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Nordic schools of music and performing arts (hereafter abbreviated SMPA) have become a 'hot topic' of music education research in recent years, and have been explored from a variety of angles. Broadly speaking, two main branches of SMPA research can be identified: On the one hand, researchers have focused on various aspects of professionalism connected to SMPA (see e.g. Aglen & Karlsen 2017; Angelo 2012; Holst 2013; Jordhus-Lier 2018). On the other hand, many contributions have been concerned with matters of policy, access, inclusion and social justice with regard to this particular school system (see e.g. Jeppsson & Lindgren 2018; Sæther, Bergman & Lindgren 2017; Tillborg 2017; Väkevä, Westerlund & Ilmola-Sheppard 2017). It is to this latter area of research that the two first articles published in this issue of Finnish Journal of Music Education belong.

As pointed out in the article written by Björk, Tillborg, Heimonen, Holst, Jordhus-Lier, Rønningen, Aglen and Laes for the present issue, the way SMPA are organised is not uniform across the Nordic countries, neither is the naming of these schools consistent nor what teaching subjects or content are offered within their frames. Still, the Nordic SMPA can be said to be founded on similar grounds, as they are products of the social democracy and welfare state ideologies that were established post-WWII, and in which the idea of cultural participation for all, across geographical and socio-economic accessibility, stood strong (Duelund 2003). Even though equal access was an important point of departure when establishing the SMPA systems, this democratic principle has proved to not always be the easiest one to put into practice. The reasons for this are manifold, and connected both to teaching and learning traditions in which discourses of quality and specialisation might stand in opposition to those of broader participation and versatility (Jordhus-Lier 2018), the social meaning and significance of what is taught within the SMPA (DYNAMUS 2018), and the broader demographic development of the Nordic countries towards societies that are becoming increasingly culturally diverse. This latter phenomenon makes the societal inclusionary mandate of Nordic SMPA more complex and at the same time the need for a conscious approach to inclusion is increasingly intensified. Consequently, the mandate of social inclusion is currently identified by some of the Nordic SMPA national associations as a priority area, made visible through the recently launched developmental project *KIL – Kulturskolen som inkluderende kraft i lokalsamfunnet* (The school of music and performing arts as a force of inclusion in the local community; Norwegian Council for Schools of Music and Performing Arts 2018). Along the same aspiration, the Finnish ArtsEqual research initiative, which several reports of this issue are attached to, aims to increase accessibility in the SMPA system. Similar topics have been discussed on the European level as well, through the newly-established European Music School Symposium (European Music School Symposium 2017; see also the report by Michaela Hahn and Sandra Stini in this issue).

The first article in this issue is a product of a Nordic collaboration involving in all eight authors from four different countries: Cecilia Björk (Finland), Adriana Di Lorenzo Tillborg (Sweden), Marja Heimonen (Finland), Finn Holst (Denmark), Anne Jordhus-Lier (Norway), Anders Rønningen (Norway), Gry Sagmo Aglen (Norway) and Tuulikki Laes (Finland). Together, they explore policymaking related to SMPA with a special focus on multi-actor processes, in other words policy processes in which multiple institutions, organisations and groups have been involved. Furthermore, they look into what kind of visions for SMPA that have been articulated and created through such processes. This

article represents a thorough mapping of the investigated field, and is a good example of how researcher collaboration and networking can be utilised strategically to contribute to broader, transnational development of knowledge.

The second article in this issue, written by Cecilia Jeppsson (in Swedish), zooms in closer on the SMPA phenomenon and asks how the teachers construct understandings of legitimacy in response to a political ideal of socially inclusive music education in Sweden. The findings show that inclusion can be understood and (potentially) achieved in multiple ways. Still, the tensions hinted at above, between quality and specialisation/exclusivity, on the one hand, and broader participation, on the other, are also tangible in this material. For Swedish SMPA, an adapted version of El Sistema has often been proposed as the solution to social inclusion, and implications of this approach are also discussed in this article.

The third article presented in this issue is not directly connected to SMPA as such. Rather, this work, written by the Finnish researcher Sara Sintonen, concerns the strategies that young children use when writing instructions for their self-invented sound-phrases. The process of composing and developing ways to graphically represent the sounding work is considered as a multiliteracy one, and the children engaged in it, aged 6-8, are conceptualised as emergent writers. This article represents an important reminder that creating music, and not just reproducing it, is an activity with rich outcomes that should be endorsed on all levels, also among children and adolescents attending SMPA.

The reports section starts with a literature review of student-centeredness, written by Tuulia Tuovinen. In the review, she describes the various uses and meanings that the term has appropriated from the beginning of the 20th century to this day. Since student-centered learning is currently considered the key principle in curriculum reforms, there is a need to develop a comprehensive description of what the term actually means. In music education literature, according to Tuovinen, there are only a few accounts of the ways in which teachers implement learner-centeredness in practice.

The second report, by Marja-Leena Juntunen, describes the research objectives, sub-studies, preliminary results, and policy recommendations of the *Basic Arts Education* (BEA) *for All* research group, which forms part of the *ArtsEqual* project. The group focuses on identifying mechanisms that produce and maintain inequality in the BEA and, on the other hand, on highlighting and producing policies, strategies, and practices that promote equality and well-being.

In the third report (in Finnish), Johanna Hasu discusses piano students' learning difficulties, based on her doctoral study (University of Jyväskylä 2017). In her dissertation, she examined the learning difficulties as experienced by differentaged piano students as well as the impact of various teaching methods on learning, within the BEA system. She also discusses the institutional history of the BEA system and the role of the "different learners" in it, since the tradition, focusing on the development of the talented students, still plays a big role in instrumental music tuition.

The fourth report, by Heidi Westerlund, Martin Galmiche, Eva Sæther, Hanna Kamensky and Tuulikki Laes, presents the symposium *Expanding professionalism through social innovations,* organized in the conference of the International Society for Music Education (ISME) in Baku, July 2018. The starting point in their presentation is the current situation in which music education programs, those that are not associated with compulsory education, tend to serve only part of the population, as research in many countries shows. The authors argue that the music education profession ought to bear a broader responsibility for diminishing inequality in society. Accordingly, the European music schools should be regarded as social systems (Luhmann 1995) that need to adjust their existence to the changing social conditions in today's complex societies and use their potential to contribute to the democratisation of societies.

The last two reports narrate the main issues discussed in two international meetings of music schools. First, Michaela Hahn and Sandra Stini describe the First European Music School Symposium in in Vienna, October 2017. There, the main topics included the future missions of music schools in the changing societies, and the measures and strategies to meet these challenges. The issue of equal access and inclusion was emphasized, and the diversity in the European music school landscape was demonstrated in several presentations. Then, Hanna Backer Johnsen, Hanna Kamensky and Tuulia Tuovinen describe (in Finnish) the content and themes of presentations of the research forum organized by the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna in October, 2018. In the forum, nine doctoral students from Austria, Ireland, Russia and Finland presented their ongoing studies. While the Finnish studies focused on equality issues through cases and social innovations, the regional differences, terms of funding, and legislation were the main topics in the other studies. The authors conclude that in the future it will be interesting to see what understandings the music school research will produce and what impact it will have for the development in the field.

The current issues section includes two texts. First, Eija Kauppinen from the National Agency of Education, describes the background ideas behind the new Finnish core curriculum for BEA (2018) and provides understanding of the objectives and the desired change of the reform. Among the primary changes she mentions is the new formulation of the learning concept that recognizes the comprehensiveness of learning. In the music curriculum, composition and improvisation are described as essential areas of music teaching and learning for the first time. Also, there are substantial changes in the assessment outlines suggesting, for example, to give up using grades. (For more, see FNAE 2018).

The issue concludes with the lectio by Pirjo Nenonen (in Finnish). Her doctoral study, *"Singing opens the hearts". A holistic approach to singing education using body movements* (University of Jyväskylä 2018) examines how body movement can be applied in voice lessons. In her study, Nenonen found that integrating body movement with singing brings about joy, happiness and relaxation among the students, as well as a strengthens their self-esteem, self-confidence and courage. It also contributes to good posture and body awareness. ■

Acknowledgements

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Artikkelit | Articles

Cecilia Björk, Adriana Di Lorenzo Tillborg, Marja Heimonen, Finn Holst, Anne Jordhus-Lier, Anders Rønningen, Gry Sagmo Aglen & Tuulikki Laes[1]

Music education policy in schools of music and performing arts in four Nordic countries: the potential of multi-actor processes

Introduction

This article examines the complexity of policymaking related to music education offered by a well-established educational institution and prominent actor in Nordic[2] cultural life: the publicly funded extracurricular schools of music and performing arts (SMPA) that have children and young people as their main target group.

In recent years, two broad policy questions regarding music education in SMPA have been brought to the forefront by Nordic policymakers and scholars (see Björk 2016, 33; Lindgren 2014): for whom and for what should this extracurricular education exist? The first question is connected to concerns about equality and inclusion. Education in music and performing arts is an area where inequalities in society can be particularly striking, noticeable as learning gaps, skews in student recruitment, and unequal access to educational opportunities (Bjørnsen 2012; Jeppsson & Lindgren 2018; Karlsen 2017; Tiainen et al. 2012). The second question concerns the contents and aims of teaching and learning in music education in SMPA (e.g. Ellefsen 2017). The schools are expected to maintain and develop traditions while also promoting contemporary artistic genres, cultural pluralism, and new modes of musical expression.[3] Students have the right to enrol in order to cultivate a general interest in one or several art forms. At the same time, the schools also have the potential and sometimes the responsibility to provide young musical talents with the specific education they need in order to prepare for professional careers in a competitive field. These multiple tasks come with questions about priorities, teacher competencies, and ultimately, the value(s) of art in human life.

It is rare for policy and practice to be entirely synchronised, and perfect harmony might actually turn out to be problematic. Policy is created by government and local authorities, but it also emerges in the practice field and in the research field (P. Schmidt 2012; 2015; 2017). Policy actors from these three fields represent knowledge, values and visions that may all be important, but are sometimes challenging to combine. As suggested by Weaver-Hightower (2008), policy can be conceptualised as a complex ecosystem. Adopting this ecological view, P. Schmidt (2017, 16–23) argues that engaging several stakeholders in policymaking—including teachers and students—is hard but worthwhile work, since it increases the likelihood that music education policies will be experienced as meaningful and possible to adapt. We will refer here to such practices as *multi-actor policy processes*.

The purpose of this article is to examine how multi-actor policy processes shape music education in Swedish, Norwegian, Danish and Finnish schools of music and performing arts. Our research questions are:

1. What tensions and affordances emerge in the interaction between different policy actors involved with the development of music education in schools of music and performing arts?

2. What visions of music education in schools of music and performing arts are created through multi-actor policy processes?

After a brief discussion of music education in Nordic schools of music and the performing arts, we review previous research about music education policy relating to these schools. We then discuss cyclic approaches to policy analysis and present the methodological decisions we have made. For each of the four countries, we have chosen one core policy issue to study in more detail. Focusing on one country at a time, we provide some historical and statistical background before turning to the core issue itself. Finally, we draw conclusions, discuss implications, and suggest directions for further research.

