But it is not fun to play for free and not being able to practise properly because there is no time to meet. I do not think that is fun. Then I would rather develop a project that I also earn money on and get to pick the musicians I want to play with. [...] It is challenging for the management as well, as they have to fix gigs. (William)*

For William, the discourses within the school of arts do not construct the subject position *musician*; he does not perceive the subject position to be available for him to identify with. Rather he has to be a musician outside the school. Lack of resources and framework conditions is also present in Lucas' utterances. Lucas identifies with the subject position *musician* within the school, but says he feels constrained by time.

*Part of my frustration about the job is related to having enough time to play myself, to be an instrumentalist and a musician. [...] I miss having enough time to keep a focus on being a musician. There is so much to do; preparing a song or a lesson and that sort of things. I wish I had managed to get more focus on being a musician, and I think many music teachers feel the same. (Lucas)*

In two of the schools in this study, some of the teachers are assigned tasks as musicians within the school as part of their job. The third school does not have such arrangements, but some teachers work as freelance musicians outside the school. One of them is Karen. She is strongly engaged in the local community as a musician and as an initiator of projects. She refers to herself as a 'town musician', and emphasises that she functions as a link between the school of arts and the local community music field. This, she believes, makes the school more visible. So even though working as a musician is not part of her job in the school, she has combined her work as a music teacher in the school and her work as a 'town musician' in the local music field in a way that for her makes a symbiosis. As elaborated earlier, Karen identifies primarily with the subject position *musician*, and she asserts that she could not have been teaching if she was not a musician. She combines her job as a freelance musician with teaching in the school of arts, linked together by the local community.

*I have functioned as a county musician,<sup>55</sup> but at an idealistic level. [...] Me as a link that works both in the school of arts and is very active in the local community. And in a way makes the school of arts more visible because I bring students into various projects outside the school. [...] In the old days, we had town musicians, and that is what I believe I am in this town. If you want instrumental music in your funeral, you call Karen. You are part of people's lives; they go to a concert and hear me play and they send their children to get tuition. Then you can have music as a profession. (Karen)*

Karen suggests 'music' as a profession in which the local community is the frame for combining various subject positions that she identifies with. This could be seen in relation to the idea of the local resource centre for arts and culture referred to in the curriculum frameworks (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003, 2016). In the curriculum frameworks, however, being a local resource centre is mainly seen as collaboration with compulsory schools and the local community music field through *teaching*. For Karen, what connects the school of arts and the local community music field is primarily her being a *musician*. Technically, working as a musician is not part of Karen's job within the school. Nevertheless, she perceives of it as part of her job. For her, what she does within and outside the school is all linked together in her identity formation. She identifies with the subject positions *musician* and *musician-teacher* simultaneously.

In contrast, William, who also function as a freelance musician outside the school, identifies only with the subject positions *music teacher* within the school. Thus, whether he sees himself as a music teacher or musician depends

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55 See earlier explanation.

on whether he works within or outside the school. One reason for the difference between Karen's and William's way of perceiving of their identities could be explained by different forms of management control in their respective schools. William experiences a lack of freedom as a musician in the school and needs to separate his musician identity from the school. Here, the discourses of *centralised governance* and *NPM* are central. Karen's school lacks arrangements for teachers to work as musicians within the school, so she has to work as a musician outside. However, she experiences freedom and trust from the management, so even though she has to be a musician outside the school, it feels right for her to combine her work within and outside the school. Here, the discourses of *local autonomy* and *professionalism* are central. The question of being a musician within or outside the school opens up for asking whether there is a need for renaming the subject position *musician* in the school of arts field '*school of arts musician*'. This subject position would refer to those who have a musician identity within the school of arts, who experience being a musician as part of their job in the school. Although William does not identify with the subject position *musician* (within the school), being a musician (outside of the school) is still part of his professional identity formation.

#### 6.1.4 Musician-teacher

In the construction of the subject position *musician-teacher*, the master signifier is linked together in a chain of equivalence with the signifiers 'teaching and music making as symbiosis', 'role model', and 'understanding of the profession'. The subject position is mostly constructed within the institutional discourses of *depth*, *professionalism* and *school of arts as school*, and the teacher discourses of *specialisation* and *music as experience*. I constructed the term 'musician-teacher' in order to give the subject position I identified a name. It is not found used in the data material, but is in previous research literature. For instance Bernard (2005) uses it to refer to music teachers in compulsory schools who are musicians outside the classroom (see chapter 1). In this study, the term is used as a subject position where teaching and making music are two sides of the same coin; they complement each other and are in symbiosis.

Jakob identifies with the subject position *musician-teacher* and asserts that teaching and performing music stimulates each other. When you teach at a high level, he states, teaching and playing music become a symbiosis. Jakob sees teaching as integrated in being a musician. There is no clear line between

teacher and musician, and no opposition between them. Previously, Jakob identified only with the subject position *musician*, but as he started teaching, he felt more like a music teacher where he saw teaching as a natural part of being a musician.

*I was primarily musician, but after a while, when I started teaching, I got the 'pedagogical feeling.' (Jakob)*

Tasks and experience as a teacher are relevant for Jakob when identifying with the subject position *musician-teacher* and not only *musician*. In addition to teaching instrumental students and performing music, he has previously taught in compulsory school projects. He has positive memories of it, but felt he had to combine too many different tasks.

Ellen identifies with the subject position *musician-teacher* as she experiences teaching and playing music as a symbiosis.

*To be a teacher is part of being a musician, it belongs together. You cannot be the one without being the other. That is just how it is. (Ellen)*

Ellen is educated as a musician and not a pedagogue. Her education as an instrumentalist is specialised and 'narrow'. Still, she says she feels like a musician in 'the widest sense'. For her, this implies that being a teacher is part of being a musician.

Karen is also a trained musician without pedagogical education, and says she could not have taught if she was not also a musician. She sees herself primarily as a musician, but she perceives teaching to be part of that. She identifies strongly with the instrument, and says playing the instrument is a huge part of herself. However, when asked whether she would quit teaching if she got the opportunity to work full time as a musician, she answered that she would continue to teach, because teaching is also an important part of her. For Karen, allowing children to listen to good musicians is important. She also stresses the need for students to practise in order to make progress. Hence, the discourses of *music as experience* and *school of arts as school* are central. The latter is also central in Jakob's utterances, as he emphasises the significance of set requirements in order to demonstrate that the school of arts is a school and not only a leisure activity. Jakob believes this will lead to an increase in student efforts.

The subject position *musician-teacher* is also constructed within the *specialisation* discourse. The teachers identifying with this subject position are concerned about being specialists at their instruments and being able to use it.

Lucas and Karen emphasise the importance of teaching and performing music as intertwined, as it creates better role models for students.

*To me, it is part of the same thing, just different sides of it. I think it is necessary for a music teacher to be a musician, and perform music and play for others. Because you can say whatever you want to a student, but in the end, he does what you do anyway. So it is important to be a role model. (Lucas)*

*I believe it is important to have a high level on your instrument and on performing. I believe many of my students have started playing because they went to a concert I played at, and they had a ... [snapping fingers] ... 'I also want to do that'. (Karen)*

Thomas sees himself sometimes as a musician and sometimes as an instrumental teacher, but he also expresses the belief that teaching and playing music are two sides of the same coin, and he identifies with the subject position *musician-teacher*. He sees teaching and performing music combined as crucial in order to have an understanding of music teaching as a profession.

*It also has to do with the understanding of music teaching, that one requires the other. If you are going to perform, you need to teach it also, if you are going to teach something, you need to know it before you teach. (Thomas)*

Among the teachers identifying with the subject position *musician-teacher*, two lack pedagogical education and one did a year of pedagogical training after being trained as a musician. Educational background is, according to Nielsen (1998:32), one explanatory factor for variation in how one perceives of a subject's 'core subject'<sup>56</sup> in relation to the subject's didactics.<sup>57</sup> A subject's didactics is both in relation to its core subject and to general didactics. How these interrelate differs between teachers and between teacher communities (Nielsen 1998). Nielsen (1998:32) argues that decisions based in subject-specific didactics cannot be deduced from an underlying core subject, but still the core subject has to be taken into account. In instrumental teaching, the core subject would be related to playing the instrument and performing music, subject-specific didactics on how to teach that instrument, and general didactics on how to teach. Perceiving of teaching and performing music as two sides of one coin, which is central to the subject position *musician-teacher*, could indicate the core subject as dominant in the teachers' attitude. Teachers in this study who have music performance education identify with the subject position *musician-teacher*, and their lack of pedagogical education could contribute to explaining the

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56 In Norwegian: basisfag.

57 In Norwegian: fagdidaktikk.

core subject's dominance. However, a counterargument is that those trained as specialists on an instrument have most likely spent a lot of time reflecting on how to develop skills and nurture good musicianship – which are central elements in music teaching didactics. However, teaching music in schools of arts often involves more than instrumental lessons, and may require other skills and reflections than those acquired through studying music performance and practising one's instrument.

### 6.1.5 Coach

In the construction of the subject position *coach*, the master signifier is linked together in a chain of equivalence with the signifiers 'students becoming their own teachers', 'fulfil potential', 'guide students' and 'remove barriers'. It includes the belief that everyone has talent. It is constructed within the *versatility* discourse, as a teacher needs to be versatile in order to be able to respond to what the students bring in. However, it is also constructed within the *depth* discourse because of the idea of individualism – that each student should be able to fulfil his or her whole potential. Related to this subject position is Dewey's idea of 'learning by doing', in which learning happens through experience and not transmission of knowledge (Dewey 1938; Hanken & Johansen 1998). There are also overlapping elements between the subject position *coach* and the pedagogical movement 'Progressive education', which was active in the first half of the twentieth century. This movement saw the child as the central element in teaching and learning, and believed that teaching should take the child's development and individuality as a starting point, with the teacher functioning as a supervisor more than a mediator of knowledge (Hanken & Johansen 1998). This could also be seen in opposition to the master/apprentice scheme, where transition of the teacher's skills and knowledge to students are central in the learning process.

One of the teachers, Ellen, identifies with this subject position. This is evident in how she talks about her own practice and what she sees as important.

*The students are alone with themselves the rest of the week, and my job is to make them more aware of what goes on when they play, so that they can develop further. They will not be good at playing because I teach them, but because they work themselves. (Ellen)*

For Ellen, the idea that students become their own teachers is crucial. She believes the students have what it takes inside them, and she is only there to

guide the children. She uses the term 'coach' when she talks about herself as a teacher.

*I believe it is more right to say that you are some sort of a coach for those children, I like that better. I use that term in my head, because I want to meet them [the children] and think that they know this much better than I do, and I will help them. (Ellen)*

*Many of those who teach music think it is the teacher who should tell the student what to do. That they [the teachers] know a lot more than the students. But I believe in getting the student to achieve an understanding of what she is actually doing with the instrument, it is so complex. It is about removing barriers and go to the organic idea of handling an instrument. (Ellen)*

Ellen describes herself as an entrepreneur. She talks about how she has initiated the production of performances, and how she sees possibilities for students to be used in a variety of roles and tasks. She believes it is all connected, and that being an actor on a stage will help students feeling more confident when they are playing an instrument.

*People consist of much more than just handling an instrument. It is so much fun, because when I have put on a performance where instrumental students have been actors, then suddenly there is something happening with the music performance because they feel more confident as performers. (Ellen)*

The idea of individualism, which is central to the subject position *coach* and to the 'Progressive education' movement, is also seen in the policy document of the current government and in the curriculum framework connected primarily to the school of arts' in-depth programme, but also to the core programme. Here, each student's individuality is focused.

William emphasises his enthusiasm for students who work independently. He tries to encourage students to do that, but he finds it difficult because he experiences the students expecting teachers to teach them instead of taking responsibility themselves. They want to receive instead of putting in their own effort. Hence, William experiences the subject position *coach* as unavailable for him within the school of arts because of the centrality he experiences of the discourse of *school of arts as leisure activity*.

### 6.1.6 School of arts teacher

In the construction of the subject position *school of arts teacher*, the master signifier is linked together in a chain of equivalence with the signifiers 'versatility',



'flexibility', 'administrative and collaborative skills', 'relate to the school of arts as an institution' and 'relate to the local community'. This subject position is primarily constructed within the institutional discourses of *breadth*, *centralised governance* and *decentralisation*, and the teacher discourses of *versatility* and *collaboration*. Some of the teachers identify with this subject position, but not first and foremost. Only one identifies primarily with this subject position. The other teachers would say that they work in a school of arts, but are concerned with specifying what kind of school of arts teacher they are. In the curriculum framework, on the other hand, *school of arts teacher* is the primary subject position. There, the *versatility* discourse is central, as the curriculum framework describes the many roles of 'the professional school of arts teacher' as: 'pedagogue, performing artist, leader of small or large groups, organiser, project leader, coordinator, inspirer, cultural carrier, evaluator and colleague' (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:16, my translation). Versatility is further articulated, as the curriculum framework promotes collaboration with the local community arts field, and states that such collaboration could include the school of arts teachers being used as 'conductors, accompanists, producers, instructors, directors and light- and sound technicians' (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016:9-10).

Sofie is the only teacher in this study who identifies primarily with the subject position *school of arts teacher*. She teaches instrumental students and children's music groups. Outside the school, she teaches in a compulsory school and conducts a wind band. She likes working with groups and enjoys doing different things, but she would like all her tasks to be included in her school of arts job. During the years, she has agreed to take on new tasks, and she treasures variation – throughout the workday as well as from year to year. She was trained as a musician and instrumental teacher, but today she enjoys other things the most.

*At the previous school of arts, I had to teach some 'music and rhythm' groups. I was just thrown into it. I had to say yes because I really wanted that job. That is how it started. [...] And conducting wind bands, I was never going to do that, it just happened. And the same with teaching in compulsory schools. That was the worst thing I could imagine, but now I am doing that as well. And it is what I enjoy the most. (Sofie)*

Sofie sees the value of collaboration with other teachers. To her, it makes teaching more dynamic. She accentuates the importance of being open to other's ideas. Hence, she sees flexibility as important.

Nora, however, sees some negative effects of teacher flexibility and versatility.

*I have become a potato that can be used for everything [adaptable to multiple contexts], who does not really focus on, or is passionate about, one single thing. (Nora)*

To be flexible is central to the subject position *school of arts teacher*. Ellen asserts that flexibility will be even more important in the future school of arts, although she questions whether pre-service music teachers are properly prepared for the experience.

*When you are trained to be a music teacher, you learn how to teach your instrument. Nobody tells you that when you start teaching in a school of arts you should know how to be a director of shows and how to collaborate with others. Maybe you have to learn a new instrument, not being an expert at once, but dare trying out new things. [...] All these things you didn't even know about. (Ellen)*

Like Ellen, Laura also believes flexibility will be increasingly important in the future. However, she warns that too much flexibility is not a good idea, because 'if we spread ourselves to cover everything, there will maybe be nothing left'. Laura is afraid that flexibility will oust depth and specialisation. Technological competence is accentuated both in the curriculum framework and among teachers as crucial for future school of arts teachers. This also relates to flexibility, as a school of arts teacher need to be able to relate and incorporate what the future brings.

Central to the subject position *school of arts teacher* is the ability to relate and adapt not merely to the various things going on inside the school, but also to the world outside – for example the local community arts field. Sofie relates to the local community because she works in different arenas, but also because she sees the value of participating as audience when there are concerts or performances, whether her students are participating or not. She envisions the school of arts as a local resource centre both as 'reaching out' and 'inviting in', and sees it as crucial for teachers to participate in the local community arts field. Jakob describes seeing himself in a bigger setting, and getting a social perspective on things.

*To be a school of arts teacher actually becomes something quite comprehensive. It is also a social angle on these things. What we do have consequences for children and youth in the local community. And for adults. It is about seeing yourself as part of the bigger picture. (Jakob)*

Also Julia sees the potential value of the school of arts in local communities. The school as a local resource centre must reach out, set an agenda and be a political actor, and collaboration with compulsory schools is an important way

of doing so, she argues. She also enjoys collaboration with other teachers, and sees it as a crucial part of being a school of arts teacher.

In a way, the subject position *school of arts teacher* contains 'everything'. Hannah expresses the feeling of having many identities, which seem to merge into a school of arts teacher identity. However, as addressed earlier, she would rather say that she *works* in a school of arts than say she is a school of arts teacher.

*I am an instrumental teacher. That is what I answer if people ask. Or that I work in a school of arts. [...] And I have been a conductor. So maybe I have many identities. Then you become more ... Maybe it is school of arts teacher [that I am]. Maybe I started out as an instrumental teacher and became school of arts teacher. (Hannah)*

### 6.1.7 Administrator as a subject position?

Several of the teachers emphasise administration as an important part of being a school of arts teacher, as you must administrate your students, but also projects and concerts. However, the teachers do not speak of themselves as administrators. Even Alex, whose work tasks mostly relate to school administration, does not see himself as an administrator.

*I identify primarily as instrumental teacher, even though most of my work now is administration. But I feel that being an instrumental teacher is my main thing even though I also do the other job. [...] If I had only worked with administration, it would have been different. (Alex)*

Like Alex, Ellen also performs administrative tasks but does not see herself as an administrator. She rather identifies with the subject positions *coach*, *musician-teacher* and *musician*.

Some of the teachers in this study have taken (or plan to take) administration and management courses. Julia, William and Thomas are three of these. Their reasons for considering including administrative tasks in their jobs are variation (but not too much variation), better working hours, and new challenges. William prefers having administrative tasks included in his job, but he experiences it as not possible in his current school. Julia, however, is not sure whether she wants to take on administrative work.

*I have been a bit confused the last two or three years. Where am I going? And especially when I took the administration and management course, do I wish to be a leader or be in the management, or work with the grassroots? (Julia)*

Thomas ponders taking a similar course. This might lead him to more convenient working hours, but he is worried that it would demand sacrifices from him that he is unwilling to make.

*A nearby thought is to take an administrative education and follow that path. But at the same time, I see that if I do that, I can forget about being a musician, at least at the level I want. Then I must ask 'do I want that'? One thing is to keep on teaching. I can manage combining those two things. But I really like the job I have now... [...] It [working with administration] has to do with working hours because I have a family now. And it is an obvious alternative. [...] But I do not know if I want it. (Thomas)*

For many teachers, moving on to administrative tasks holds advantages like better working hours, possibilities for increased employment and variation in tasks. However, administration could also be a marker for movement within a hierarchy. As elaborated, the subject position *musician* is high in the hierarchy. But a question is whether administration could be seen as an alternative pathway for upward mobility for those who feel unable to identify with the subject position *musician*. Administrative tasks clearly represent a career pathway, but is it one of upward mobility?

Freidson (2001:76) argues that there are two lines for upward mobility open to workers in the occupational labour market: (i) to continue practising one's craft and over time get increments in title, or (ii) to forsake the practice of one's occupation and move to a staff position in order to climb up the hierarchy. The latter is what both Julia and Thomas describe. They are thinking about moving on to staff positions such as headteacher in a school of arts. However, they both see that they somehow have to forsake the practice of their occupation, and risk losing touch with their instrument. Freidson (2001:76-77) asserts that heading for a staff position often troubles those who identify strongly with their craft. Julia and Thomas exemplify such ambivalence. This could also be a reason Alex and Ellen do not view themselves as administrators, even though they perform administrative tasks and enjoy doing so. Hence, *administrator* as a subject position seems to be in conflict with the other subject positions; the teachers cannot identify with the other subject positions if they are following the 'administrator' pathway. *Administrator* was not identified as a subject position in the data material.

## 6.2 Collective professional identity in schools of arts

Most of the teachers in this study identify with several subject positions, which resembles how they perceive their *individual* professional identity. But how do teachers perceive their *collective* professional identity, and what characterises the music teaching profession in the school of arts? Do teachers see themselves as members of the same profession or as belonging to various professions? Collective professional identity could be unified at the same time as the individual identities are diverse (Heggen 2008). A collective identity can only exist when it is constructed as difference, as creation of a group means that you unite around some features and reject others (Mouffe 2005a). What the school of arts music teachers have in common is at the very least three things: (i) they teach, (ii) music is their subject, and (iii) they work in a school of arts. However, even though uniting around some features, there will always be internal differences in a profession, and a profession can be composed of several different sub-communities that are loosely held together (Freidson 2001). Hence, what is understood as the profession and as sub-communities of the profession is open for interpretation.

I have suggested ‘music teaching’ as the profession of which the school of arts music teachers are members (see chapter 2). However, several of the teachers in this study see themselves as members of a profession that resembles the subject position that with which they primarily identify. Hannah, Laura and Alex primarily identify with the subject position *instrumental teacher*, and see themselves as members of, as an example, the ‘guitar teaching’ profession. On the other hand, Emma and Thomas, who also primarily identify with the subject position *instrumental teachers*, have a different perception.

*I believe it [music teaching] is a profession, which string teacher is a branch of. (Thomas)*

*I think it [music teaching] must be a profession. It is many different things within it because people would be music teachers with very different backgrounds. [...] Music teaching is really a multifaceted profession in a way because it contains so much at the same time as it contains some common features like teaching music ... I think of it [music teaching] more as a profession than I think vocal teaching is. You could also say that vocal teaching is a profession, but I think of it more like a sub-branch of the profession. And some choose to cultivate that, and that is fine. You are a music teacher and cultivate the vocal teaching part. (Emma)*

Thomas and Emma see ‘music teaching’ as the profession, but also acknowledge that there are various sub-communities. Jakob, who identifies with the subject positions *musician-teacher* and *musician*, suggests that ‘music teaching’ might

be his profession because it is more knowledge-based than 'musician'. But he also suggests 'musician' as a profession because it implies specialised training. Hence, Jakob understands his profession based on how he characterises a profession, but he is also in line with the literature. There, performing tasks based on research-based knowledge acquired from specialist education is a characteristic of a profession (Molander & Terum 2008a).