Music education in Nordic schools of music and performing arts

Current aims for music education in schools of music and performing arts are shared by all the Nordic countries: to provide affordable and equal access to qualified musical tuition which is voluntary and promotes lifelong interest and participation, whether students later choose to pursue further education to become music professionals or not. These aims are aligned with common traits and goals for cultural policy in all Nordic countries such as "the egalitarian element" and "the social welfare aim" (Duelund 2003, 489–490), referring to equal opportunities for cultural participation and culture as an integrated part of social policy (see also Karlsen, Westerlund, Partti & Solbu 2013). The Nordic countries have also ratified international treaties where equal rights to education are recognised, such as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The principle that music education should be accessible to every child is strong in all the Nordic countries. The right to general music education is based on law (Heimonen 2002) and music is a compulsory subject in national curricula for basic education. In publicly funded extracurricular schools of music and performing arts, however, the right to music education is less clear. Equal opportunities are strived for here as well (Björk & Heimonen in press), but applications of the principle vary and the ideal is not necessarily actualised in practice.[4]

The ways in which music education is structured in SMPA are not exactly the same in the four Nordic countries discussed in this article, and there can also be differences between schools within one country. Variation in both organisation and in views on what should be prioritised is reflected in the terminology used to designate the schools. The term *kulturskola/kulturskole* which is common in Sweden, Norway and Denmark has at least three English translations in use, none of them unanimously accepted: 'schools of music and performing arts', 'community schools of music and arts', and just 'art and music schools'. In Sweden and Norway, these schools have changed from being only music schools to now offering education in several art forms. Music remains the most popular option and is studied by 73% of Swedish pupils (Kulturskolerådet 2018b) and 66% of Norwegian pupils (Rønningen 2017, 34). In Denmark, all municipalities are required to provide music schools, some of which are art schools (*kulturskoler*) that also offer dance, drama and visual arts. In Finland, some music schools offer education in dance or visual arts, whereas other art forms are usually taught in separate schools, although still within the state-funded system of "basic education in the arts".[5] This nationwide system is regulated by laws which currently (2018) set a stronger and more comprehensive framework around SMPA in Finland than in the other Nordic countries.

For the purpose of this article, we will generally refer to *schools of music and performing arts* (SMPA). However, in order to be more specific about local context, we will also use national terms and translations, trusting the reader to make the relevant connections. We

do not believe that the issue of fluctuating nomenclature can or should be solved within the scope of this text. On the contrary, we argue that the use of different names and translations expresses both the current diversity in how Nordic concepts of SMPA are perceived, and how different stakes and discourses are at play simultaneously. For instance, the Norwegian use of the term *kulturskole* may be taken to signal intentions of fulfilling broader missions than one of Finland's terms, *musiikkiopisto/musikinstitut*, which underscores ambitions of arranging systematic education for young musical talents.[6]

Creating and enacting music education policy for SMPA in four Nordic countries

In what follows, we take stock of previous studies with a specific and explicit focus on creation and enactment of music education policy for schools of music and performing arts in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland. Policy is understood here in a broad sense: as rules, regulations, ideas, standards and recommendations that attribute and allocate value (Schmidt & Colwell 2017; Schneider & Ingram 1997, 3). In a more profound sense, policy expresses what policy actors believe is good and worthwhile in life. The choice of certain research topics communicates what scholars and policymakers have found worthy of close and systematic examination, thereby also positioning the researcher as a policy actor, in accordance with P. Schmidt's ecological view as described above. The studies below represent interest in the influence of societal values on SMPA, challenges regarding equality and inclusion, tensions present in curricular frameworks, enactments of a variety of aims and values in everyday teaching and learning practices, and evaluations on the need for development within SMPA.[7]

The influence of societal values on Swedish municipal music schools was examined by Persson (2001) for the period from the expansion of the schools in the 1940s to the "turbulent" 1990s, when many schools were threatened by closure. The study suggested that while the initial motives for establishing music schools were national, social and collective, based on the need to train and recruit musicians for different sectors in society and on a belief in the value of music education for young people, later development was underpinned by pluralism and a focus on individual needs. In a study of parental expectations on SMPA in Sweden, Lilliedahl and Georgii-Hemming (2009) found that since local authorities administer and finance the schools, there is a preassumption from families that SMPA should represent high educational and musical quality, but also that they should embody democratic norms and values by making the schools accessible and affordable, offering a sufficiently wide range of artistic subjects, and nurturing every child's general development (ibid. 266–267). Building on a comparison between Swedish, Finnish, English and German music schools, Heimonen (2002) argued that the balance between "the right to education" and "freedom in education" might best be achieved through legal regulation that secures financial stability while leaving space for teachers, students and parents to pursue a variety of aims related to music education.

Concerns about availability, equality and inclusion have been at the forefront in a number of Nordic studies on SMPA. Low parental socioeconomic status seems to have a negative influence on children's tendency to attend schools of music and performing arts, a pattern observed in several studies in Norway (Bjørnsen 2012; Gustavsen & Hjelmbrekke 2009), Sweden (Brändström & Wiklund 1995; Hofvander Trulsson 2010; Jeppsson & Lindgren 2018; Persson 2001) and Finland (Vismanen, Räisänen & Sariola 2016; see also Väkevä & Westerlund 2007).[8] In Norway, parents' level of education is the main predictor of SMPA attendance (Bjørnsen 2012; see also Karlsen 2017, 221). Inclusion or exclusion from music education needs to be understood with the help of several demographic parameters: "ethno-cultural and racial origin . . . musical-cultural identification, social class, socioeconomic status, and sexuality" according to Karlsen

(2017, 227). Nordic societies have a number of ethnic and linguistic minorities and have been culturally diverse and complex long before the recent increase in immigration; acknowledgement of this reality is also highly relevant for SMPA policy (see e.g. Kallio & Länsman 2018, 16–17).

The very concept of inclusion is ambiguous in the SMPA context, as shown by Laes (2017), who argues that despite policy efforts to ensure equal opportunities for all students and citizens, social practices that are mediated through action, attitudes and structures still generate paradoxes around what inclusion means and for whom. Schools of music and performing arts still often make a distinction between those in the targeted mainstream, considered able to participate in goal-oriented learning, and those who are outside of this ideal because of their age, ability, or other characteristics.

Several Nordic studies have focused on how values are enacted in the practices of teaching and learning in SMPA. Tivenius (2008) generated a typology of Swedish music school teachers based on their attitudes and valuations as expressed in a questionnaire. One of his main conclusions was that while the inherited, structured conservatory tradition seemed to keep the entire music school system together, the schools risked to implode if they isolated themselves from new genres and aims, and from philosophical discussions about democracy. A study of how Swedish art and music school teachers talked about their own activities (Holmberg 2010) seemed to indicate a shift from tradition-centred teaching to child-centred approaches; however, based on the interviews in the study, the author argued that catering uncritically to children's desires might result in compliance with market aesthetics, giving preference to commercial values over the musical values that the teachers would rather be defending. Björk (2016) investigated how a deliberately open national curricular aim for Finnish music schools, "to promote a good relationship to music", was enacted in teachers' everyday work. She suggested that potential 'goodness' in relation to music derived in part from the musical practices themselves, but also that goodness had an emergent and contextual character, required sensitivity to different students and their life circumstances, and could be enhanced by collaborative, reflective, and interdisciplinary approaches to teaching. In Norway, Jordhus-Lier (2018) analysed how SMPA music teachers' professional identities were constructed within institutional and teacher discourses. She found the institutional discourses of breadth and depth to be central in the SMPA and to be standing in binary opposition to each other. The breadth discourse was dominant in the policy documents, whereas the teacher discourse of specialisation was dominant in the interview material. One way of dealing with this tension, Jordhus-Lier suggested, would be to institutionalise versatility by accommodating various specialists within SMPA.

Ellefsen (2017) has analysed "the comprehensive and elaborate hierarchy of intents and purposes, aims and learning objectives" in the Norwegian curriculum framework for schools of music and performing arts (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016). Having identified discursive tensions between different conceptualisations of musical competence, Ellefsen concluded that a broad perspective on musical participation and agency could benefit schools, and more importantly, widen students' outlooks on the many possibilities that musical knowledge and skill might open to them.

Finally, a number of studies and reports have examined and evaluated the need for development in Nordic schools of music and performing arts. In Sweden, the government commissioned an investigation on art and music schools in 2015. The report from the investigation highlighted strengthened teacher competence as an important development aim and identified several other needs for art and music schools, such as the need for national aims, the need for a knowledge/research centre for art and music schools, and the need for investment in research (SOU 2016:69).

A survey among kulturskole leaders (Bamford 2011, 125) suggested that there was some lack of clarity around the role of music education in the kulturskole: enjoyment and love of music were mentioned as primary aims by most schools, but some respondents remarked that excellence and talent development were neglected: "should we focus on competence or enjoyment?" Dropout rates were observed to be highest among teenagers, who preferred to engage in cultural activities in more self-directed ways. Plans for the future included closer collaboration between kulturskoler and kindergartens, primary schools and secondary education, with the purpose to "meet with a wider diversity of pupils and provide a more comprehensive programme that reaches more pupils".

In Denmark, a study by Holst (2014) suggested that the competence profiles of music school teachers could be balanced and improved through a closer integration of their knowledge base with the knowledge base of primary school teachers, and that polarisation of those teaching competencies had inexpedient consequences for teaching in both types of schools. Reports from projects where music school teachers and primary school teachers collaborated (Holst 2011; 2012) showed that cooperation resulted in significant professional development for both groups and also generated new theoretical knowledge.

In Finland, between the late 1990s and the mid-2000s, several evaluations were commissioned by the National Board of Education. The conclusions emphasised a need to discuss the national curriculum and to make professional supervision available for teachers (Heino & Ojala 1999), to develop the contents of classes, address the high level of dropout, improve assessment methods, and increase possibilities to make music in groups (Heino & Ojala 2006). Subsequent national reports focused on the need for professional development among teachers, calling especially for increased versatility and flexibility in courses offered, knowledge of improvisation and of genres outside classical music, improved pedagogy for teaching groups and ensembles, and collaboration across art forms (Pohjannoro & Pesonen 2009; Pohjannoro 2010; 2011). It was emphasised that teachers needed to be able to relate well to young children and motivate students for long-term commitment to music (Pohjannoro 2010). In 2012, a report commissioned by the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture concluded that teaching methods had moved in the desired direction and were more student-centred, but that further pedagogical development was needed, especially since the lifeworlds and values of students and parents were perceived to be shifting rapidly (Tiainen et al. 2012). In 2015, the Ministry decided to make accessibility to basic education in the arts one of its top development priorities for the 2016–2018 period (Valtioneuvoston kanslia 2015, 34). Researchers Väkevä, Westerlund and Ilmola-Sheppard (2017) put forward the suggestion that deliberate student recruitment in underrepresented groups might not just diversify the supply of music education services, but also increase resilience within the music education system as a whole. In addition, a group of Finnish arts education researchers have published policy recommendations specifically to promote accessibility within basic education in the arts (Laes et al. 2018).

Policy theory and music education: Cyclic approaches

Educational policy, according to P. Schmidt and Colwell (2017, 2), "is the key pathway through which varied and often divergent educational ideas become established in practice. In other words, policy is the realm in which educational vision is actualised". Schneider and Ingram (1997, 2) underline that although policy can consist of established rules and regulations, it also consists of a deeper layer of ideas, "the mechanisms through which values are authoritatively allocated for society". Policy can be "formal or informal, obvious or subtle, soft or hard, implicit or explicit" (P. Schmidt & Colwell 2017, 1). According to Ball (1993, 11), policies in the form of texts are "representations which are

encoded in complex ways (via struggles, compromises, authoritative public interpretations and reinterpretations) and decoded in complex ways (via actors' interpretations and meanings in relation to their history, experiences, skills, resources and context)". As texts, Ball argues, policies are "not necessarily clear, closed or complete" (ibid.) with regard to their intentions and meanings. Instead, they are enacted through iterative, local, and often messy processes. Moreover, what is considered valuable in society and education is not just expressed through explicitly written policies but also in the form of practices, artefacts, symbolic objects and symbolic acts (see Yanow 2000, 14–19).

Traditional conceptions of policymaking are often described as vertical processes, taking place 'top-down' or 'bottom-up'. As more robust theoretical alternatives, Ball and his colleagues have developed a policy cycle approach (Ball 1994; Bowe, Ball & Gold 1992) and a theory of policy enactment (Braun, Maguire & Ball 2010). Here, the emphasis is on the cyclic way in which policy is conceptualised and enacted (or put into practice) in different contexts. Three main contexts of policymaking are introduced: (1) the context of influence, constituted by social networks and other interested parties attempting to influence how definitions and purposes are shaped, (2) the context of policy text production, constituted by official texts and policy documents as well as informally produced commentaries, and (3) the context of practice, constituted by practitioners interpreting and enacting policy (Bowe, Ball & Gold 1992, 19–21). These three contexts make up a policy cycle with mutual, bidirectional flows of information between the participating policy actors.