When the teachers in this study were asked what, in their opinion, characterises a profession, the most frequent answer was professional pride. Other traits mentioned were that (i) members of a profession know a lot about what they are doing and understand the work mechanisms, (ii) they have a holistic overview of the field and are able to take ethical considerations into account, (iii) their professional identities are strong, and (iv) they are part of a work community. Emma describes profession as the knowledge base that underpins practice.

*My occupation is the concrete, what I actually do. But the profession is more widespread, maybe the ideal in a way. My profession is music teaching, but my occupation is vocal teaching. That is how I perceive it. I think that my profession would be all the expert knowledge, everything I have as a foundation, which lies there whether I use it or not. (Emma)*

Some of the teachers also connect passion to a profession: that you are passionate about what you do for a living.

As I have now shown, teachers' perceptions of professions, and their own membership in these, are varied. Some teachers link their profession to their instrument, while others see 'music teaching' as their profession. However, none of them perceives of 'school of arts teaching' as the profession. But, as elaborated earlier, *school of arts teacher* is the dominating subject position in the curriculum frameworks. This could point towards the curriculum frameworks, and thus the Council for the schools of arts, indicating 'school of arts teaching' as the profession in which all teachers are members.

These differing views in perceiving the profession can be discussed with reference to group formation in discourse theory. Groups could be established according to the logic of equivalence, which provides a relatively large group with a common platform, or according to the logic of difference, which takes into account the internal differences (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001). In the case of the latter, this can weaken the common ground for mobilisation. In the curriculum frameworks, the teachers in schools of arts are constituted as a group according to the logic of equivalence: teachers are members of the same profession whether they teach dance or music – or even

more specifically hip-hop, ballet, violin – or give lessons in compulsory schools. The common ground is where they teach (in the schools of arts) and that they teach an art subject. Perceiving ‘school of arts teaching’ as the profession could provide the school of arts and the teachers with a stronger political voice. It makes the institution ‘school of arts’ central in the profession.

‘Music teaching’ as a profession, on the other hand, would not centre around an institution, but rather the subject ‘music’ and the practice ‘teaching’. As some of the teachers see ‘music teaching’ as a profession (and others are even more specific), they tend to perceive the profession of which they are members according to the logic of difference (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001). Here, the internal differences between teachers in different art forms are taken into account. This means that each of the knowledge bases that the various professions build on are more homogeneous than if all school of arts teachers were to be members of the same profession. It also implies that the institution, the school of arts, is not as central and might have a less united political voice. Instead of focusing on a shared workplace, this view sees the members of the profession as sharing a common subject, music. This would exclude teachers from other art forms than music, but could include music teachers who work outside the school of arts.

In formation of a collective identity, the notion of the ‘constitutive outside’ (that a ‘we’ always depends on a ‘they’ from which it is differentiated) (Mouffe 2005a:19) and the notion of social closure (exclusion of those not possessing characteristics that are important to the group’s members) (Freidson 2001) are central. In professions, social closure is based upon competence and educational credentials (Freidson 2001). In this study’s data material, this is evident in the way Kristoffer sees ‘other string teachers’ as a group of which he cannot be member, due to his self-perceived lack competence and skills. John sees others as having more versatile competence than he has, and excludes himself from the group of ‘music teachers’ with more versatile competence than ‘instrumental teachers’. This relates to what was discussed in chapter 5, especially in 5.1 where the nodal point ‘teacher competence’ was elaborated. The exclusion of others in order to form groups also relates to hierarchy and status.

### 6.3 Hierarchy and status

Hierarchy has been elaborated above, especially connected to the subject position *musician*. Here, I will continue the discussion and address hierarchy among professional identities in the school of arts more generally. Mouffe (2005a:15) claims that creation of an identity implies the formation of difference, and that difference often is constructed on the foundation of a hierarchy. Hierarchy and status are also elaborated in the literature on professions. Abbott (1988:129) asserts that '[c]areer differences often reflect status differences', and that '[c]areers aiming at high intraprofessional status generally have longer training periods and are more fixed in form than other careers'. This could indicate that teachers identifying with subject positions constructed within the *specialisation* discourse have a higher status because their competences generally are more specialised and require longer training. This is evident in the data material, where those subject positions that are constructed within the discourses of *specialisation* and *depth* (*instrumental teacher*, *musician* and *musician-teacher*) are ascribed a higher status than those constructed within the *versatility* and *breadth* discourses (*music teacher* and *school of arts teacher*).

Abbott (1988:118) claims that the degree of involvement with the profession's knowledge system also reflects status. Although the music teaching profession's knowledge base is fragmented, as elaborated in chapter 2, the knowledge that seems to be most valued in the hierarchy of subject positions within the school of arts is specialised knowledge and skills related to an instrument. This implies that the subject position *musician* has a relatively high status, but also that the subject position *instrumental teacher* has higher status than the subject positions *music teacher* and *school of arts teacher*.

Status also relates to 'client' differentiation. Abbott (1988) asserts that serving high-status clients will lead to an increase in professional status. The 'clients' in the school of arts could be the students, their parents or other instances such as local wind bands or compulsory schools. These are all interesting, but in the following I focus on students as 'clients'. The next question to ask is therefore who the high-status students in schools of arts are. When the teachers in this study were asked of their preferences regarding students, they said they preferred students who were dedicated and interested, and made an effort and practised; they said that age was not important. However, most of the teachers still expressed a preference for advanced students to beginners. Hence, the high-status 'clients' are the students who are dedicated and interested,



are making an effort and are practising – and preferably are advanced. The description of these high-status students resembles the description of in-depth programme students in the curriculum framework (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016). Here, age is not important, but effort and interest are. If serving high-status students could lead to an increase in professional status (Abbott 1988), a relevant question is who gets to teach the students in in-depth programmes? This teaching could be outsourced from the schools of arts either to the national specialisation programmes such as *TUP*<sup>58</sup> and *Unge Talenter* (Young Talents),<sup>59</sup> or as inter-municipal or regional arrangements (mentioned in chapter 4). This could lead to a decrease in status for the music teachers in schools of arts.

However, the former curriculum framework (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003) did not have an in-depth programme. It was inspired by L97,<sup>60</sup> in which the discourses of *breadth* and *versatility* were more dominant than in today's written curriculum for the compulsory school (K06). In addition, the *breadth* and *versatility* discourses were more central in the cultural policy of the former government (2005–2013) than that of the current. Teachers in this study were interviewed between June and November 2014. The first chapters of the new curriculum framework for the school of arts were released in December 2014, the rest in September 2016. Hence, when the teachers in this study were interviewed, the new curriculum framework was not yet available. On the contrary, in 2014 many schools of arts had just ended projects related to 'kulturskoletimen',<sup>61</sup> initiated by the former government, a project where the *breadth* discourse was dominant. Although the teachers knew a new curriculum framework was in the wings, the *breadth* and *versatility* discourses had been central in the school of arts for years, and remained so during the interview period. This could contribute in explaining that, for some of the teachers, status is also connected to the subject positions constructed within the *breadth* and *versatility* discourses. For example, do both John and Laura look up to young teachers that they believe have a more versatile competence, especially related to genre? With the new curriculum framework, the *depth* and *specialisation* discourses are increasingly dominating the field. However, the discourses of

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58 Talent development programme for students between 13 and 19 years at the Norwegian Academy of Music.

59 Talent development programme for students between 13 and 19 years at Barratt Due Institute of Music.

60 The former national written curriculum for the compulsory school, applicable in the period 1997–2006.

61 See chapter 1 for explanation.

*breadth* and *versatility* are still central. As a result, there are struggles over the meaning of central concepts, as elaborated in chapter 4 and 5. In the school of arts policy of the current government, the *depth* and *specialisation* discourses are dominant, which could boost the status of professional identities coming from subject positions constructed within these discourses.

Stabell's (forthcoming) study on learning cultures and selection mechanisms at play in conservatoires' junior departments indicates that Norwegian junior department students ascribe low status to working as a school of arts music teacher. Stabell refers to teaching in schools of arts as an undesirable career trajectory for many of the students. In fact, two informants position instrumental teachers in the school of arts at the bottom of the hierarchy of possible future trajectories. However, this is not the case for UK students in Stabell's study. There are various possible reasons for this difference, but one may be that the *breadth* and *versatility* discourses have been central in the Norwegian school of arts for years, whereas instrumental teaching for children is quite different outside the Scandinavian countries (as elaborated in chapter 1). Generally, outside Scandinavia, the *specialisation* and *school of arts as school* discourses are dominant in music schools.

The concept of 'pool profession', which refers to professions where 'specialized professionals work while awaiting new demand in their own' (Abbott 1988:131), is also interesting in relation to status of professional identities. Findings from this study indicate a high status of the subject position *musician*. Abbott (1988) asserts that, in the US, teaching has become a pool profession that supports groups, especially musicians and artists, whose parent profession lack adequate and stable demand. Abbott (1988:131) stresses that the 'existence of such a pool profession allows the music profession to exist, outside major cities, largely on a part-time basis'. The case of Karen exemplifies this. She primarily identifies with the subject position *musician*, and her work as a music teacher in the school of arts is one of the reasons that she can function as a 'town musician'.

## 6.4 Summary of professional identities

The analysis has identified the following subject positions available for the school of arts music teachers in this study to identify with, namely *music teacher*, *instrumental teacher*, *musician*, *musician-teacher*, *coach* and *school of arts teacher*. Most of the teachers identify with several subject positions, either

at the same time or interchangeably according to the situation. In discourse theory, the subject is perceived as fragmented – positioned in several ways by several discourses (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:41). A school of arts music teacher could, for instance, identify with the subject position *musician* when s/he plays concerts and *instrumental teacher* when teaching instrumental students. There are traits of status and hierarchy within the field of subject positions, where those constructed within the discourses of *depth* and *specialisation* have a somewhat higher status than those constructed within the discourses of *versatility* and *breadth*. Although most of the teachers in this study identify with several subject positions, only one identifies primarily with the subject position *school of arts teacher*. In the curriculum frameworks, however, *school of arts teacher* is the primary subject position. Hence, there is difference in how ‘music teacher’ is represented in language used by the different actors.

Collective identity in this study is perceived in relation to group formation and identification with a profession. Groups are constituted differently in the interview material and the curriculum frameworks. In the curriculum frameworks, the teachers are constituted as a group according to the logic of equivalence (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001) where they are seen as members of the same profession whether they teach music or other art forms. The common ground is where they teach and that they teach an art subject. This points to perceiving ‘school of arts teaching’ as the profession where all school of arts teachers are members, which could provide the school of arts with a stronger political voice. It makes the institution ‘school of arts’ central in the profession. However, in the interview material, groups are primarily constituted according to the logic of difference (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001), as internal differences between teachers are taken into account. Here, ‘music teaching’ (and even more specific, for instance ‘piano teaching’) is seen as the profession that music teachers in schools of arts are members of. This implies that instead of focusing on a shared workplace, this view sees the members of the profession as sharing a common subject, music.

This study also shows that there may be conflict between subject positions constructed within discourses in binary oppositions. An example of this is that teachers identifying with the subject position *music teacher* constructed within the *breadth* discourse would most likely emphasise collective values, while teachers identifying with subject positions constructed within the *depth* discourse would be more concerned with individualism. This could lead to different views on who the school of arts should be for, what to prioritise and

what the aims of teaching are. However, in chapter 4, I argued that the school of arts could be seen as a 'pluri-verse' where difference was acknowledged, where there was a pluralisation of hegemonies, and potential conflicts arose on an agonistic level instead of an antagonistic one (Mouffe 2005a, 2013). This implies that even though the various subject positions are constructed within different, and potentially conflicting, discourses, they, and further professional identities, could be perceived as a 'pluri-verse' of identities.



## 7 Conclusion

The main aim of this study has been to investigate professional identities of music teachers working in the Norwegian municipal school of music and performing arts. The study has taken a discourse theoretical approach where identities are understood as identification with subject positions. Subject positions are constructed within discourses, which means that the investigation of professional identities involves identifying central discourses in the field. Theoretically, the study has been built on discourse theory (Laclau 1990; Laclau & Mouffe 2001) in combination with theories of professions (Abbott 1988; Freidson 2001; Molander & Terum 2008b), the latter which are understood as a discourse of *professionalism*. The study has been methodologically anchored in qualitative research (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña 2014; Patton 2015) and discourse analysis (Gee 2014; Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001; Neumann 2001; Potter & Wetherell 1987; Taylor 2001a, 2001b).

The empirical foundation of this analysis consisted of semi-structured interviews with sixteen teachers, curriculum frameworks (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003, 2016) and key policy documents (Conservative Party 2015; Ministry of Culture 2009; Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003, 2016; Office of the Prime Minister 2013). The research design sought out three different voices: the interviews invited the voices of the teachers, whereas the curriculum frameworks embodied the voice of the Council for schools of arts (Norsk kulturskoleråd) and the policy

documents those of the former and current government. The findings in this study have contributed to an increased understanding of the school of arts and how different actors perceive the school and those who work there. The interviews gave me entrance into conversations about the school of arts, to expressions of aims, identities and practices. This final chapter offers conclusions regarding key findings, contributions, possible implications and suggestions for further research.

## 7.1 Summary of key findings

This section aims to summarise key findings of the research questions. The summary of key findings connected to the first research question focuses on the tension between the institutional discourses of *breadth* and *depth* and between the teacher discourses of *versatility* and *specialisation*, but also on collaboration at institutional and teacher levels. The second part of this section summarises key findings related to the second research question and thus elaborates on the professional identities of music teachers.

### 7.1.1 Competing discourses in the school of arts

The first research question for this study was:

*Which discourses compete in the Norwegian municipal school of music and performing arts?*

The study has identified several institutional and teacher discourses competing in defining what the school of arts should be, and what it means to teach within the institution. None of the discourses has hegemony; rather the study has found the field to be open, with several discourses standing in binary opposition to each other. Within these binaries, there is struggle to define central aspects of the school of arts. The *institutional discourses* compete to define what kind of institution the school of arts should be. This includes questions such as:

- what kind of societal role should the school of arts occupy?
- what does it mean for the school to be 'for everyone'?
- how is quality best ensured?
- how should the school be a local resource centre?

- to what extent are framework conditions such as time, resources, facilities and work percentage required?

The institutional discourses identified in this study are the discourses of *breadth* and *depth*, of *local autonomy* and *centralised governance*, of *'the House'* and *decentralisation*, of *New Public Management (NPM)* and *professionalism*, and of *school of arts as school* and *school of arts as leisure activity*. At one level, they all try to define the school of arts as an institution. At another level, the binaries try to imbue 'for everyone', 'ensuring quality', 'local resource centre', 'framework conditions' and 'societal role' with meaning (see figure 1).

The *teacher discourses* struggle over defining the practitioners of the schools of arts. This is also an exercise that revolves around a set of critical questions concerning the practice of teaching:

- what kind of teacher competences are needed?
- how should teachers interact?
- what are the aims of teaching?

The teacher discourses identified in this study are the discourses of *versatility* and *specialisation*, of *collaboration* and *autonomy*, and of *music as a tool* and *music as experience*. They all struggle over defining 'teacher' at the same time as they, at another level, try to imbue 'teacher competence', 'interaction' and 'aim of teaching' with meaning (see figure 2).

### **Breadth–depth and versatility–specialisation**

The analysis has identified the most central of the competing discourses to be the institutional discourses of *breadth* and *depth* and the teacher discourses of *versatility* and *specialisation*. Of the binary *breadth–depth*, the *breadth* discourse is identified as dominant in the data material. This is evident, for instance, in the notion of the school of arts as having a broad mandate where all children should be included, and that the school has a responsibility for arts education in general. The *depth* discourse is also present, however, where the signifiers 'individualism' – as every child should be able to choose which activities to participate in – and 'quality' – as it is secured through specialisation and depth – are central.

Discourses always compete for hegemony (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001). This means that balancing breadth and depth in the school of arts is demanding, as the binary discourses of *breadth* and *depth* both try to



articulate the same signifier, 'for everyone', in order to achieve hegemony. The struggle between these *institutional* discourses also connects to the *teacher* discourses of *versatility* and *specialisation*, which struggle over fixing the meaning of 'teacher competence'. Teachers' competences and what it means to be 'for everyone' are connected. For instance, the *breadth* discourse articulating 'for everyone' would constitute a need for versatile teacher competence. However, although a need for versatile competence is constituted, hegemony of the *versatility* discourse does not necessarily follow. Rather, the analysis has revealed that while the *institutional* discourse of *breadth* is dominant in the data material, the *teacher* discourse of *specialisation* is dominant in the interview material. This does create some tension.

Based on the findings and theoretical perspectives of this study, I propose that a way of dealing with this tension would be to institutionalise versatility by accommodating (various) specialists. A diverse group of teachers with different specialised competences can cater for versatility and breadth at an institutional level and participate in balancing the needs of breadth and depth, and versatility and specialisation, in the school of arts. However, I argue that the term 'specialist' must be understood in a broad sense, including, for example, 'group teaching', 'general music' and 'genre knowledge' as forms of specialisation. This is an understanding that can be found in the medical field, where all doctors specialise in something, and some of them specialise as general practitioners, where a holistic approach is central. This logic could also be applied to the activities in the school of arts, where a versatile school with a broad mandate aiming at reaching out to all children should offer a variety of different activities.

The empirical data in this study support, to a great extent, an understanding of the school of arts as a plurality of specialists and specialisations. A manifold of discourses shape the discursive field, but no single one has established a hegemonic position. However, especially in the documents, there are signs of a desire to unite teachers and students around common features, in order to make the school of arts a place for everyone. There are arguments against homogeneous communities in the literature, however, where the balancing between homogeneity and the need for recognising difference is central. This point has been made at the level of society by Mouffe (2005a, 2013), but can also be relevant for a diverse institution like the school of arts. Mouffe (2005a, 2013) argues in favour of a pluralistic society because it makes people capable of seeing the differences needed in order to identify with one group or the other. Hence, a community aiming to build homogeneous communities might

end up blurring distinctions that are important and meaningful to its subjects (Mouffe 2005a, 2013). Within the school of arts, this notion of the importance of difference applies to the teachers' need for a diversity of subject positions available to identify with (teacher level), but also the students' need for a diversity of activities to choose from (institutional level).

Nielsen (2010:14) argues that if the disciplinary scope of the music subject is expanded too far, there are two potential countermeasures. One is to focus on a common denominator across the subject specific (homogeneous community), the other is to facilitate opportunities to choose specialisations. A possible consequence of the first solution is that the music subject's theoretical perspectives are lifted from the subject specific to an overarching interdisciplinary theory formation (Nielsen 2010). Here, the various differences are reconciled into something less concrete and less specialised. This relates to group formation based on the logic of equivalence (Laclau & Mouffe 2001). Nielsen (2010) points to positive implications for focusing on an overarching interdisciplinarity, as it can prevent tendencies of subject-related introversion and narrowness, but also negative implications, as it could weaken the possibilities for in-depth concentration.

### **Collaboration at institutional and teacher levels**

The analysis has identified *collaboration* to be a central element: i) as *institutional* collaboration connected to the discourses of '*the House*' and of *decentralisation* articulating the signifier 'local resource centre', and ii) as *teacher* collaboration connected to the discourses of *collaboration* and of *autonomy* articulating 'interaction'. Teacher collaboration is also present in the discourse of '*the House*', as the teachers see informal meeting places as crucial to making collaboration possible. This entails having a 'House' – a school of arts building that accommodates all activities and where other actors within the arts field are welcome. Collaboration is important to the teachers in this study because they find it necessary in order to create a good learning and working environment, and because of the opportunities it provides for expanding their knowledge and competence when learning from each other.

Institutional collaboration is expressed as the discourses of '*the House*' and *decentralisation* try to articulate the meaning of the school of arts as a local resource centre. In the curriculum framework (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016), being a local resource centre is articulated as collaboration with the compulsory school sector and a range of other sectors in the municipality: local culture,

public health, kindergartens, upper secondary schools and with professional artists. The schools of arts in this study collaborate with compulsory schools, upper secondary schools, orchestras, wind bands and other actors within the local community music and arts fields.

In addition to the discourses mentioned above, the *New Public Management* (NPM) discourse also appears in connection to institutional collaboration. This is visible as a concern about possibilities of 'outsourcing' (transferral of services to external providers) of the music subject in compulsory schools to schools of arts taking place in collaboration practices between those two schools. This underpins Breivik and Christophersen's (2013) findings of a tendency toward outsourcing of arts education from compulsory schools to the Cultural Rucksack and other external cultural initiatives. A point to make here, though, is that a school of arts music teacher also teaching in a compulsory school does not in itself imply outsourcing. Rather, outsourcing in this regard refers to lack of collaboration on an institutional level and between teachers – as the opposite of headteachers meeting regularly and music teachers working in both schools establishing collaborative relationships. In this collaboration, the notion of the importance of difference and seeing the world as a 'pluri-verse' (Mouffe 2005a, 2013), addressed earlier, also applies. Compulsory schools and schools of arts have different missions and tasks to maintain; the compulsory school should provide all children with a general knowledge of music, while the school of arts should provide children with opportunities to attend arts activities of their choice. One is compulsory and the other is not. Collaboration on equal terms, where differences are openly acknowledged by everyone involved, is necessary if the collaboration is to avoid appearing to be some sort of outsourcing. Transferring tasks from one institution to another tends to limit collaborative practices.