Several researchers have suggested similar conceptualisations for analysis of music education policy. In P. Schmidt's "contemporary approach" to policy making (P. Schmidt 2012; 2017), legislation, practices, analyses, dispositions, processes and outcomes are taken into consideration. Zeserson and Welch (2017) offer the metaphor of a "spinning triangle", where policy, research and practice make up a triangle of fields that impact one another and the policy process itself. Inherent in and shared across these representations is the view that policies can be initiated at any point in the cycle and (re)articulated within any of the contexts or fields. Multi-actor processes are inevitably complex and can involve significant struggle, but also open for the possibility that interdependent policy actors can have mitigating and corrective influences on each other (P. Schmidt 2017).

Method and data

In order to analyse core issues in policy debates about music education in schools of music and performing arts in four Nordic countries, we have started from the following preassumptions: (1) policy is initiated and created not just by government and other traditional policymakers but also in the practice field and in the research field; (2) in policy contexts where a number of different values are at stake, researchers who wish to gain a sufficient understanding of the issues need to adopt an interpretive stance (R. Schmidt 2014; Yanow 2000). We have chosen to examine arguments presented by actors in the three fields mentioned by Zeserson and Welch (2017): the field of traditional policymaking, the field of practice, and the field of research; with support from a method of policy analysis elaborated by R. Schmidt (2014), adapted to the task at hand.

R. Schmidt builds on the value-critical approach developed by Rein (1976) in contradistinction to value-neutral approaches (where normative policy aims are taken as givens and the analyst uses positivist preassumptions in order to predict how to best achieve these aims) and value-committed approaches (where the analyst attempts to argue in favour of a particular policy). The aim of value-critical policy analysis is "to contribute to the public discussion of policy conflicts by taking the *goals* of policy seriously as subjects of analysis" (R. Schmidt 2014, 324). Schmidt's step-by-step method for value-

critical policy analysis is presented in the context of fundamental disagreements on language policies in the United States. Although it is certainly possible to identify antagonisms in music education policies for Nordic schools of music and performing arts, we argue that value-critical analysis may be helpful not just in situations that involve open conflict, but also when different important values may be uniquely visible to different policy actors. R. Schmidt's approach can support a rich understanding of values as they are articulated and defended in multi-actor creation and enactment of policy.

Yanow (2000, 18) points out that policy analysis can never be conducted from a position entirely external to what is being studied, and that researchers need to be upfront about their own value positions ahead of and during the research process. This is a challenging requirement for a group of eight authors, but we note as a minimum that from the outset, all of us share a favourable view of policies that support broad and democratic participation. The use of qualifiers such as 'elitist' or 'result-driven' may therefore at times come across here as unduly critical, whereas there is a risk of using terms such as 'inclusion', 'pluralism', and 'freedom' in superficial or idealised ways. We are striving, as advised by R. Schmidt (2014, 331) to "develop a narrative framed in terms of a complex and comprehensive understanding of the issues at stake", aware of the purpose to acquire deeper understanding and produce a reflected and balanced view.

Between us, we share a broad first-hand experience of Nordic schools of music and performing arts: as researchers but also as teachers, administrators, members of committees appointed to participate in development processes, and as former students. Our interest in the school form is characterised by active immersion rather than dispassionate observation; this situatedness may help us see certain things but make us blind to others. Trustworthiness in interpretive research hinges on the scholar's ability for intensified perception in a "space for lingering engagement" (Bresler 2014, 468). During the joint research process, we have realised that although there are common themes in policy issues related to SMPA in our countries, there are also more differences than we expected, and what first looked familiar has turned out not always be so obviously similar and comparable after all. We hope that the reader will benefit from our efforts to improve and deepen our understandings and render our respective situations legible to each other.

Our data consist of texts relevant for policy creation and enactment from the traditional policy context, the field of research and the field of practice; including official policy documents, national curricula, laws, documents concerning teacher qualification, policy reports commissioned by governments, national evaluations, statistical material, research articles on policy, historical overviews, reports from SMPA committees and councils, policy briefs, and interviews with SMPA leaders, teachers, and representatives from national SMPA organisations. Data from some previous studies by the authors have been included and reinterpreted to answer the research questions posed in this article.

The analytical steps suggested by R. Schmidt (2014, 324–336), briefly described, follow the order below: (1) Identify the core issue and the protagonists [at odds with each other], (2) Describe the context and the protagonists' policy proposals, (3) Describe the arguments and the core values that underlie those arguments, (4) Conduct value-critical analysis of the core arguments and values. Look for agreements as well as disagreements. Find and articulate the relative strengths and weaknesses, (5) Draw conclusions and make recommendations.

Given the scope of this article and the limitations of space, we cannot offer detailed in-depth accounts of each core issue. Our analyses include the elements above, but do not always follow the suggested steps in schematic order. Some of the context has already been described in previous sections of the article. For each of the four countries, we first add more background and then present and analyse the core issue along with the arguments of actors in the traditional policy field, the practice field, and the research field. In line with

the interpretive approach we have chosen, some reflections are already interwoven in the otherwise more descriptive narratives. More extensive and general discussions follow after the sections from all four countries.

Sweden: The genesis of a national SMPA policy

The first music schools in Sweden were established in the early 1940s (Olsson 1994) with the purpose to provide music education of high quality for all children regardless of economic background (Brändström & Wiklund 1995). Since then, music schools have gradually been established in municipalities all over Sweden, and the majority of them has embraced other subjects than music. Today about 97% of Sweden's municipalities (284 out of 290) have chosen to finance one or more art and music schools (Kulturskolerådet 2018b). In 2018, 188 out of those 284 municipalities also offer subjects such as dance, drama and visual arts. According to a recent estimation, almost 15% of Sweden's children and adolescents attend art and music schools (SOU 2016:69, 118). The Venezuelan music education programme El Sistema is becoming more widespread as part of the art and music school system in Sweden and is present in 35 of the schools in 2018 (Sæther, Bergman & Lindgren 2017; Sæther & Di Lorenzo Tillborg forthcoming). The purpose of El Sistema is to provide cultural activities for children who commonly do not participate in the cultural life of the municipality (El Sistema 2018). The Swedish Arts School Council (*Kulturskolerådet*) also works with several projects for including different groups of pupils, such as projects for children with disabilities and projects for refugee children (Kulturskolerådet 2018a). There are still challenges with regard to inclusion, such as in the case of disabilities; in 2014, six out of 202 art and music schools in Sweden did not include children and adolescents in need of special support, as reported by Di Lorenzo Tillborg (2017b).

The role of art and music schools in Swedish society has been in the spotlight since the mid-2010s because of the national policy process, which is a process officially initiated by the Swedish government in order to create policy documents at a national level. This is a significant historical change, since art and music schools in Sweden have never had this kind of national regulation; neither legislation nor specific policy documents (see Heimonen 2003).

The core issue we focus on here, then, is the recent effort in Sweden to create a national policy specifically for SMPA and with the explicit aim of making inclusion a priority. Although Sweden's art and music schools have no history of being connected by a common policy, they do operate under local policies and informal norms (Heimonen 2003). Each art and music school has its own rules and freedom of action; the schools are *loosely connected* to each other in that they offer extracurricular art and music education for children and adolescents (see Di Lorenzo Tillborg 2017a). In addition, there are national policies that are not specific for art and music schools, but still apply since they are valid for any Swedish institution. Relevant policies include the disability policy (Disabilities 2017), based on the UN Convention on Rights for Persons with Disabilities; the Swedish policy for children's rights (Children's rights 2018), based on the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child; the Swedish migration and asylum policy (Migration and asylum 2018); and the Swedish policy for democracy and human rights (Democracy and human rights 2018).

The previously mentioned investigation report (SOU 2016:69) commissioned by the government was entitled "An inclusive art and music school on its own terms"; in Swedish *En inkluderande kulturskola på egen grund*. The title immediately points to inclusion as an important foundation, and to the legitimacy of art and music schools as schools of their own kind, independent from the compulsory school system (Di Lorenzo Tillborg 2017a).

Here, the government emerged as a prominent policy actor, bringing inclusion to the forefront of the policy process. After the release of the report, many referral responses were sent to the government by other policy actors such as universities, music teacher educators, art and music school leaders, municipalities, associations for children with disabilities, and associations for professional musicians (Regeringskansliet 2018). The next step in the official process was a government proposal which was passed by the Swedish Parliament. During the parliament debate, members of the opposition presented several counterarguments to the aim of inclusion, asserting that (a) social cohesion should foremostly be considered the responsibility of compulsory school, (b) art and music schools should focus on arts education and development of artistic expression rather than on social missions, and (c) municipalities should retain their right to make decisions about the funding and organisation of art and music schools.[9] Amendments reflecting the first two objections were rejected, although there was consensus on the importance of securing high competence among teachers. The continued important role of local decision-making was supported by the government, but it was emphasised that art and music schools needed to broaden their basis for student recruitment in order to uphold their legitimacy. The proposal did not involve specific legislation for art and music schools, but instead advanced an indicative national strategy which would be funded by the state. Concrete projects included establishing a centre for art and music schools (*Kulturskolecentrum*) in order to provide economic support to both practice and research, to provide statistics and to map the needs for education and development; and delegating to six universities the right to initiate new teacher courses specifically designed to strengthen competence in art and music schools (Prop. 2017/18:164).

In the practice field, art and music school leaders have been discussing the need for a national strategy for several years, emphasising that SMPA have duties towards society (Di Lorenzo Tillborg 2017a). They have been *enacting* policy, in the terms of Braun, Maguire and Ball (2010). Leaders have also communicated this need to the government, i.e., the traditional policy field (Kulturskolerådet 2018a). Other examples of how school leaders relate to policy are their statements regarding the (in)existence of inclusion policies for Sweden's art and music schools. When leaders talk about mixed student abilities in the art and music school context, they refer to the fact that there is no national inclusion policy, but they make no reference to existing broader inclusion policies in Sweden (Di Lorenzo Tillborg forthcoming).

In the research field, the influence of informal as well as formal policy on art and music schools in Sweden has been emphasised by both Heimonen (2003) and Holmberg (2010). The previously mentioned research report (Di Lorenzo Tillborg 2017b) exposes disability inclusion challenges as a core issue for art and music schools. In another article, Di Lorenzo Tillborg (2017a) makes some policy recommendations: one focusing on the importance of connecting policy to financial security in order to balance the tension between management accountability and educational leadership in the schools, and another drawing attention to the need for traditional policymakers to consider educators and leaders as policymakers. In this way, research that is carried out during the national policy process can become part of the process itself; researchers can become policy actors through their scholarly work to the extent that their conclusions are taken into account by traditional policymakers.

The given examples are snapshots of the complex relations within multi-actor policy processes. The initiative to the Swedish national policy process for SMPA can indeed be traced to any of the involved actors and the development continues in several contexts, as described by Ball and his colleagues as well as by P. Schmidt and R. Schmidt (above). In all policy fields, inclusion has been stressed as a priority for art and music schools. In the traditional policy field, the importance given to this issue can be exemplified by the

government initiating a national investigation report, as well as by broader Swedish policies. In the practice field, the view that inclusion is important can be exemplified by school leaders' explicit commitment to societal duties, as well as by the implementation of programmes such as El Sistema. In the research field, scholars have exposed skews in recruitment and challenges related to disability inclusion (Jeppsson & Lindgren 2018; Di Lorenzo Tillborg 2017b).

From the theoretical perspective of the policy cycle approach, one way in which the involved institutions might increase the chances of fulfilling their aims is to intensify the interaction between different policy actors and to benefit from experience and knowledge accumulated across traditional policymaking, practice, and research. More concretely, relations between the policy fields could be strengthened for instance by making sure art and music schools are engaged in the policy process, and by connecting funding to policy work in all three fields. Not only might such efforts benefit the policy process itself, but they could also be critical prerequisites for realising the policy ideal that Swedish art and music schools should have an inclusive foundation.