Collaboration on the institutional level may or may not involve teacher collaboration. Findings from this study indicate that teachers are interested in collaboration with different institutions, in order to vary their tasks. More institutional collaboration can also lead to larger employment percentages, which may be positive for the individual teacher, but also for the collegium and the collaboration. Findings from the interview material showed that informal meeting places were crucial to the emergence of teacher collaboration. If the *decentralisation* discourse achieves hegemony, there will probably be few common meeting places for the teachers. In order to be able to meet and collaborate, the teachers must also have a certain work percentage.

Increase in employment percentages could entail certain caveats, however, if the *NPM* discourse dominates in articulating the framework condition ‘employment percentage’. This includes overstretching teacher competence and thus reducing the quality of the work. Overstretching teacher competence relates to what Ingersoll and Merrill (2011:190) addressed as ‘out-of-field teaching’, meaning ‘the extent to which teachers are assigned to teach subjects which do not match their fields of specialty and training’. Findings from this study indicate that teachers want some variation in tasks, as long as they are able to perform tasks within their area of competence. This relates to the question of who should decide the teachers’ competences: the teachers themselves, the profession or others, such as headteachers or politicians. Here, the binary discourses of *local autonomy* and of *centralised governance* are present, as they compete over who should ensure the quality: the ‘local’ (here: the individual practitioner or the profession) or someone else (here: the headteacher or politicians) on behalf of the practitioner or profession.

Within the discourse of *professionalism*, performing tasks within one’s specialisation increases the quality of work when discretion is applied. Music teaching does indeed involve the use of discretion where discretionary specialisation is central (see chapter 2). This relates to the *specialisation* discourse articulating ‘teacher competence’, where ‘mastering’ and ‘competence being used’ are central signifiers. It also relates to the institutional discourse of *depth*, where ‘quality’ is central.

### 7.1.2 Professional identities of music teachers

This section summarises key findings related to the second research question:

*How are music teachers’ professional identities constructed within the discourses in the school of arts?*

The analysis has identified six subject positions as available for the teachers to identify with – or reject. These are *music teacher*, *instrumental teacher*, *musician*, *musician-teacher*, *coach* and *school of arts teacher*. It has also revealed that most of the teachers in this study identify with several subject positions, either at the same time or interchangeably, according to the situation. This is in line with discourse theory, where the subject is perceived as fragmented – positioned in several ways by several discourses (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002:41). The school of arts is an open field with several discourses at play, which means that the

subject positions available for the teachers are constructed within numerous discourses. Two of the sixteen teachers in this study identified with a single subject position, while the rest identified with several. The various subject positions together shape their professional identities.

According to discourse theory, the subject is always overdetermined, meaning that subjects are positioned by several conflicting discourses (Laclau & Mouffe 2001). In this study, subject positions constructed within the *breadth* discourse and those constructed within the *depth* discourse operate in the field together. This makes it sometimes impossible for the teachers to identify with both at the same time, and their professional identities have to be negotiated. The analysis has revealed that, for some teachers, certain subject positions are seen as incompatible with working within the school of arts. This is the case regarding the subject position *musician*. Status is also expressed in the findings. Those subject positions constructed within the *specialisation* and *depth* discourses (*instrumental teacher*, *musician* and *musician-teacher*) are ascribed a higher status than those constructed within the *versatility* and *breadth* discourses (*music teacher* and *school of arts teacher*).

Chapter 6 discussed how to define the profession and the specialities, or sub-communities, making up the profession. In the curriculum framework, *school of arts teacher* is the dominating subject position and appears as the profession accommodating all teachers in the school of arts. What the members of this profession appear to have in common is the workplace – the school of arts. However, workplace is not a common unifying trait of a profession, according to theories of profession. Professions are rather recognised by performative traits concerning professional practitioners' way of performing tasks (use of discretion), and organisational traits involving a profession's organisation in order to maintain its tasks (monopoly, autonomy, jurisdiction and associations) (Molander & Terum 2008a). Perceiving of *music teaching* as the profession of music teachers in the school of arts implies that the workplace is not in itself the defining characteristic, but rather the knowledge base and specialisation. However, although the school of arts is not central *in* the music teaching profession, it is central *to* the music teachers – in the sense of a good working and learning environment and a school of arts building. Hence, the teachers in this study see the school of arts as an important part of their work, but not as a significant part of their professional identity. This could be seen in connection to the extensive use of part-time positions, which severs teachers' attachments to particular workplaces. When teachers work in several workplaces, their

professional identities are tied not merely to a particular school of arts institution, but to their professional life as a whole.

Seeing *school of arts teaching* as the profession implies that the profession is constituted according to the logic of equivalence (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001), where teaching in the school of arts is the unifying factor. On the contrary, perceiving *music teaching* or *instrumental teaching* as professions within the school of arts means that teachers are constituted as a group according to the logic of difference (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001). Here, internal differences between teachers are taken into account. Groups constituted according to the logic of difference can also weaken the common ground for mobilisation, however (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002; Laclau & Mouffe 2001). Most of the teachers in this study perceive *music teaching* or *instrumental teaching* as their profession.

## 7.2 Contributions

While music teacher identity has been subject to several studies (Angelo 2012; Bernard 2005; Bouij 1998a; Broman-Kananen 2009; Roberts 1991; Tivenius 2008), this study is unique in examining the professional identities of music teachers working in the Norwegian school of arts. This study contributes to existing knowledge in various ways: empirically, theoretically and methodologically. These contributions will be elaborated in this section.

### 7.2.1 Theoretical contributions

This study contributes in answering some of the critique Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop (2004) put forward regarding research on teacher identity. They noted, for instance, that existing research focused too little on the context. The findings related to the first research question in this study contribute in describing the context within the music teachers' professional identities are constructed. Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop (2004) also found problems in the research literature related to ambiguity in the relation between the concepts of 'identity' and 'self', and about what counts as 'professional'. I will now elaborate on this study's contributions to the understanding of 'identity' and 'professionalism'.

This study contributes to the field of music teacher identity studies with an understanding of identity as identification with subject positions. Identities are 'points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us' (Hall 1996:19). This implies that the struggles over meaning in the field within which the identities are constructed must be an important part of a study focusing on identity. Understanding identity as identification with subject positions also implies that subjects are fragmented and overdetermined, as there are several subject positions at play within a field which is constantly changing. Everything, including identity, is contingent: it could have been, and can be, different. Other researchers, for instance Bouij (1998a, 1998b), have perceived identity as roles; but this has been criticised as too settled and not flexible enough (Bernard 2005; Broman-Kananen 2009). This study's view of identity as constructed within discourses which are contingent, contributes with a somehow more flexible understanding of identity.

The study's combination of discourse theory and theories of professions, where professionalism is understood as a discourse is novel – at least in the context of Nordic scholarship. In this study, theories of professions are integrated in the concept of professionalism, which is understood discursively as a *discourse of professionalism*. There are other researchers, for instance Evetts (2005, 2006), who also understand 'professionalism' as a discourse. A difference, however, is that Evetts (2005, 2006) distinguishes between two forms of professionalism: the discourses of *organisational professionalism* constructed from above and *occupational professionalism* constructed from within. A theoretical contribution of this study is the incorporation of various theories of professions into one discourse of *professionalism*. Here, the discursive structure of professionalism is not seen at the level where different discourses of professionalism compete against each other, but rather as the discourse of *professionalism* competes against other discourses, such as the *NPM* discourse, in articulating 'organising of work'. One of the research questions in this study was to identify competing discourses in the school of arts, which includes those who compete against the discourse of *professionalism*. This way of understanding 'professionalism' as a discourse gave meaning to the finding of the *NPM* discourse as a binary opponent.

### 7.2.2 Methodological contributions

The discursive approach represents a theoretical as well as methodological contribution to research within the field of music education. The use of discourse analysis (Laclau & Mouffe 2001) has provided analytical tools that can open the research field and challenge taken-for-granted knowledge, discover binary discursive oppositions, and unmask power relations. On the contrary, if a thematic analysis were applied in this study, preconceived knowledge would likely have received more focus. A thematic analysis structured by theory would probably have been clearer and less 'messy'. In discourse analysis, the focus on the meanings constructed in the field and the structure of the findings deriving both from theory and empirical data often make the analysis somewhat tangled. One of the methodological contributions of this study is its explicit embrace of the complexity and 'messiness' of the field. This is also evident in the constructing of professional identities, where various discourses and subject positions are in a continuous struggle to fix meaning over central elements.

This 'messiness', I would argue, contributes in broadening the field of research on music teacher identity because it represents a conceptual development in a research field that hitherto has conceived of music teacher identities as primarily centred around a teacher–musician dichotomy (Angelo 2014; Bernard 2005; Bouij 1998a; Broman-Kananen 2009; Roberts 2004; Stephens 1995). In that sense, this study is in line with Bernard (2005) who criticises viewing music making and music teaching as opposing forces. However, this study not only contributes in broadening the understanding of the teacher–musician dichotomy, but also opens other areas of focus and dichotomies, such as that of versatility–specialisation. This study finds that teachers construct their identities within a contested discursive field where meanings are attached to the work they perform, as well as to the institutions they represent.

Despite this study's contribution in broadening the field regarding ways of understanding music teacher identity, it also puts forward a way of analysing a discursive field that builds on binary oppositions. All discourses are identified in the meaning-making of the school of arts, but that they are structured in binary oppositions is also theoretically and methodologically informed. This is due to i) the importance of *difference* in constructing meaning and in identification within the theoretical perspectives this study builds on, and ii) the analytical model of this study which focused on the identification of *floating signifiers* that different discourses try to imbue with meaning. This way of organising



the analysis and findings is open to debate, of course. One question that might be asked is why binaries? Why does not a third discourse attempt to imbue a floating signifier with meaning? Indeed, a third discourse could most likely attempt to imbue a floating signifier with meaning if the structure of the analysis was different. However, Søreide's (2007) thesis contributes in supporting an analysis structured around binaries. All three studies in her thesis are 'examples of how binaries and dichotomies, similarities and differences constitute teacher identity' where 'phenomena, objects, actions and positions gain their meaning through conceptions of what they are *different from*, as well as what categories they belong, or are *similar to*' (Søreide 2007:70, italics in original). The paramount identity ('the teacher as pupil centred, caring and including') which she identified throughout all three studies is 'constituted in a web of multidimensional *dichotomies*' (Søreide 2007:1, my emphasis). Also of relevance is that, although the discourses in this study are in binary oppositions at one level, they are all struggle over defining the institution (institutional discourses) and the teachers (teacher discourses) at another.