Norway: Understanding and balancing aims of breadth and depth in the *kulturskole*

Schools of music and performing arts, *kulturskoler*, hold an important function in Norwegian society, providing music and arts lessons on a weekly basis for about 100,000 pupils. Approximately 13% of all children in primary and lower secondary schools attended a kulturskole in 2017/2018, according to the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training.[10] Since 1997, all Norwegian municipalities are obliged under law to offer kulturskole services (Education Act 1998). Many municipalities have been running similar schools long before this; the earliest of the schools were established in the 1950s, starting out as music schools.

The Norwegian law says very little about how to run kulturskoler, and hence variation is great between the municipalities, but collaboration with compulsory schools and local community music and arts fields is enjoined by the legislation. All municipalities offer programs in music which is still the 'traditional' subject accounting for about two thirds of the activities, but programmes in several other core subjects are offered as well: drama, theatre, creative writing, circus, dance, and visual arts. In 2016, a national curriculum for the kulturskole was published and recommended by the Norwegian Council for Schools of Music and Performing Arts (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016). The curriculum is not mandatory to follow, but most Norwegian municipalities have decided to do so. As illustrated by this development, the Council is a strong policy actor in the field.

From the earliest times of the Norwegian kulturskole, the main goal has been to provide music and arts education for all children who want to learn music and other arts, regardless of socioeconomic or cultural background, gender, or other social factors. The official vision for the kulturskole is 'arts and cultural education for all', *kulturskole for alle* (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016, 2). Accordingly, there are no entrance examinations for the kulturskole. If the number of available places is insufficient, applicants are put on waiting lists without particular regard to skill, motivation, or other similar characteristics. Subsidised prices are one of the measures taken to assure equal access, but because no national guidelines have been established, there is substantial variation between municipalities with regard to price and availability. Despite the core vision of equality, the student population is distinctly homogeneous with recruitment predominantly from middle class families (Bjørnsen 2012). Immigrants and disadvantaged groups are conspicuously underrepresented (Rønningen 2017).

The core policy issue analysed here is how the Norwegian vision of broad accessibility to the kulturskole relates to the simultaneous need to provide opportunities for

specialisation within the same school system. The subtitle of the national curriculum for the Norwegian kulturskole is *Mangfold og fordypning*[11] (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016), reflecting aspirations to provide both breadth and depth. The argument underlying the *breadth* discourse builds on collective values and strivings for social inclusion, accessibility and diversity. In documents published by the Norwegian Council for Schools of Music and Performing Arts, social inclusion is articulated through phrases like 'for a reasonable price', 'independent from social and economic background', and 'every child who wants...' (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2003; 2016). As support for the argument, these documents and several official policy documents (Norwegian Ministry of Culture 2009, NOU 2013) cite the United Nations Convention of 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.

Social inclusion is also related to diversity of art forms, genres and levels taught. A larger offer, it has been suggested, might make it more likely that a larger number of children would find an activity of preference; this could broaden the student recruitment to SMPA (Gustavsen and Hjelmbrekke 2009, 96–98; Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016). The curriculum framework (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016) states that music teaching in schools of music and arts should reflect the cultural diversity and dynamics of the society while also preserving its history and traditions. In a research article, Anders Rønningen (2017), who is the present Head of Research and Development at the Norwegian Council for Schools of Music and Performing Arts, strongly defends the breadth discourse. He argues that SMPA might have much to learn from values defended within community music: access and participation, emphasis on wellbeing, meaning and personal and social growth rather than competitive musical achievement, and frames for teaching and learning that allow for flexibility according to participants' needs.

As shown for example by Jordhus-Lier (2018), the tension between collective values and individualism is more complex than one might imagine. Heimonen (2003) writes that there can be, on the one hand, arguments for the *right to an education*, referring to the duty of the state to secure conditions and circumstances so that everyone can participate in arts activities, a stance similar to the breadth discourse in Norwegian SMPA. On the other hand, there are also arguments for *freedom in education*, pointing to individual needs regarding content (ibid.). Seen from this perspective, it could be possible to assert that the principle 'for everyone' also includes a *depth* discourse, equally important for social justice, since it allows for a right to select a specialisation from a broader range of activities, and possibly to prepare for higher education. The curriculum framework (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2016) divides kulturskole activities into three programmes: a breadth programme, a core programme and an in-depth programme. These can be seen as levels of specialisation within the kulturskole. Compared to general music classes in compulsory schools, all of these programmes are forms of specialisation and can be linked to the *depth* discourse. However, the breadth programme usually refers to easily accessible group activities with few requirements.

One SMPA teacher interviewed by Jordhus-Lier (2018) says that he is concerned about giving priority to social justice, i.e. the idea that every child should have equal opportunities in participating in the school's activities regardless of the child's economic and social background. He suggests that there should be requirements for participation, and that students who do not work enough should be dismissed in order to make space for more engaged students. This assertion raises the question of who should make the call: traditional policy actors such as politicians and the Norwegian Council for Schools of Music and Performing Arts, the practice field as represented here by this teacher, or the research field? Jordhus-Lier (2018) finds in her study that there is tension between the different actors, as the institutional discourse of breadth is dominant in policy documents

while the teacher discourse of specialisation is dominant among music teachers.

The balance act between aims of breadth and depth is also visible in the variety of routes that lead to teacher qualification for the Norwegian kulturskole. At the time of writing, there are several pathways to gaining competence and access to the kulturskole teacher profession (see Aglen & Karlsen 2017). Two main programmes lead to formal, government-approved qualification. The *3-year teacher training programme in music* builds on national recommendations emphasising that teacher education shall be based on the needs of compulsory school and the general needs of society, focus on children and young people, and take diversity and different motivations for learning into account. The teacher education in music is also expected to be research-based and internationally oriented. The study programme consists of both music performance and educational theory during all the three years of the programme. Teaching practice is scheduled twice a year and includes practice periods in compulsory schools, upper secondary schools, and the kulturskole. The *1-year programme in educational theory and practice* in combination with a *bachelor of music performance* allows students to focus on music performance during the first three years and then dedicate one year to educational theory and teaching practice, or to integrate performance, educational theory and teaching practice for several years, depending on how their university has chosen to arrange the studies. Graduates from these different programmes, then, will have profiles that may be more general and education-oriented or more specialised and performance-oriented.

Variety with respect to qualification can be considered a strength and an advantage for the kulturskole, since an overall combination of breadth and depth is created through these different teacher education programmes. Kulturskoler have different educational contents and profiles and therefore need different competences among their teachers. How the aims are realised in practice is up to each municipality and its local kulturskole, which also means that these institutions can decide on the teaching content of the courses as well as on the qualifications expected of the teachers, and on whom they finally wish to hire for a post. Municipal decisions will therefore have a significant impact on what kinds of professional competence and consequently on what kinds of value are emphasised in the kulturskole teacher profession.

The coexistence of policy aims related to both breadth and depth is reflected in activity across the traditional policy field, the practice field and the research field. On the basis of our analysis, we argue that the challenging promotion of both aims seems to depend on multi-actor processes – for better and for worse, since the task requires a certain degree of consensus among all three fields. Policymakers within national and local government need to be convinced that both aims are important even though there can be tension between them, and that sufficient resources have to be allocated if schools of music and performing arts are to realise the vision of truly being for everyone. In the practice field, schools need leaders that adhere to both aims and teachers that represent a variety of competencies, including narrow specialisations but also the ability to organise ensembles, conduct, lead projects, and collaborate across subjects, genres and art forms. The research field has contributed analyses of existing skews and imbalances, but the Norwegian kulturskole is still relatively under-researched; since the 2010s, there have been active efforts to form a researcher community which specifically focuses on education in kulturskoler. One explicit aim is to provide traditional policymakers with a more solid knowledge base for development and decision-making (Norsk kulturskoleråd 2017).

Denmark: From measuring the impact to understanding the value of art

The first music schools in Denmark were founded in the 1930s, inspired by the German *Jugendmusikbewegung* and by German policies destined to modernise and professionalise

music education from Kindergarten to university and to make "musical cultivation" (*Musikpflege*) available for everyone. The new "people's music schools" (*folke-musikskoler*) were expected to offer general and broad music education with instrument tuition, choirs and orchestras. Around the same time, jazz music schools were also introduced. Both school models were based on reform pedagogy, shunned elitist conceptions of music 'for the few', and had explicit ambitions to reach broad groups of students. During the 1960s and 1970s, municipal music schools and public schools established collaborations with the aim of encouraging participation among both children and adults. Legal regulation for music schools was introduced gradually during the 1980s and many formerly private music schools and teachers entered the municipal system with its advantage of having established, state-funded status. During this expansion phase, the aims of music schools continued to be oriented towards broad participation. In the early 2000s, however, governmental initiatives in support of talent development and preparation for higher music education contributed to a shift towards increased specialisation. As more resources were needed for advanced studies, budgets became larger, but the number of students dropped; between 2006 and 2010 by as much as 17% (Holgersen 2010, 82).

Presently (2018), music schools (*musikskoler*) are established in all Danish municipalities by law and receive public funding. Some of these schools are art schools (*kulturskoler*) which offer tuition in the visual arts, dance, and drama; however, state funding is still reserved only for the teaching of music, which accounts for 89% of lessons. There are 98 music schools attended by a total of 50,000 pupils, representing 4% of the target group of 0 to 24-year-olds, and 7% of school-aged children (6 to 16-year-olds) (Musikskoletænketanken 2017). In the primary school reform of 2014, cooperation between public school (the compulsory primary and lower secondary school referred to as *folkeskole* in Danish) and music schools was explicitly encouraged. Cooperation projects and continuous programmes are also part of the Open School programme (*Åben Skole*) which is central to the 2014 reform, offering a platform for the furthering of art as such and creating opportunities for all children and young people to have encounters with the arts and to meet artists. Orchestral programs (band or instrument classes) have been established by many music schools, often inspired by the El Sistema concept and its social mission.

In the mid-1990, national guidelines for music schools were introduced, but the text was repealed in 2012. The official Danish music school policy (Danish Arts Council 2012) is currently characterised by restraint and decentralisation, with only general demands on what the schools are expected to offer in order to qualify for funding from local municipalities and from the state. Core aims include a double and nonhierarchical responsibility: to promote pluralism, diversity and lifelong interest, and to secure talent development (*talentarbejde*) that prepares and qualifies for higher education.

In 2016, the Danish Ministry of Culture formed a commission (*Kulturministeriets Musikskoletænketank*) to look into the Danish music schools with a view to major challenges in the coming years. Concerns mentioned in the report from the commission were that only 10% or less of Danish children were taking part in music school activities, and that the new possibilities offered by the primary school reform did not seem to be enacted in practice. In addition, the question of how to combine diversity and depth (music for the many as well as specialisation) was still considered unsolved. Some major recommendations in the final report from the commission (Danish Ministry of Culture 2017) included the need to develop new teaching and learning environments and a variety of forms of flexible teaching and collaborative musicing; strengthen cooperation with public schools; update the music school teacher education (basic and in-service training); and revise the criteria for national financial funding to support the strategies above.

The background we have presented can help gain an understanding of the recently

raised **core policy question** of how 'quality' and 'value' should be defined within the arts education offered in Danish schools of music and performing arts. In connection with the school reform of 2014, The Danish Arts Foundation (under the Ministry of Culture) set up a research panel to develop a study design that would investigate children's and adolescents' encounter with the arts in the Open School. As part of the panel's work, music education researcher Finn Holst (2017a) provided a review of studies on children's and adolescents' encounter with the arts.