### 7.2.3 Empirical contributions

This study examines not only how school of arts music teachers construct meaning, but also how meaning is constructed in the school of arts. A main ambition of this study has been to include more voices in the debate on the school of arts – on its role and vision. A strong voice in the public debate is the Council for the school of arts (Norsk kulturskoleråd). In this study, this influential voice is juxtaposed with the experiences of teachers, and with the political signals sent by policy makers in government. The struggle between these voices produce some interesting contradictions. Findings from this study provide new knowledge about the school of arts and its music teachers. Most of the empirical contributions are addressed under the section 'summary of key findings', but it also underpins previous research. A recent Fafo report (Nicolaisen & Bråthen 2012) points to music teachers expressing that specialisation can negatively affect opportunities for full-time positions in schools of arts, but that it is positive for the quality of the work performed. This is also found in this study and relates to the discourse of *professionalism* where a professional practitioner's specialisation is a way of maintaining the quality.

This study's finding of the centrality of the discourses of *breadth* and *depth* and of *versatility* and *specialisation* could be seen in relation to what Bouij (1998a)

refers to as 'broad and narrow musical comprehensiveness'. Bouij (1998a) also found the role identity of 'musician' to have higher status than 'music teacher', which resembles what I have discussed in this thesis. I have also, during the discussion of the findings, made connections to Heimonen (2003) referring to the tension between the *right to an education* (the state's duty to secure conditions and circumstances so that everyone can participate in arts activities) and the *right for freedom in education* (individual needs regarding content) that she found in her research. This study's finding of tension between the discourses of *breadth* and *depth* underpins Heimonen's (2003) findings.

### 7.3 Implications of the study

While the main aim of this study has been to examine the construction of teachers' professional identities within an open, but contested, discursive field, the study also holds new insights with relevance for various actors in the field: teachers, students, headteachers and management in the practice field, and policy makers and higher music teacher education. In this section, I will present some more practice-oriented suggestions for further development of music teaching in the school of arts.

#### 7.3.1 Implications for teachers and students

This study provides new insights into the school of arts field in Norway, which could benefit teachers in their further development of practice and negotiation of professional identities. In addition, the following implications for teachers are of relevance:

- Both specialised and versatile teacher competences are important in the school of arts, but teachers struggle to maintain both. This study points to other solutions than all teachers holding both, such as i) a broad understanding of specialisation, ii) flexibility and the ability to adapt to new situations and develop competence, iii) collaboration with teachers with different competences, and vi) collaboration with the headteacher about competences and wishes.
- The findings from this study can lead to a raised awareness about individualism versus collective values, the school as a school versus leisure

activity, and music as a tool versus experience – which can contribute to an increase in teachers’ reflections around, and development of, their practice.

- Collaboration provides opportunities for development of one’s competence.
- This study’s focus on the various voices in the field can make teachers more capable of articulating their views in the discussions about the school’s development and music teaching.
- A diversity of specialisations connected to the activities would imply that more students have more and various activities to choose from, which could make the school of arts attractive to more children. This connects to the theoretical view that when something clearly differs from something else, it is easier for people to identify with the one or the other (Mouffe 2005a).

### 7.3.2 Implications for headteachers and management

There is no doubt that realising the implications outlined in this conclusion requires committed management who are able to use their institutions’ human resources in a creative manner. The following implications for headteachers and management are of special relevance:

- To map the teachers’ competences is crucial in order to make use of the various competences of the teachers, which this study points to would benefit both the teachers and the school.
- Thinking creatively about whom to collaborate with is relevant in creating opportunities for i) the teachers to be able to use more of their specialised competence, ii) the teachers to increase their employment percentage, and iii) the school to be more versatile.
- Facilitation of informal meeting places for teachers and opportunities for discussing practice during staff meetings are of significance. A school of arts building is thus important.
- Travelling to teach is important in order to include more children. However, as this study shows that collaboration and informal meetings between teachers are important, a headteacher could arrange for several teachers to travel to the same school at the same time.
- Findings from this study can contribute to increasing headteachers’ awareness of hierarchies within teacher identities. Such a notion would most

likely help to manage the school in a way that minimises hierarchical tensions.

### 7.3.3 Implications for policy makers

Policy makers should be informed by scientific research when making decisions, and this study can contribute in this respect. These implications are of relevance for policy makers:

- Some degree of local autonomy and teacher autonomy is crucial to ensure quality. Thus, leaving practice-related issues to teachers to decide is important. This study helps policy makers in balancing the concerns related to centralised governance and local autonomy.
- There is not enough money to provide all children with opportunities to participate in the arts activities of their choice. Current resources are not sufficient to maintain both a broad perspective and in-depth learning without affecting the quality. The municipalities are short of money, which implies the need for the State to provide more money – money that is needed for more teaching time per student, a decrease in student fees, and better facilities.
- Teachers in schools of arts often work part-time and have several work places, and sometimes travel to teach. A building where teachers and students can meet – both formally and informally – in order to create a good learning and teaching environment, is important.
- Working towards increasing teachers' employment percentages is positive for the individual teacher, the collegium and the institution. Important factors for opportunities to increase work percentages are i) institutional collaboration, ii) seeking new projects, iii) not outsourcing the in-depth programme from schools of arts to higher music education institutions or junior conservatoires, iv) providing students with more teaching time, and v) facilitating for mapping teachers' competences. An important contextual factor in this regard, however, is the (politically instructed) merging of municipalities that is taking place across Norway. This reform will lead to mergers of schools of arts and, by extension, opportunities for higher employment percentages.

### 7.3.4 Implications for music teacher education

When the teachers in this study were asked to describe the future school of arts teacher, they envisioned a person who is flexible, has specialised competence and knows her handicraft, but also who is versatile, has technological competence, is brave and dares to see possibilities, is a good administrator, and is innovative. That is no little task for the teachers of tomorrow. The following implications is relevant for institutions providing music teacher education:

- There is need for educating music teachers who are specialists, but are also flexible and equipped with knowledge about the school of arts. I suggest there is need for educating ‘open-minded specialists’.
- This study indicates that tasks shape the teachers’ notion of competence, but only if these tasks build on competence acquired from education. This implies a need for a broad-based teacher education that also lays the groundwork for music teachers to become flexible and to be able to further develop their competence after graduation. There is also a need for possibilities of specialisation as part of the education. A broad understanding of specialisation (for instance specialists in ‘group teaching’ or ‘general music’) is important, however, and educational institutions should take into account.
- A final implication of this study is the importance of focusing on *music teaching* as the main profession for music teachers within schools of arts, rather than the wider category of *school of arts teaching*. For educational institutions, this could imply maintaining the various professions within the school of arts (music teaching, dance teaching and so on) as separate educations. In those separate educations, there seems to be a need for a common ground for knowledge and reflective competence, but also opportunities to choose specialisations. To offer a degree in the broad ‘school of arts teaching’ could lead to all teachers in schools of arts being versatile and none of them being specialists. This, I would argue, would make the school of arts *less* versatile, because the teachers would all have roughly the same competence. In addition, the quality could decrease without specialised training. In other words, efforts to make the school of arts more versatile could have the opposite effect.

## 7.4 Suggestions for further research

Through the process of working on this study, other areas needing more research were identified. This is primarily connected to studies on the Norwegian municipal school of music and performing arts and the new curriculum framework, institutional collaboration, and the connection with higher music education. Also studies similar to this one, but including other voices, are needed. In this section, I will make some suggestions for further research projects.

One area in need of more research-based knowledge is the new curriculum framework for the school of arts introduced in 2016. Possible research projects could be related to the implementation process. A discursive study would be able to identify the different forces (such as the Council for schools of arts, policy makers, municipalities, headteachers, teachers and students) in the implementation process. There are several possible ways of narrowing such a study. One would be to focus on the implementation of the breadth programme or the in-depth programme (or the relationship between them), as those programmes are new in this curriculum framework. Another possible study of the implementation process would be to ask teachers approximately the same questions asked in this study, and then compare the answers, as the interviews for this study were performed before the release of the new curriculum. Research projects including other voices than the ones included in this study are also needed within the field. Such projects could include school of arts teachers from other art forms or headteachers. A research team consisting of researchers with different arts backgrounds would be a strength in such a project.

Collaboration between the school of arts and other institutions is also an area in need of more research-based knowledge. Institutional collaboration is enshrined in law, and is a way of organising music and arts education for municipalities and arts communities. It could also lead to school of arts teachers getting a higher employment percentage with a single municipal employer, possibilities for combining roles within a community and getting to use their competences. Findings from this study have addressed some opportunities and challenges related to collaboration, but there is need for further research focusing on parts of the collaboration. One possible study is a participatory action research<sup>62</sup> project on collaboration between a school of arts and a

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<sup>62</sup> Action research is carried out by the people responsible for the action, often with the intention of leading to better action (Stake 2010).

compulsory school, with a collaboration group consisting of the researcher(s), and headteachers and teachers from both schools. Such a project could include collaboration on both the music subject in compulsory school and the three programmes in the school of arts. Action research could also be adapted to a study on 'best practice' based on findings from this study related to the 'local resource centre' articulated by the discourses of *'the House'* and of *decentralisation*, or of 'ensuring quality' articulated by the discourses of *local autonomy* and of *centralised governance*.

The connection between the school of arts and higher music education is also an area of need for more research-based knowledge. Possible studies could be a longitudinal study of pre-service music teachers when they are studying and when they have started working in schools of arts, or a narrative analysis of school of arts music teachers' professional identities, where a historical perspective emphasises in their educational background. To compare the practice in schools of arts with what is prioritised in higher music education could also be a study of interest.

As the field is continuously developing and changing, there is still need for further research on the school of arts and music teachers' identities. After all, the institution is important for the local communities, for children, and for music and arts within our society.

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## Appendices

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## Appendix 1: Interview guide (Norwegian original)

### Intervjuguide

Forskningsprosjekt: Musikkpedagogers profesjonsforståelse i møte med kulturskolen som lokalt ressurscenter, Anne Jordhus-Lier, NMH.

Problemstilling:

*Hva kjennetegner profesjonsforståelsen til musikkpedagoger i kulturskolen, og hvordan påvirkes profesjonsforståelsen av målet om kulturskolen som lokalt ressurscenter?*

#### 1. Bakgrunn

- Instrument(er), utdanning, yrkeserfaring, aldre etc.
- Sjanger
  - bakgrunn fra
  - underviser i
- Hvordan oppsto
  - interessen for musikk
  - interessen for å undervise
- Interesseområder innenfor kunst/musikk/musikkpedagogikk/kulturskolevirksomhet
  - *Hva liker du best å jobbe med innenfor ...*
  - *Hva brenner du mest for innenfor ...*
- Yrkespraksis
  - hva gjør du i jobben din her i kulturskolen?
  - ansettelsesforhold (også andre steder?)
  - stillingsbeskrivelse/arbeidsoppgaver (også stillingsprosent)
  - hvem bestemmer arbeidsoppgavene (deg selv/arbeidsgiver)?  
Fornøyd med det?

- fast/midlertidig/selvstendig
  - medbestemmelse (generelt)?
- Alder på elevene
  - du jobber med
  - endring?
  - ønsker å jobbe med
- Rammefaktorer (Er + påvirkes)
  - undervisningslokale, arbeidsplass, tilgang på instrumenter/relevant utstyr, muligheter for etterutdanning/kurs, tilrettelegging for teamarbeid/lærersamarbeid, muligheter for medbestemmelse, arbeidstid, undervisningstid per elev, egen tid til disposisjon

## 2. Profesjonsforståelse

- Viktigste for deg i jobben din
- Hvilken yrkestittel vil du putte på deg selv
  - Hva ser du først og fremst på deg selv som / hva er mest beskrivende for hvem du er: (musikkpedagog, instrumentallærer, musikk lærer, musiker, kunstner, kulturarbeider eller en kombinasjon)
  - Hvorfor?
  - Hvem / hva definerer dette?
  - Viktig for deg?
- Arbeidsoppgaver versus yrkesidentitet/profesjonsforståelse
  - Er det noe av det du faktisk gjør i jobben som passer bedre eller dårligere med å ha det yrket / profesjonen du først og fremst ser deg selv som (svaret fra første spørsmål)?
- Tidligere yrkeserfaring
  - Har du alltid sett på deg selv som (svaret fra første spørsmål) eller har det skjedd en forandring /utvikling?
  - I tilfelle, hvorfor?

- Yrke versus profesjon
    - Hva tenker du er forskjellen på et yrke og en profesjon? (evt. forklare litt hva profesjon er: yrker som utfører tjenester basert på kunnskap de har fått gjennom en spesialisert utdanning).
  - Vil du betegne (yrkestittel på deg selv) som en profesjon?
    - Hvorfor / hvorfor ikke?
    - *Er musikkpedagogyrket en profesjon? (hvis de svarte noe annet enn musikkpedagog på første spørsmål). Hvorfor / hvorfor ikke?*
  - Jobber du oftest alene eller sammen med andre?
    - Endring siden du begynte å jobbe?
    - Hva gjør dere sammen? (*tenk ressurscenter*)
    - Trives du med det?
    - Hva gjør det med deg, din jobbsituasjon, yrkesidentitet etc.
  - Relasjoner/hierarki/makt
    - Hvordan fungerer samarbeidet? (Kolleger, også i forhold til ledelse)
    - Noe som er lettere / vanskeligere?
    - Roller: initiativtakere / slengere
    - Demokratiske prosesser?
- 3. Kulturskolen som lokalt ressurscenter**
- Hva tenker du ligger i det at kulturskolen skal være et lokalt ressurscenter for kunst og kultur?
  - Er din kulturskole et lokalt ressurscenter?
    - På hvilke måter?
  - Hvordan virker dette inn på:
    - Deg og din jobb?
    - Kulturskolen / kollegiet
    - Ledelsesstrategier

- (positivt – negativt)
- Har du merket noen endring i kulturskolenes fokus på å være ressurscenter (den tiden du har vært yrkesaktiv)?
  - I så fall, har endringen påvirket deg? Hvordan?
  - Påvirket miljøet i kulturskolen (sosialt og / eller profesjonelt)?
- Bor du i samme kommune som kulturskolen du jobber i?
  - Betyr det noe for deg (positivt/negativt)?
  - Tilhørighet til arbeidsplassen?
  - Viktigere pga ressurscentertanken?

#### 4. Veien videre

- Fornøyd med dagens jobbsituasjon?
  - Hvorfor/hvorfor ikke?
- Hvis nei, hva ønsker du å forandre?
  - *andre arbeidsoppgaver i denne kulturskolen, større stilling i denne kulturskolen, mer undervisning på dagtid/kveldstid, større/mindre variasjon i arbeidsoppgaver, undervise mer enetimer/grupper, bedre rammefaktorer, bytte yrke, bytte arbeidsgiver, grunn/kjerne/fordypning*
- Kulturskolen organiseres i framtiden?
  - Hva bør være kulturskolens rolle?
- Kunnskaper/ferdigheter som blir viktige å inneha for framtidens musikkpedagoger?



## Appendix 2: Interview guide (English translation)

### Interview guide

Research project: Music teachers' professional identities within the school of arts as a local resource centre, Anne Jordhus-Lier, NMH.

Research question:

*What characterises the professional identities of music teachers within the school of arts, and how is it being influenced by the aim of being a local resource centre?*

#### 1. Background

- Instrument(s), education, work experience, age etc.
- Genre
  - background from
  - teaches in
- How did you get
  - your interest for music
  - your interest for teaching
- Areas of interest within arts/music/music education/school of arts
  - *What do you like working with the most ...*
  - *What engages you the most ...*
- Professional/occupational practice
  - what do you do in your job?
  - employment situation (other engagements beyond this institution?)
  - employment description/work tasks (and employment percentage)
  - who decides the work tasks (yourself/employer)? Are you satisfied with this?

- permanent/temporary/self-employed
  - co-determination (in general)?
- Age of students
  - you work with
  - change?
  - wish to work with
- Framework conditions
  - Teaching venue, workplace, access to instruments/relevant equipment, possibilities for continuing studies/courses, facilitation for team work/teacher collaboration, possibilities for co-determination, working hours, teaching time per student, your own disposable time

## **2. Understanding of professional identity**

- Most important for you in your work
- How would you label your professional position?
  - What do you primarily regard yourself as/what describes you best: (music pedagogue, instrumental teacher, music teacher, musician, artist, cultural worker or a combination)
  - Why?
  - Who/what defines it?
  - Is this important to you?
- Work tasks versus professional identity
  - Do some of your work tasks fit better with your occupation/professional identity (answer from first question) than others?
- Previous work experience
  - Have you always seen yourself as (answer from first question) or has your perception gone through a change/development?
  - If yes, why?
- Occupation versus profession

- What do you believe is the difference between an occupation and a profession?
- Would you consider (given work title) a profession?
  - Why/why not?
  - *Is music teaching a profession? (If they answered something else than music teacher on the first question). Why/why not?*
- Do you work mostly alone or in collaboration with others?
  - Has it changed since you started working?
  - What do you do together with others?
  - Are you happy with this?
  - What does collaboration do to you, your job situation, professional identity etc.
- Relations/hierarchy/power
  - How does the collaboration work out? (Colleagues, also in relation to management)
  - Something being easier / more difficult?
  - Roles: initiators/tag-alongs
  - Democratic processes?

### **3. The school of arts as local resource centre**

- What, in your opinion, underlies the idea of being a local resource centre for arts and culture?
- Is your school a local resource centre?
  - In what way?
- How does it affect:
  - you and your job?
  - the school of arts / collegium
  - management strategies
  - (positive – negative)

- Have you experienced any change in the focus on being a local resource centre (the time period where you have been active working)?
  - If yes, has the change affected you? How?
  - Has it affected the social or professional environment?
- Do you reside in the same municipality as your school of arts?
  - Does it mean anything to you (positive/negative)?
  - Does it affect your affiliation to your workplace?
  - Is living in the same municipality more important due to the school's focus on being a local resource centre?

#### **4. The Road ahead (future)**

- Are you happy with your current work situation?
  - Why/why not?
- If no, what would you like to change?
  - *Other tasks within this school of arts, larger employment percentage in this school of arts, more teaching during daytime/evenings, larger/less variation in work tasks, more individual lessons/groups, better framework conditions, change occupation, change employer, basic/core/in-depth*
- How should the school of arts be organised in the future?
  - What should be the role of the school of arts?
- What kind of knowledge/skills will be important to future music teachers?

### **Appendix 3: Letter of consent (Norwegian original)**

## **Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet "Musikkpedagogers profesjonsforståelse i møte med kulturskolen som lokalt ressurscenter"**

### **Bakgrunn og formål**

Prosjektets formål er å undersøke profesjonsforståelsen til musikkpedagoger som jobber i kulturskolen, der kulturskolene blir omformet til lokale ressurscenter for kunst og kultur. Min antagelse er at musikkpedagoger i større grad enn tidligere møter en forventning om å utføre flere ulike arbeidsoppgaver, som ofte vil befinne seg i utkanten av deres kompetanseområde. Til grunn for dette ligger blant annet den politiske målsetningen om kulturskolen som lokalt ressurscenter. Dette vil virke inn på yrkespraksisen til musikkpedagogene, som igjen er med på å forme deres identitet og profesjonsforståelse.

### **Problemstilling:**

*Hva kjennetegner profesjonsforståelsen til musikkpedagoger i kulturskolen, og hvordan påvirkes profesjonsforståelsen av målet om kulturskolen som lokalt ressurscenter?*

Prosjektet er en doktorgradsstudie ved Norges Musikkhøgskole, fagseksjon for musikkpedagogikk. Utvalget av kulturskoler og informanter (musikkpedagoger) gjøres ut fra en rekke utvalgsriterier som settes opp for å finne de kulturskolene og informantene som kan gi mest mulig informasjon.

### **Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?**

Datainnsamlingen vil bestå av intervjuer, spørreundersøkelse, observasjon og dokumentanalyse. Jeg skal intervjuer rundt femten musikkpedagoger ved til sammen tre kulturskoler. Intervjuene inneholder spørsmål om musikkpedagogenes bakgrunn (alder, instrument, utdanning, yrkeserfaring og nåværende jobbsituasjon), deres profesjonsforståelse (blant annet om man ser seg selv først og fremst som musikkpedagog, instrumentallærer, musiker eller annet), deres forhold til kulturskolen som lokalt ressurscenter, og hva de tenker om framtiden. Lengden på intervjuene vil være på ca. halvannen time.

Spørreundersøkelsen blir sendt via epost til alle lærerne ved de tre kulturskolene. Det er valgfritt om man vil svare, men jeg håper på god svarprosent. Observasjon består i å observere personalmøter eller andre uformelle og formelle møter mellom musikkpedagoger når de planlegger arbeidet. Dokumentanalyse innebærer å innhente opplysninger om de tre kulturskolenes organisering, om kulturskolens utvikling i Norge og om den pågående kulturdebatten.

### **Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg?**

Alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Personopplysninger og optak av intervjuene vil under arbeidet med prosjektet bli lagret på min jobb-pc som krever brukernavn og passord. Når jeg skriver fram analysen vil jeg anonymisere informantene og kulturskolene. Deltakerne vil derfor ikke gjenkjennes i publikasjonen. For tilgang til spørreskjemaene kreves brukernavn og passord. Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes januar 2017. Ved avsluttet prosjekt blir alt datamaterialet anonymisert.