Holst's review includes a summary of three key studies of the field of arts education. *The wow factor* (Bamford 2006) is an international study launched by UNESCO on the situation of arts education in different countries. The research reported suggests that quality arts programs share a number of characteristics, e.g., active partnerships between schools and arts organisations, emphasis on collaboration, an inclusive stance which aims for accessibility for all children, and flexible school structures as well as permeable boundaries between schools and the community. These insights have served as major sources of inspiration for the Danish Open School program. *Art for art's sake?* (Winner, Goldstein & Vincent-Lancrin 2013) is an OECD metareview on 'impact', based on a quantitative (statistical) psychological research tradition, in short: measuring 'transfer effects'. The report *Understanding the value of arts & culture* (Crossick & Kazynska 2016), published by the Arts and Humanities Council (UK), examines the question of the meaning and value of art through findings from the three-year-long Cultural Value Project coordinated by the Council from late 2012 to late 2015. The study highlights a shift from the isolated quantitative paradigm to a study of 'value'. A main conclusion of the report centres on the importance of recognising felt experience and value as attributed from the first-person perspective – that is, the value of art for children and adolescents.[12]

In Holst's review, written to provide theoretical grounding for policy decisions, it is pointed out that although a number of transfer effects may result from participation in arts programs, this cannot (or should not) serve as a premise for what quality is or how to develop quality, leading to the question of 'value', where 'value' is understood as 'value-for-whom-and-in-what-context'. Basing decisions on the premise that particular persons and circumstances need to be kept in mind represents a major perspective shift from 'measurement of the effects of art' to 'understanding the value of art'. A subsequent, still ongoing study (Holst 2017b) identifies four such value dimensions as expressed by children who participate in music school activities through projects aimed at currently underrepresented groups. The four dimensions are centred on participation and involvement: (1) joy of life, meaning for life: *vitality*, (2) joint participation in music, collaborative musicing: *sociability*; (3) telling a story, musical imagery: *narrativity*, (4) active participation and mastery: *productivity*.

In the field of practice, values experienced by children are influenced by different approaches to teaching and learning music. With support from self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan 2017) Holst argues that it is important to understand not only curricular values (skills and competences) seen from the viewpoint of public school and/or the music school, but also to include and consider viewpoints of the children involved. The first-person perspective is tightly connected with the question of intrinsic motivation, which has been shown to constitute an essential factor in learning (ibid.)

One persistent debate has centred around the respective advantages and drawbacks of individual versus group tuition in music schools; a question which is also related to the possibility of broader student participation, to funding issues, and to the need for professional development among music school teachers in order to provide varied combinations of learning in individual, peer-to-peer, and larger group or ensemble settings. From a researcher perspective, collaboration between public school and music schools in Denmark is seen as a promising area for the development of new teaching and

learning environments and forms of flexible teaching and collaborative musicing – as asked for in the Danish Music School Commission Report. The cooperation is not limited to helping the public school or the music school, but can be considered "a third space" of development and research (Holst 2016; 2017c), with possible benefits for teaching and learning in both public school and music schools. As the historic overview above illustrates, the aim of reaching large numbers of children is by no means new. It is the vision and the values on which the first music schools in Denmark were founded that are now being reactualised.

The attempts to address the core issue described above can be understood as a process where policymakers have actively sought input from researchers, whose contributions include a comprehensive historical perspective on the aims of Danish music schools, and firm support for the idea that policy should be created in active dialogue with the practice field, most especially with the children and young people who are directly concerned by music school policy and its enactments. Whereas effective development of competitive individual musical skills and measurable impact from music studies might constitute worthwhile aims from the point of view of traditional policymaking, other values seem to be at stake for children in relation to the arts: joy and meaning in life, participation, and the possibility to tell stories. Here, as discussed above, different policy actors can have a corrective influence on each other if they are "given a 'fair hearing' that accurately represents the policy advocates' claims and understandings of the contexts and stakes involved" (R. Schmidt 2014, 331). One significant outcome of the intensified interaction between traditional policymakers and the research field is the central recommendation issued by the government-appointed research panel to make an epistemological shift in the approach for research and evaluation related to SMPA in Denmark, from a singular preoccupation with 'measuring impact' to a stronger focus on 'understanding value'.

Finland: What is the most essential aim of music schools?

The history of Finnish music schools goes back to the 19th century. The first schools included the Helsinki Music Institute (1882) and the Helsinki Orchestra Society (1885), both established in the capital. Other larger towns followed, such as Tampere (1917) and Vyborg (1918). The first founders of music schools were usually private persons with an enthusiasm for music (Heimonen 2002, 190; Kuha 2017). Initial freedom from state regulation also meant that there was no financial aid from the government. This influenced the 'pioneer' teachers' salaries, which were low, and the length of lessons, which was very limited. As the field of music schools expanded, it seemed to need a more stable organising system to prevail. In the late 1960s, a special Act was passed to secure state financial aid for a limited number of music schools. In contrast to liberal education, designated mainly for adults and highlighting lifelong learning, state-supported music schools emphasised the early goal-oriented education needed to prepare children for a future profession in music (Kurkela & Tawaststjerna 1999, 124). In addition to legislation of their own, these music schools also received a common national core curriculum for their activities. Since the early 2000s, the curriculum is divided into two syllabi with different goals and criteria for assessment (see e.g. Björk 2016, 54–56). The advanced syllabus has a goal-oriented and strongly music-focused content in preparation for possible further studies, and guarantees the student 1300 lessons during the years at the school. The general syllabus is more integrative and flexible, allows for the choice to pursue other arts along with music, and guarantees the student 500 lessons. State funding is usually reserved for schools that offer the advanced syllabus.

Other arts than music became part of state-supported extracurricular arts education in the 1990s. Presently (2018), basic education in the arts as provided by municipalities offer

music, dance, art and handicraft, literary arts, theatre and circus, and art and architecture. This nationwide network comprises 393 schools and 126,000 students, of which more than half (app. 69,000) study music.[13] Legislation (e.g. a special Act and Decree) governs this kind of education, and a newly revised national core curriculum for the general and advanced syllabi (Finnish National Agency for Education 2018) is implemented since August 2018. The new national curriculum allows for very large teacher autonomy, encouraging contextual decisions about content and assessment and increased freedom for students to craft their own learning paths.

The core policy issue analysed here has been debated since the mid-1990s, when Finnish music school teachers and scholars raised the question of *what the most essential aim of music schools should be*. The discussion was initiated more or less simultaneously in the practice field and in the research field, as a group of former music school teachers and directors joined a major research and development project on music schools, coordinated by the Sibelius Academy and led by professor Kari Kurkela. This project resulted in several doctoral dissertations and a series of publications on the topic by Kurkela (for an in-depth literature review, see Björk 2016, 21–25, 57–64).

In post-Second World War Finland, it had been considered important to establish and fund music schools in order to increase the quality, quantity and regional accessibility of educational opportunities that would enable talented young people to become high-level music teachers and professional musicians, especially within the tradition of Western art music (Heimonen 2002; Hirvonen 2003). The policy was related to general strivings to build up the country through education, but also to a sense of national pride (Heimonen & Hebert 2012).

By the 1990s, however, an array of problems in the practice field indicated that the national policy and its demands on accountability needed reconsideration. Only a few percent of enrolled students could be realistically expected to pursue a professional career (Perälä 1993), dropout rates caused concern (Heino & Ojala 2006; Tuovila 2003), and some pedagogical traditions were criticised for accepting elements of coercion, blaming and humiliation in order to obtain visible results (Anttila 2004; Kurkela 1993; Lehtonen 2004). Teachers and scholars expressed concern for children's wellbeing within the music school system, pointing to the intrinsic value of both music and childhood, and to the importance of supporting children's spontaneous, joyful interest in music (e.g., Tuovila 2003). If music schools were indeed to be result-driven, Kurkela (1995a) had argued, it was crucial to discuss what would be considered valuable results of the education offered in the schools. What should be defended, according to Kurkela (1995b; 1997), was the profoundly subjective value that art can have in a person's life. It would be justifiable to speak about "progress" in music education, Kurkela suggested, "when a meaningful relationship to music has deepened, become more worthwhile and better at supporting the good life" (Kurkela 1997, 286).

The principle of a good relationship to music has philosophical dimensions and is similar to the principle of the best interests of the child, sharing the characteristic that in order to be applicable, it needs to be interpreted in context and separately for each person (Heimonen 2002; Björk 2016). In the tension field between studies that prepare for 'serious' professionalism and studies that prepare for 'joyful amateuring', Broman-Kananen (2005) argued, a policy built on the principle of a good relationship to music could be understood as a dialectic third alternative. As a crystallised and general idea, the principle seemed to "work as a magnet for what many music school teachers and directors already thought" (T. Klemettinen, head of the Finnish Association of Music Schools; personal communication, 24.10.2013) and "was taken on by individual music schools as well as by the music school system" (K. Kurkela, personal communication, 14.11.2012). Since 2002, the written national curricula for all Finnish music schools operating within

the publicly funded system of basic education in the arts have cited as a main aim "to create the preconditions for a good relationship with music" (Finnish National Agency for Education 2017a; 2017b; 2018).

The development described above can be understood as a case of policy change being initiated in the field of practice, continued in the field of research, and eventually gaining enough consensus to be adopted in the traditional policy context. However, the debate is not closed; concerns about declining excellence in performance and lack of musical professionalism are periodically expressed (e.g. Sirén 2013). For all its strengths, the principle of a good relationship to music may in some cases be too open; for example, in order to explicitly sustain aspirations towards competitive performance. Since the principle was deliberately formulated to encourage flexibility, on the other hand, it may be particularly well-adapted as support for more diverse aspirations.

Presently, researchers (e.g. Laes et al. 2018) emphasise a new interpretation of equality and equity connected to music education. A vision of 'arts for all' in SMPA, it is argued, really should mean arts for everyone, including older adults (Laes & Rautiainen 2018), people with disabilities or special educational needs (Laes 2017; Laes et al. 2018), young persons selected for music schools by social authorities on socioeconomic grounds (as in the *Floora* project, Kamensky & Rechardt 2016), or cultural minorities and indigenous peoples such as the Sámi (Kallio & Länsman 2018). 'All' refers to every single human being in the spirit of inclusive education and equal opportunities for everyone (Laes et al. 2018). In the large-scale Finnish research project ArtsEqual, which examines the arts as public service, systems thinking has been recommended (Väkevä, Westerlund & Ilmola-Sheppard 2017) as a way of generating innovation and flexibility in arts education in Finland. The authors follow Hordijk (2007) in referring to systems analysis as "a problem-solving process in which many people take part: scientists of relevant disciplines, stakeholders, and decision makers" such that complex decisions and policies are supported by sufficient information, knowledge and analysis of goals. This systemic thinking is similar to ecological conceptualisation of policy as framed by Weaver-Hightower and P. Schmidt (above).

The core issue and question of what the essential aim of music schools in Finland should be, then, has been marked by a persistent and perhaps somewhat artificial tension between values of professional musical excellence and more pluralist and subjectivist values. We suggest that this issue cannot be 'resolved'. Instead, the tension can be productive, serving as fuel for multi-actor, ongoing, process-oriented synthesis of the arguments, and as background recognition for practical, everyday decisions regarding student pathways. We are not implying that valuation of music should be understood in relativist terms or as simplistic preference-satisfaction. What the principle of a good relationship to music acknowledges is that 'goodness' emerges precisely as a myriad of values, deriving in part from first-person experience of music's value in life, and in part from the immense variety of music(s) and what is considered valuable and excellent in different genres and traditions (Björk 2016). This reality is challenging for music schools, but seems crucial for their relevance in a culturally diversifying society which supports a wide range of worthwhile pursuits as well as wide access to such pursuits.

Conclusions

The purpose of this article was to examine how multi-actor policy processes shape music education in Swedish, Norwegian, Danish and Finnish schools of music and performing arts. We asked what tensions and affordances may emerge in the interaction between different policy actors and what visions of music education are created in and through that interaction. Our analysis of core issues from policy debate on SMPA in these four Nordic

countries suggests that there are common challenges and therefore possibly similar grounds for policymaking, but also differences, for example in the legal frameworks that may limit as well as enable policies. The historical roots to current situations can influence policies in both subtle and in more fundamental ways, and so can national and local political priorities. As observed by Ball (1993) and as exemplified by the Danish turn towards contextual understanding of the value of art as a basis for policy decisions in relation to SMPA, policymaking and policy enactment are inevitably local and iterative in nature.

The *tensions* we have found centre around the different and sometimes not easily compatible aims of schools of music and the performing arts. On the one hand, there are expectations that SMPA should develop into flexible, inclusive, open and diverse learning hubs where students of all ages and capabilities can find their own fruitful relationships to the arts, increase their participation in society, and break patterns of social injustice. On the other hand, SMPA provide the frames for systematic, long-term work that prepare children and young people for higher education. Here, frictions around cost-benefit priorities can arise, and strivings to offer a broad range of activities can run into various complications. Accommodating a large number of different specialists may change the labour market for music school teachers, increasing the number of part-time contracts and offering less opportunity for long-term stable employment, or forcing specialists to take on an ever-increasing number of different tasks. Furthermore, even well-funded schools in large municipalities may not be able to offer a wide selection of specialisations, which raises the question: is it more valuable to facilitate for all children to participate in some kind of art activity, or to facilitate for some (preferably as many as possible) to partake in the activity of their choice?

As always, policy eventually meets the messy realm of practice. Here, questions about breadth, depth, individual pathways and access to specialist teachers are not lofty political aims, but occur in ongoing, everyday situations. For example, it is probably unusual for young children to be entirely sure of what instrument or genre they prefer, or whether they want to pursue professional careers. Teachers and families have to live with this uncertainty while being realistically aware that preparation for international competition has to begin early. Sometimes, however, an all-encompassing fascination with music and a desire for excellence are manifest in a child since an early age or surge strongly during the teenage years. Policymakers whose overarching visions of equality are oriented towards the idea that 'music for all' primarily means enjoyment and general education will also encounter students, teachers and families who attribute great value to specialised musical mastery and long-term progress and who expect SMPA to provide the conditions for intensive development along those lines. In the field of research on SMPA in the Nordic countries, the recent tendency has been to focus on improving conditions for breadth and participation; in scholarly studies, concern for sustained excellence as a primary aim is more often heard through the voices of interviewed teachers, representing the field of practice (e.g., Bamford 2011, 67; Björk 2016, 127; Holmberg 2010, 221; Jordhus-Lier 2018, 95).

The *affordances* of multi-actor policy processes, as they emerge through our analyses, support the argument by P. Schmidt (2017) that the effort to involve several concerned actors is beneficial for both policy creation and policy enactment. We have seen that such benefits can be reaped through ongoing attention to the perspectives of different actors; by "slow[ing] down the spinning triangle" of policy, research, and practice (Zeserson & Welch 2017, 67) in order to make stronger connections and support policy efforts in all three fields. In this way, time and resources are given for experience and knowledge to accumulate and support sustainable decision-making on both local and national levels.

Multi-actor processes can work as (at least partial) safeguards against convictions that

are not sufficiently connected to realities of everyday practice. We have mentioned the possibility of high student ambitions. Moderate, delineated or specific ambitions have their important place, too. Parents' hope as they enrol their children for music lessons in SMPA may first and foremost be that the children enjoy music and perhaps find "their thing" in and through it (Lilliedahl & Georgii-Hemming 2009); if the children do not find anything meaningful, they may simply 'vote with their feet' and move on. Many students do not fit the 'mainstream' or imagined 'ideal' profile because of their age, ability, gender, ethnicity, or interest in a specific musical genre. At the same time, fast and stereotypical assumptions about student choices cannot be trusted as predictive knowledge. Policies may build on untested inferences such as the somewhat blunt idea that offering more popular music in SMPA will by itself lead to an increase in student numbers. While this hypothesis is perhaps plausible, it has not yet, to our knowledge, been examined in a scholarly study. It would be equally dubious to automatically assume, for instance, that students deliberately recruited from previously underrepresented groups are destined for a 'breadth' track in their studies. Questions such as these show the importance of connecting research to work in the traditional field of policymaking.

The *visions* of music education in SMPA that are created through multi-actor policy processes, then, show a diversity of ambitions that encompass musical, social and philosophical aspects. Traditional policymakers in all four countries seem to have acknowledged that contemporary schools of music and performing arts have not one, but multiple aims. There are some shared foundational principles: music education should be of high quality, and schools of music and performing arts share the societal responsibility for promoting equality and well-being in a diverse population. But the SMPA policies we have examined are not set in stone. Instead, they are all characterised by a certain flexibility and have built-in open space which allows for different and even incommensurable aims to be pursued. The four Nordic countries discussed in this article have made conscious decisions *not to choose* between breadth and depth, excellence and enjoyment, tradition and innovation, freedom and restraint, but instead to support SMPA structures that can hold many different pathways and encourage contextual adjustments and decisions. In this way, music education as human endeavour is envisioned as sharing the complex, evolving and multi-faceted nature of human life itself.

Discussion and suggestions for further research

The connections between written and enacted policy as well as between principles and practices can be weak or strong, harmonious or tense, clear or muddled. There are indisputable tensions and gaps between policy and practice throughout the Nordic countries focused on in this article. Sometimes, national policy is slow to follow needs arising in the context of practice; sometimes, strong central recommendations do not seem to change practices in the field. The very idea behind the SMPA system in Norway was to provide equal access to music (and arts) education. Even so, inequality is still a problem and student participation is still skewed with regard to ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds. In Sweden, some art and music schools currently do not organise opportunities for children and adolescents in need of special support to participate in the schools' activities (Di Lorenzo Tillborg 2017b). In Denmark, new possibilities for music schools, offered by the primary school reform, have not yet been realised to their full potential (Danish Ministry of Culture 2017). In Finland, the *Floora* project has shown promise as a case of systems-based social intervention where traditional policymakers, researchers and practitioners work together (several SMPA teachers in the project combining the role of teacher and researcher), but such innovations will only be realised to the extent that individual schools are effectively willing to rethink their modes and aims of teaching and learning.

The relation and interaction between policy actors in the traditional policymaking field, the practice field and the research field are vulnerable to financial prioritisations and also to dynamics of dominance, political transitions, and insecurity resulting from hasty or frequent reform (Björk & Heimonen in press). Similar situations are described in other European countries, where deliberately open curricular frameworks can be seen as empty space in which there are opportunities for different policy actors to exercise power (ibid.). Demerdzviev (2014, 9) cites the example of Bulgaria, where the absence of a common development strategy has "left each music school to its own destiny" and to the personal opinions and decisions of individual music school directors. Even in the presence of specific national policies, a Nordic municipality, SMPA director or SMPA teacher may variously embrace, criticise, and even choose to ignore or to enact only a strict minimum of national decisions.

Yanow (2000, 62–84) demonstrates that policy meanings are communicated and interpreted not just through policy and the language that implements policy, but also through symbolic objects such as artefacts, built spaces, and designs. In addition, she observes, meanings are communicated through symbolic acts such as organising meetings and inviting the opinions of policy-relevant actors, or non-verbal communication such as dress, gesture, or tone of voice. The presence and nature of such symbolic objects and acts are worth observing and analysing in order to understand how policy is being enacted, or how values represented in the policy are perhaps considered incommensurable with other goals (Yanow 2000, 80). What does it mean, for example, that the national curriculum for SMPA is translated into Sámi in Norway, but not in Finland? What symbolic meanings are conveyed when a highly specialised musician teaches (or avoids teaching) both in a kulturskole and at the local primary school? How can buildings, dress codes, the use of conventional music notation, or the way teachers talk influence the experience of being a student in a school of music?[14]

Without continual conversations that involve policymakers from the traditional, textmaking field, the research field, and the practice field, including teachers and administrators from higher music education and SMPA teachers, students, and student's families, different expectations on schools of music and performing arts may lead to deadlocks or to linear, old-fashioned top-down implementation with little regard for circumstance. P. Schmidt (2017, 12) suggests we understand policies as a set of practices which "exemplify and direct ways to engage with others, with words, and with needs, all the while inciting particular kinds of thinking and action". Policy enactment is always a matter of interpretation in practice; for Elliott (2007, 6) there is a hermeneutic element to our understanding of practical situations in education, and new possibilities can open up through "the play of conversation" with others. Accordingly, further research on multi-actor policy processes related to music education in SMPA might, for example, examine how aspirations towards diversity are experienced by SMPA teachers and administrators, how different teacher qualifications fit the needs of Norwegian kulturskoler, how substantial curricular freedom is received by music school teachers in Finland, what concrete new ways of teaching and learning are introduced as a result of new SMPA policies, and how students experience their participation in new forms of music education within Nordic schools of music and performing arts.[15] ■

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Notes

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[2] The Nordic region comprises the countries of Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden and Iceland along with Nordic territories with substantial autonomy: Greenland, the Faroe Islands and Åland.

[3] For example, the Finnish National Core Curriculum for basic education in the arts states that this form of education "is based on a pluralistic and continuously renewing cultural heritage" and that local curricula should consider traditions and local cultural heritage, but also "changes taken place in the art form nationally and internationally" (Finnish National Agency for Education 2018, 10, 13).

[4] For example, in Norway, every municipality is required to provide a *kulturskole*, but local authorities may limit the activities of the school on financial grounds. In 2017–2018, there were 24 366 children on waiting lists to study music, according to statistics provided by the Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, https://gsi.udir.no. There are also disproportions in representation with regard to students' gender, ethnic background and socioeconomic background (Rønningen 2017).

[5] In Finnish: *taiteen perusopetus*. In Swedish: *grundläggande konstundervisning*.

[6] Schools that all belong to the Nordic Union of Art and Music Schools (*Nordisk musik- och kulturskoleunion*) and offer publicly funded music education can thus be encountered under different names: 'music schools' (Swedish: *musikskolor*, in Finland also *musikläroinrättningar*, Danish: *musikskoler*, Finnish: *musiikkikoulut, musiikkioppilaitokset*), 'music institutes' (Finnish: *musiikkiopistot*, in Finland, Swedish: *musikinstitut*), and 'culture schools' (Swedish: *kulturskolor*, Norwegian and Danish: *kulturskoler*, Sámi: *kulturkuvllat*).

The direct translation 'culture school' is problematic, since it has other connotations in English. However, it is still used also in official documents such as the Swedish *Kulturskoleutredningen*, the investigation on art and music schools commissioned by the Swedish government (SOU 2016:69). The discussion of what the different names reflect, including the historical context for choices and arguments, would be a sufficient topic for another article.

[7] There is no definite or clear-cut boundary to distinguish research relevant to policy processes. Studies on a wide range of topics have the potential to inform policy research and enactment. We have limited our selection for practical reasons. Following an initiative from the Norwegian Council for Schools of Music and Performing Arts, a Nordic researcher group is currently (2018) compiling a comprehensive and detailed overview of research relating to SMPA in the Nordic countries; this review is expected to be published in 2019.

[8] In Denmark, 55% of students in music schools come from families with a yearly household income of over 800,000 DKK (107,000 e) (Musikskoletænketanken 2017). In Finland, a study on cultural participation among children as reflected through their tendency to enrol in activities offered by local cultural centres supports the suggestion that higher socioeconomic status in families goes together with a more pronounced interest in the arts as a hobby (Martin 2017).

[9] Kulturutskottets betänkande 2017/2018:KrU9. https://data.riksdagen.se/fil/88994B67-92C4-41B8-AB6D- C85BCD45FDE1

[10] https://gsi.udir.no

[11] The attempted English translation is "Diversity and deeper understanding", see http://kulturskoleradet.no/rammeplanseksjonen/rammeplanen

[12] Cf. Westerlund, H. 2008. Justifying music education: A perspective from here-and-now value experience. Philosophy of Music Education Review 16, 1, 79–95.

[13] Personal communication 18.4.2018 by Eeva Kaisa Malin, executive director at Taiteen perusopetusliitto (The Association for Basic Education in the Arts) in Finland.

[14] See Björk 2016, 158, 164–165; Laes 2017, 12, 129.

[15] Importantly, further investigations should also include Iceland as well as the Nordic territories with substantial autonomy: Greenland, the Faroe Islands and Åland.

Abstrakti

Artikkeli käsittelee taide- ja musiikkikouluihin (kulttuurikouluihin) liittyviä poliittisia päätöksentekoprosesseja Ruotsissa, Norjassa, Tanskassa ja Suomessa, sekä näiden prosessien vaikutusta ko. koulujen musiikkikasvatuksen käytäntöihin. Analyysi kohdistuu eri toimijoiden – kuten ns. virallisen tahon, tutkimuksen, käytännön opetustyössä toimivien rehtoreiden, opettajien, sekä oppilaiden ja heidän perheidensä – merkitykseen poliittisessa päätöksenteossa. Kaikki nämä toimijat voivat vaikuttaa em. koulujen musiikkikasvatuksellisiin periaatteisiin ja niiden toteuttamiseen. Vuorovaikutus ja yhteistyö eri toimijoiden välillä voi olla haasteellista, mutta antaa myös hyvät mahdollisuudet toiminnan kehittämiseen ja laajentamiseen.