### **Frivillig deltakelse**

Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og du kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn. Dersom du trekker deg, vil alle opplysninger om deg bli anonymisert. Dersom du ønsker å delta i intervjustudien eller har spørsmål om prosjektet, ta kontakt med *Anne Jordhus-Lier*, *anne.jordhus-lier@nmh.no*, 95038914.

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS.

### **Samtykke til deltakelse i studien**

Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien, og er villig til å delta

-----  
(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

#### **Appendix 4: Letter of consent (English translation)**

### **Request about participation in the research project 'Music teachers' professional identities within the school of arts as a local resource centre'**

#### **Background and aims**

The aim of this research project is to investigate professional identities of music teachers working in schools of arts, an institution which is being transformed into local resource centres for arts and culture. My assumption is that music teachers to a larger degree meet expectations of performing varied tasks, often peripheral to their competence. The political aim of making the school of arts into local resource centres are an important reason for this change. It affects music teachers' professional practice, which again influences their professional identity.

Research question:

*What characterises the professional identities of music teachers within the school of arts, and how is it being influenced by the aim of being a local resource centre?*

This research is part of a doctoral project at the Norwegian Academy of Music, Department of Music Education. The selection of institutions and participants (music teachers) is done according to a number of criteria, in order to collect sufficient and relevant data for the study.

#### **What participation involves**

The data collection consists of interviews, a survey, observation and document analysis. I intend to interview approximately fifteen music pedagogues in three different institutions. The interviews contain questions on professional background (age, instrument, education, professional experience and current work situation), professional identity (i.e. how you view yourself – as a music pedagogue, instrumental teacher, musician or otherwise), your relation to the school of arts as it attempts to become a local resource centre, and your views on the future. The length of the interviews is estimated to 1 ½ hours.

The survey will be sent by email to all teachers at the selected schools of arts. Participation is compulsory, but I hope for a high response rate. Observation

consists of participation in staff meeting and other informal or formal meetings between music teachers in their joint planning efforts. Document analysis entails a collection of information on the organisation of the three schools, the historical development of the school of arts as an institution, and on the current debate about public culture and education in Norway.

### **How is your personal data processed and stored**

All personal information will be treated confidentially. I will store personalia and interview recording on my employer's laptop, secured with a password. As the analysis develops, I will anonymise all participations and the three institutions. Hence, it will not be possible to identify any of the participants in the published material. For access to the questionnaires, a username and password is required. The plan is to complete the research project in January 2017, after which all data will be anonymised.

### **Voluntary participation**

Taking part is voluntary, and you are free to withdraw your approval at any time without explanation. If you do so, all personal data will be anonymised. If you wish to take part in this study, please contact *Anne Jordhus-Lier*, [anne.jordhus-lier@nmh.no](mailto:anne.jordhus-lier@nmh.no), 95038914.

The project is registered with Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS (NSD).

### **Consent to participation**

I have received information about the research project, and I am willing to participate

-----  
(Signed by participant, date)



**Appendix 5: Questionnaire for selection of informants (Norwegian original)**

**Bakgrunnsinformasjon for utvelgelse til forskningsprosjektet  
”Musikkpedagogers profesjonsforståelse i møte med  
kulturskolen som lokalt ressurscenter”**

**Har du høyere musikkutdanning?**

- Ja  
 Nei

**Er du ansatt i en undervisningsstilling i musikk i denne kulturskolen?**

- Ja  
 Nei

**Har du pedagogisk utdanning?**

- Ja  
 Nei

**Hvilke arbeidsoppgaver har du i kulturskolen?**

- Instrumental/sangund. enetimer/små grupper  
 Instrumental/sangund. i skole/sfo  
 Musikkprosjekter i skole/sfo/barnehage  
 Musikkbarnehage     Korps     Kor     Orkester  
 Band     Talent/fordypningstilbud  
 Musikkterapi     Administrasjon  
 Ledelse     Annet, spesifiser: \_\_\_\_\_

**Hvor stor stilling har du i kulturskolen?**

\_\_\_\_\_ %

**Hvilke(t) instrument(er) underviser du i?**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Hvilke(n) sjanger(e) har du bakgrunn fra og/eller underviser du i?**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Hva er din alder?**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Hvor mange år har du jobbet i kulturskole?**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Er du villig til å delta på intervju som en del av dette prosjektet?**

Ja

Nei

**Navn:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Epost:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Tlf.:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Appendix 6: Questionnaire for selection of informants (English translation)**

**Background information for selection of project participants  
'Music teachers' professional identities within the school of arts as a local resource centre'**

**Do you have a degree in higher music education?**

- Yes  
 No

**Are you employed as a music teacher in this school of arts?**

- Yes  
 No

**Do you have pedagogical education?**

- Yes  
 No

**Which tasks do you perform in this school of arts?**

- Instrumental/vocal teaching individually/small groups  
 Instrumental/vocal teaching in compulsory school/SFO  
 Music projects in compulsory school/SFO/kindergarten  
 Music kindergarten     Wind band     Choir     Orchestra  
 Band     Talent/in-depth activities     Music therapy  
 Administration     Management  
 Other, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

**What is your employment percentage in this school of arts?**

\_\_\_\_\_ %

**Which instrument(s) do you teach?**

---

**From which genre(s) do you have your background and/or in what genre(s) do you teach?**

\_\_\_\_\_

**What is your age?**

\_\_\_\_\_

**For how many years have you worked in a school of arts?**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Are you willing to participate in this project by taking part in an interview?**

Yes

No

**Name:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Email:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Phone:** \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 7: Approval from NSD (Norwegian original)

**Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS**  
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES



Harald Hårfagres gate 29  
N-5007 Bergen  
Norway  
Tel: +47 55 58 21 17  
Fax: +47 55 58 96 50  
nsd@nsd.uib.no  
www.nsd.uib.no  
Org nr: 985 321 884

Anne Jordhus-Lier  
Norges Musikkhøgskole  
Postboks 5190 Majorstua  
0302 OSLO

Vår dato: 16.04.2014

Vår ref: 38484 / 3 / AMS

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

### TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 09.04.2014. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

38484                      *Musikkpedagogers profesjonsforståelse i møte med kulturskolen som lokalt  
ressurscenter*  
*Behandlingsansvarlig*      *Norges musikkhøgskole, ved institusjonens øverste leder*  
*Daglig ansvarlig*              *Anne Jordhus-Lier*

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, <http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/meldeplikt/skjema.html>. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, <http://pvo.nsd.no/prosjekt>.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 01.06.2019, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim

Anne-Mette Somby

Kontaktperson: Anne-Mette Somby tlf: 55 58 24 10

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

*Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.*

*Avdelingskontor / District Offices*

*OSLO NSD, Universitetet i Oslo, Postboks 1055 Blindern, 0316 Oslo. Tel: +47 22 85 52 11. nsd@uio.no*

*TRONDHEIM NSD, Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet, 7491 Trondheim. Tel: +47 73 59 19 07. kyrr.svarva@svt.ntnu.no*

*TROMSØ NSD, SVI, Universitetet i Tromsø, 9037 Tromsø. Tel: +47 77 64 43 36. nsdmaa@svi.ut.no*

## Personvernombudet for forskning



### Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

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Prosjektnr: 38484

Informasjonsskriv og samtykkeerklæring er noe mangelfullt utformet. Vi ber derfor om at følgende endres:  
Tidspunkt for prosjektslutt i informasjonsskrivet (høsten 2016) samsvarer ikke med tidspunkt oppgitt i prosjektmeldingen (1.6.2019). Vi ber om at informasjonsskriv eller prosjektmelding korrigeres.

Revidert informasjonsskriv eller korrigering av prosjektmelding kan sendes til [personvernombudet@nsd.uib.no](mailto:personvernombudet@nsd.uib.no).

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at forsker etterfølger Norges musikkhøgskole sine interne rutiner for datasikkerhet. Dersom personopplysninger skal lagres på mobile enheter, bør opplysningene krypteres tilstrekkelig.

Forventet prosjektslutt er 01.06.2019. Ifølge prosjektmeldingen skal innsamlede opplysninger da anonymiseres. Anonymisering innebærer å bearbeide datamaterialet slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes. Det gjøres ved å slette direkte personopplysninger (som navn/koblingsnøkkel) og slette/omskrive indirekte personopplysninger (identifiserende sammenstilling av bakgrunnsopplysninger som f.eks. bosted/arbeidssted, alder og kjønn) samt slette lydopptak.

### Appendix 8: Table of subject positions and teachers

teacher	instrument	subject positions <sup>1</sup>
Alex	guitar	instrumental teacher, musician
Ellen	strings	coach, musician, musician-teacher, (school of arts teacher)
Emma	voice	instrumental teacher, (music teacher)
Hannah	woodwind	instrumental teacher, (musician), (school of arts teacher)
Jakob	piano	musician, musician-teacher, (school of arts teacher)
John	woodwind	instrumental teacher, (musician)
Julia	woodwind	music teacher, (school of arts teacher)
Karen	strings	musician, musician-teacher
Kristoffer	strings	instrumental teacher, music teacher
Laura	piano	instrumental teacher
Lucas	guitar	music teacher, musician, musician-teacher, (instrumental teacher)
Lucy	voice	instrumental teacher
Nora	brass	music teacher, (school of arts teacher)
Sofie	woodwind	music teacher, school of arts teacher
Thomas	strings	instrumental teacher, musician, (musician-teacher)
William	strings	music teacher, (musician)

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<sup>1</sup> The subject positions in brackets are positions the teacher identifies with to a lesser extent, has identified with in the past, expressed that s/he could identify with in the future or that s/he identifies with outside the school.

In Norway, every municipality is obliged by law to run a school of music and arts. The school has diverse tasks to manage. The institution is meant to offer its students an opportunity to specialise, but the school also aims to facilitate social inclusion in the community. The teachers performing these tasks are mostly specialists. But how does the school of music and arts balance these objectives, and how do music teachers reconcile diverse expectations?

Anne Jordhus-Lier has sought answers to this question through investigating competing discourses in the school of music and arts. She has studied how music teachers' professional identities are constructed within these discourses.

Based on 16 teacher interviews and document analysis, the study identifies several institutional and teacher discourses competing to define the field. Six analytically distinct subject positions are identified within these discourses. Most of the teachers in this study identify with several subject positions, either at the same time or interchangeably according to the situation.

No discourse has hegemony in the school of music and arts. Rather, the field is open with several discourses standing in binary opposition to each other. Within these binaries, central aspects of the school of music and arts are defined and contested.

While the institutional discourse of breadth is dominant in policy documents, the teacher discourse of specialisation is dominant in the interview material. This does create some tension. Jordhus-Lier proposes a way of dealing with this tension by institutionalising versatility by accommodating various specialists. In other words, a diverse group of teachers can cater for versatility and breadth at an institutional level.

Anne Jordhus-Lier (b. 1978) has degrees in music education, flute performance and musicology from the Norwegian Academy of Music and the University of Oslo. She has worked in schools of music and arts, compulsory schools and as a wind band conductor.