Taide- ja musiikkikouluissa annettavalla opetuksella on useita päämääriä: yhtäältä tavoitteena on valmiuksien antaminen mielekkäisiin harrastuksiin ja toisaalta myös erikoistumiseen ja ammatillisiin opintoihin hakeutumiseen. Tavoitteena on myös kulttuuriperinnön säilyttäminen sekä taiteen ja uusien musiikillisten ilmaisumuotojen kehittäminen, taiteen saavutettavuuden laajentaminen sekä lahjakkuuksien kannustaminen.

Yhteistä kaikille em. maiden taide- ja musiikkikouluille on se, että niissä pyritään ainakin virallisesti ja periaatetasolla tukemaan ja vaalimaan monia eri tavoitteita. Käytännössä nämä pyrkimykset ja periaatteet voivat kuitenkin vaihdella paikallisten ja jopa henkilötasolla tapahtuvien päätösten takia. ■

Cecilia Jeppsson

Kulturskolelärares legitimitetsarbete i mötet med ett politiskt ideal om socialt inkluderande musikundervisning

Inledning

Denna studie fokuserar det legitimitetsarbete som kommer till uttryck i svenska kulturskolelärares tal om sin egen verksamhet i relation till politiska ideal om socialt inkluderande musikundervisning. En organisation vinner legitimitet genom att agera ansvarsfullt gentemot de parter som har ett intresse i eller tar del av organisationens verksamhet (Long & Driscoll 2008) och legitimitet hör samman med organisationers likriktning i relation till andra organisationers strukturer och agerande på det gemensamma fältet (DiMaggio & Powell 1982). Legitimitetsarbete kommer i föreliggande studie till uttryck genom de sätt lärarna i sitt tal konstruerar kulturskolan som socialt inkluderande verksamhet och därigenom legitimerar verksamheten. Resonemangen i studiens fokussamtal förs mot bakgrund av ett konstaterande om oproportionerlig fördelning av barns deltagande i den svenska kulturskolan i relation till kön, etnicitet och sociokulturell bakgrund (Brändström & Wiklund 1995; Elofsson 2009; Hofvander Trulsson 2004) och att flickor födda i Sverige med välutbildade och kulturutövande föräldrar visat sig överrepresenterade i kulturskolan (Jeppsson & Lindgren 2018).

Studiens utgångspunkt gällande ett politiskt ideal när det gäller socialt inkluderande musikundervisning utgår från kulturpolitiska dokument. Kulturpolitiska mål som på ett övergripande plan styr kulturskolorna uttrycker tydligt en politisk strävan att "främja allas tillgång till kulturupplevelser" (Prop. 2009/10:3, 29) och "särskilt uppmärksamma barn och ungas rätt till kultur" (ibid., 31). Hösten 2015 accentuerades statens intresse av kulturskolornas verksamhet ytterligare genom tillsättningen av en särskild kulturskoleutredning. I kulturskoleutredningen formulerades idealet om kulturskolan som "tillgänglig och jämlik" och att alla barn oavsett bakgrund ska ges möjlighet att utöva kultur" (SOU 2016:69).

Social inkludering i undervisningskontext kan definieras som alla barns möjligheter att prestera och delta trots utmaningar som härrör från fattigdom, klass, ras, religion, språklig eller kulturell bakgrund eller kön (Burnard, Dillon, Rusinek, & Sæther 2008). Begreppet har i ökad omfattning kommit att relateras till undervisning men också kommit att förknippas med mångtydighet och dilemman (Carlsson & Nilholm 2004). Utifrån demokratiska ideal menar Väkevä och Westerlund (2007) att utformning av musikundervisning kan rättfärdigas utifrån två argumentationslinjer som utgår från kollektiv respektive individ (Väkevä & Westerlund 2007; Westerlund 2002). Inom den första riktningen betraktas inkludering utifrån en existerande tradition och inom den andra betraktas inkludering utifrån elevinflytande i utformandet av undervisningen. Förenklat kan den första inriktningen sägas bygga på betoning av lärarnas definitionsmakt eller auktoritet medan den andra i högre grad betonar deltagarperspektivet. Dessa två olika riktningar kan även urskiljas när det gäller forskning om social inkludering i musikpedagogik i stort.

Mot bakgrund av kulturpolitiska ideal kan kulturskolan alltså betraktas som objekt för en socialt inkluderande strävan. Forskning (Rostwall & West 2001; Tivenius 2008) visar

dock att kulturskolan kan uppfattas ha en sluten och exkluderande karaktär och ha svårt att nå utanför den etniskt svenska medelklassen (Elofsson 2009; Hofvander Trulsson 2004). En anledning till detta kan vara att kulturskolorna kan uppfattas som traditions-bundna och starkt präglade av konservatorietraditionen och de värden som förmedlats genom musikhögskolorna vilket kan ha inneburit en begränsad öppenhet mot förändrin-gar (Gustafsson 2000; Tivenius 2008).

Med tanke på föreställningen om kulturskolelärarna som objekt för en kulturpolitisk strävan kan det vara relevant att också belysa lärarna som legitima uttolkare och aktörer när det gäller kulturskolans mening, värde och utformning. "Legitimitet är ett begrepp som definieras och kontrolleras/används av dem som uppfattar sig själva som legitima" (Allsup & Benedict 2008, 162, min översättning). Enligt Schmidt (2015, 2017) intar musiklärare dock ofta en passiv inställning gentemot policyarbete – det vill säga gentemot utformningen av de principer som styr deras eget arbete. Han uppmanar musiklärare att utveckla engagemang och förmåga att delta i policyarbete till exempel genom att utveckla det språk som används i policyarbete och att utvidga sitt komplexa policytänkande bland annat i syfte att utveckla mera inkluderande strukturer (Schmidt 2017).

Syftet med denna studie är att på ett institutionellt plan belysa hur kulturskolemusik-lärare reflekterar kring socialt inkluderande musikundervisning. Forskningsfrågan är följande:

> • *Hur legitimerar kulturskolemusiklärare sin verksamhet i relation till ett politiskt ideal när det gäller socialt inkluderande musikundervisning?*

Den svenska kulturskolans framväxt och legitimet

Kulturskolornas uppkomst kan beskrivas som sammanvävd med institutionella faktorer inom kyrkan, militären, folkbildningsrörelserna och lokalt orkesterliv (Persson 2001). Legitimet för kulturskolan har byggts utifrån såväl kollektivistiska som borgerliga ideal (Holmberg 2010). Holmberg pekar på två olika tongivande diskurser med olika retorik – diskursen som talar om undervisning som en rättighet för alla och diskursen som talar om musik som ett konstnärligt ämne för vissa elever med de rätta förutsättningarna. Under kulturskolans första decennier var ett mål att utbilda duktiga musikanter till lokala orkestrar (Gustafsson 2000) medan uttalat inkluderande ideal blev mer tongivande under 1990-talet (Persson 2001). Kulturskolans legitimet stärktes även av nyliberal argumen-tation som sammankopplade kulturskolan och Sveriges framgångsrika musikexport – en argumentation som andra än kulturskolans inblandade lärare och elever förde (Holmberg 2010; Persson 2001). Holmberg (2010) beskriver kulturskolan som en "nöjespark för ego-barn" (175) och kritiserar därigenom elevernas ökade inflytande över verksamheten under början av 2000-talet.

El Sistema i Sverige

På många håll i Sverige har kör- och orkesterskolan El Sistema etablerats. El Sistema verkar enligt hemsidan för integration, demokrati, jämlikhet och mångfald framförallt där "behoven är som störst" ("Plattformen", El Sistema Sverige 2018). El Sistema-verksamhet finns i skrivande stund på 35 kulturskolor i Sverige (El Sistema Sverige 2018) och denna växande rörelse framstår som intressant i ljuset av föreliggande studies fokus eftersom ett av verksamhetens uttalade mål är att arbeta för social inkludering (t.ex. Baker, 2014; Hollinger, 2006). Forskningen om El Sistema förmedlar dock en mångtydig bild och svensk El Sistema-verksamhet beskrivs omfatta motstridiga ideal och diskurser (Bergman & Lindgren 2014; Lindgren, Bergman & Sæther 2016). El Sistema internationellt såväl som i Sverige kan sägas ha vuxit fram i samspel med massmedia och marknadsföring (Baker 2014; Kuuse, Lindgren & Skåreus 2016). El Sistema är intressant i studien, inte i

sig själv men som en del av den svenska kulturskolan. Själva organisationsformen är komplex då El Sistema kan sägas vara en självständig organisation med egen hemsida, delvis egen finansiering och egna målsättningar samtidigt som verksamheten i de flesta fall övergripande är organiserat inom kulturskolornas ram.

Teoretiska utgångspunkter

Nedan presenteras det teoretiska ramverk som tjänar som lins för att belysa kulturskolemusiklärare som aktörer i ett institutionellt spel på kulturskolefältet. Sammanfattningsvis utgör Bourdieus begrepp *fält* och *doxa* (1986) denna teoretiska lins i samklang med nyinstitutionellt perspektiv utifrån DiMaggio och Powell (1982), Meyer och Rowan (1977), Weick (1976) och Røvik (2000, 2008). Ur detta perspektiv ses kulturskolemusiklärarna som aktörer i en pågående förhandling som ytterst rör idealen kring kulturskolan. I Bourdieus terminologi (1986) kan detta förstås som ett spel om kulturskolans legitimitet där kulturskolan samspelar med till exempel politiker på nationell och lokal nivå, kommunal förvaltning och massmedia. Kommunernas alla barn och indirekt barnens föräldrar är kulturskolornas målgrupp men dessa kan också ses som aktörer i det institutionella spelet.

(Ny)institutionell teori

Begreppet *institution* uppmärksammar organiserade och etablerade procedurer och en utveckling där vedertagna värderingar resulterat i etablerade procedurer kan kallas institutionalisering (Eriksson-Zetterquist 2012). I denna process kan social kontroll sägas utgöra en kraft, och positiv social kontroll som utövas mellan olika aktörer inom en organisation kan ses som ett slags erkännande på fältet sett ur Bourdieus perspektiv. Genom den sociala kontrollen förmedlas om vissa handlingar eller uttalanden på detta ömsesidiga sociala plan sanktioneras eller inte. I kontrast till tidigare institutionell teori så betonas det socialkonstuktionistiska perspektivet inom nyinstitutionell teori (Long & Driscoll 2008) och tanken att organisationer handlat utifrån rationella principer övergavs till förmån för tanken att förändringar och organisering snarare syftar till legitimitet i samspel med organisationernas institutionella omgivning (Meyer & Rowan 1977) vilket innebär en känslighet för trender (Røvik 2000) eller institutionaliserade myter (Meyer & Rowan 1977). Begreppet organisation kan syfta på en enskild arbetsplats men ett system av arbetsplatser kan också tillsammans utgöra en organisation såsom är fallet med till exempel banker, tågföretag eller restaurangkedjor. I föreliggande studie betraktas de svenska kulturskolorna inte som *en* organisation utan som olika organisationer i en gemensam institutionell omgivning och på ett gemensamt fält.

    Sett ur ett övergripande perspektiv kan organisationers samspel i en gemensam institutionell omgivning innebära att organisationer på ett fält blir alltmer lika varandra genom härmning och uppvisar så kallad *isomorfism* (DiMaggio & Powell 1982) men även att fristående organisationer utvecklar en egen särprägel alternativt uppvisar en viss inkongruens mellan den formella och den informella nivån (Røvik 2000). Ur ett nyinstitutionellt perspektiv kallas det senare *lösa kopplingar* efter Weick (1976) och kan konstateras då strukturer i en organisation är mindre kopplade till varandra men inte helt separata (Eriksson-Zetterquist 2012; Røvik 2000). Att inte informella normer i en organisation alltid helt speglar regelverk och policies kan härledas från att regler och policies är möjliga att förändra relativt snabbt medan informella normer är mera trögrörliga (Røvik 2000). Di Lorenzo Tillborg (2017) ser efter Schwartz (1994) modell kulturskolorna som löst kopplade enheter i ett kulturskolesystem vilket i DiMaggio och Powells (1982) perspektiv borde kunna betecknas som låg isomorfism då det handlar om olikheter mellan organisationer som samspelar i en gemensam institutionell omgivning.

Kulturskoleutredningen (SOU 2016:69) skulle kunna ses som ett initiativ för att öka isomorfismen på kulturskolefältet.

Fält och doxa enligt Bourdieu

Institutionerna är vidare aktiva på ett fält. Fältbegreppet är inom nyinstitutionell teori påverkad av Bourdieus fältbegrepp (Eriksson-Zetterquist 2012). Bourdieus fältbegrepp (1986) syftar på ett område där agenter, organisationer eller institutioner strider om något för dem gemensamt. För att definieras som ett fält i Bourdieus (2000) mening ska det vara autonomt, det vill säga styras av interna principer och inte i någon större mån av andra fälts principer.

Enligt Bourdieus teori står doxa för det för-givet-tagna och outtalade i ett fält. Doxa framstår som självklart och omfattas av alla på fältet och behöver därför inte artikuleras (1977):

> Där det finns en quasi-perfekt överensstämmelse mellan den objektiva ordningen och de subjektiva principerna för organisering (som i antika samhällen) framstår den naturvetenskapliga och den sociala världen som självklar. Denna erfarenhet ska vi kalla *doxa* (s. 164, min översättning)

För att doxa ska ifrågasättas krävs enligt Bourdieu en kris (1977) som belyser det godtyckliga i doxa. När en diskussion kommer i dagen innebär detta att det som diskuteras har förflyttats från den oartikulerade sfären (*universe of the undiscussed*), benämnd doxa, till *opinion* i *diskursens sfär* (*universe of discourse*).
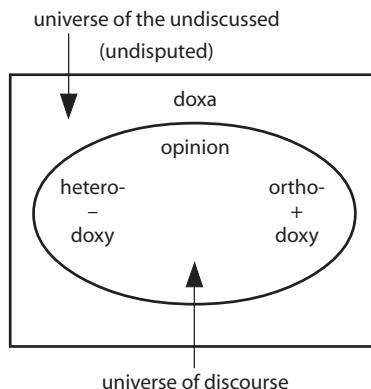
Figur 1. Ur Outline of a Theory of Practice (Bourdieu 1977, 168).

Diskurs

Begreppet diskurs är inte särskilt vanligt förekommande i Bourdieus texter även om det används som ovan när det gäller "diskursens sfär". Då det empiriska materialet i föreliggande studie analyseras inspirerat av diskurspsykologi blir diskursbegreppet relevant att förstå i relation till Bourdieus sätt att beskriva kampen om doxa i relation till opinion i diskursens sfär. I diskurspsykologiskt ramverk kan begreppet diskurs, eller snarare *tolkningsrepertoarer* som är det begrepp som Potter och Wetherell (1987) föredrar, beskrivas som "återkommande system av termer som används för att karaktärisera och utvärdera händelser och andra fenomen//…// [ofta]…organiserade kring specifika metaforer och uttryckssätt" (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, 149).

Att analysera tolkningsrepertoarer innebär att fokusera på uttalandes funktion, konstruktion och variation (Potter & Wetherell 1987; Potter, Wetherell, Gill, & Edwards 1990). Uttalanden konstrueras på specifika sätt retoriskt och fungerar därigenom till exempel övertalande, anklagande eller defensivt. Att analysera variation innebär att fokusera på hur vissa uttryckssätt och beskrivningar prioriteras medan andra väljs bort. Tillämpat i ett bourdianskt ramverk kan de retoriska verktygen fungera som medel för att placera ett visst samtalsstoff i doxa alternativt opinion beroende på den talandes intressen. En diskursanalys kan genom en bourdianskt inspirerad lins ses som en analys av kampen om doxa som kan föras mellan ortodoxa och heterodoxa röster på ett fält – till exempel i kampen om vilket slags normer för musik och musikundervisning som framställs som lämpliga i kulturskolan. Det för-givet-tagna som kan betraktas som doxa kan exponeras genom en diskurspsykologisk analys av retoriska verktyg men också genom analys av variation alternativt brist på variation. Att undvika att artikulera något skulle kunna tolkas som ett sätt att konstruera något som doxa.

Metod och procedur

Studiens empiri består av transkriptioner från videofilmade fokusgruppsamtal med 18 musiklärare på fem kulturskolor. Ett fokusgruppsamtal definieras som ett samtal med ett mindre antal deltagare ur en väldefinierad grupp som leds av en moderator kring ett förutbestämt fokus (Wolff, Knodel & Sittitrai 1993). Samtalen tog avstamp i ett redovisat statistiskt material kring barns kulturskoledeltagande vilket visade en överrepresentation av flickor födda i Sverige med välutbildade och kulturutövande föräldrar i svensk kulturskola (Jeppsson & Lindgren 2018). Kulturskolorna i föreliggande studie befinner sig i södra Sverige och var utvalda utifrån en eftersträvad variation när det gäller större och mindre orter belägna i områden/städer vilka sinsemellan representerar variation gällande generaliserade socio-ekonomiska förhållanden. Detta motiveras utifrån att de svenska kulturskolornas variation betraktas som viktig att spegla i studien. Då social inkludering fokuserades i studien bedömdes El Sistema-verksamhet relevant att inkludera i studien – inte som direkt studieobjekt utan i relation till kulturskolan i stort. Den ömsesidiga påverkan och interaktion som kan antas pågå mellan El Sistema och kulturskolorna i stort kan anses som relevant i ljuset av studiens fokus. Fyra av de fem kulturskolorna i studien innefattar El Sistema-verksamhet men det är bara på Skola 3 som de medverkande lärarna tydligt blev kontaktade i egenskap av El Sistema-lärare. Lärarna på Skola 3 talade dock även utifrån annan kulturskolelärarerfarenhet.

Efter medgivande från respektive kulturskolerektor, och rekommendation av lämpliga lärare att kontakta, kontaktades lärarna via mejl med frågan om medverkan i fokusgruppsamtal om kulturskolan och social inkludering. Formell information om avhandlingsprojektet bifogades. Efter att lärarna accepterat att medverka föreslog jag tid och plats utifrån kulturskolerektors eller de medverkandes rekommendation. Lokalerna där fokusgruppsamtalen genomfördes var belägna på de medverkandes arbetsplatser. De medverkande undertecknade informerat samtycke vid starten av samtalen som varade mellan en timme och två och en halv timme. Antalet medverkande lärare i respektive samtal varierade mellan två och fem.

Fokusgruppledarens uppgift under ett fokusgruppsamtal kan sägas vara att styra samtalet kring studiens fokus och samtidigt uppmuntra en öppen atmosfär (Knodel 1993). Dessa två ideal var vägledande genom att jag inledningsvis styrde samtalet genom att presentera resultatet från den tidigare delstudien för att fortsättningsvis inta en betydligt mer nedtonad roll. Jag försökte uppmuntra ett öppet och tillåtande samtalsklimat genom aktivt lyssnande och följdfrågor.

Analysen innehåller utdrag ur samtalen från skolorna som jag kallat Skola 1-5. I Skola 1, 2 och 4 fanns varianter av El Sistema men de medverkande lärarna arbetade i huvudsak i annan kulturskoleverksamhet. I Skola 3 arbetade de medverkande lärarna huvudsakligen med El Sistema men även med annan typ av kulturskoleundervisning. Personerna har anonymiserats i texten och benämningen "kulturskola" har använts konsekvent oavsett om verksamheten kallas "musikskola" på enskilda platser.

Fokusgruppsamtalen filmades och transkriberades ordagrant inklusive gester och konversationsspecifika detaljer i de fall de bedömdes som potentiellt betydelsefulla. Analysen genomfördes med hjälp av mjukvarudataprogrammet NVivo. Ord som betonades särskilt i uttalandena markeras i texten med versaler.

Vad som är legitima sätt att legitimera kulturskolans verksamhet definieras av dem som anser sig vara legitima uttolkare av kulturskolans mening eller värde. I det faktum att lärarna tackat ja till samtalet och visade sig beredda att engagera sig i studiens fokus om kulturskolan demonstrerade de sin legitima position att delta och erkände därmed värdet av att spela spelet, vad Bourdieu kallar *illusio* (2000). Den förståelse som de ortodoxa i Bourdieus mening delar befinner sig i doxa och är i många fall för-givet-tagen men förståelsen kan utmanas av heterodoxa och föras ut i opinion i diskursens sfär (1977). Det samtalsklimat som kan uppstå i fokusgruppsamtal innebär att för-givet-tagna uppfatt-ningar som befunnit sig i doxa till viss del förs ut i diskursens sfär. Den politiska process som kulturskolan varit och är objekt för genom kulturskoleutredningen och efterföljande debatt och forskning menar jag är faktorer som bidragit till att detta samtalsklimat, och i bästa fall ett slags diskursens sfär kunde skapas i fokusgruppsamtalen.

Deltagarnas retorik analyserades inspirerat av diskurspsykologi (Potter 1996; Potter et al. 1990) med hänsyn tagen till gester och konversationsspecifika detaljer för att i följande analyssteg analyseras i relation till nyinstitutionell teori och Bourdieus begrepp. Legitimi-tetsarbetet analyserades utifrån institutionell omgivning, institutionaliserade myter, iso-morfism och lösa kopplingar och Bourdieus ramverk med begrepp som fält och doxa. I en närläsning av hur legitimitetsarbetet utförs blir retoriska verktyg en viktig startpunkt i analysen. Just när det gäller inledande analys av retoriska verktyg erbjuder det diskurs-psykologiska ramverket rikare möjligheter än övriga teoretiska perspektiv i studien medan övriga teoretiska perspektiv istället bidrar med möjlighet att analysera uttalandenas mening i ett vidare institutionellt perspektiv.

Resultat

Nedan illustreras resultatet utifrån de teman som tagits fram i analysen. På ett över-gripande plan svarar samtliga på frågan om hur verksamma musiklärare i kulturskolan legitimerar sin verksamhet i relation till social inkludering.

Legitimitet genom att betona lärarnas definitionsmakt

Lärarna som deltog i fokusgruppsamtalen talade om sin verksamhet i relation till social in-kludering på flera olika sätt. På Skola 1 utspann sig följande samtal efter att samtalet berört kulturskoleutredningen "En inkluderande kulturskola på egen grund" (SOU 2016, 69):

Lärare 2: Det är ju, det är ju också liksom, vad är kulturskolans mening då?
Samtalsledare: Där finns ju (känner på Kulturskoleutredningen) *nationella mål som är formulerade, som är...*
Lärare 2: Ja, jo. (Samtidigt som samtalsledare ovan) *Dom har ju liksom inte sett vad det är, ja det är ju också då om man ska lära ungdomar att spela ordentligt, om det är ett mål./ /…//Eller om det inkluderande* (pekar på utredningen) *är det främsta målet.*
Lärare 5: Det är ju därför vi inte vill (ohörbart) *att bli ett fullskaligt El Sistema, att vi*

inte vill gå in till att bli ett fullt El Sistema för vi är lite rädda för det här att det ska liksom bli (gest med händerna åt olika håll) *...urvattnat. (Skola 1)*

I dialogen formuleras två poler i ett spänningsfält mellan att vara inkluderande, representerat av kulturskoleutredningen å ena sidan, och att med hjälp av spets och förebilder vara en skola som accentuerar goda instrumentalkunskaper å den andra. Vad det egentligen innebär att "spela ett instrument ordentligt" preciseras inte utan tas för givet – förståelsen av detta placerades i doxa. Ingen närvarande problematiserade denna förståelse av att "spela ett instrument ordentligt" vilket kan tolkas som att förståelsen av vad som utgör instrumentalkunnande accepterades som givet. I detta förmedlas en slags distans till politikernivån/kulturskoleutredningen. Polen i spänningsfältet som handlar om inkludering associeras på Skola 1 dessutom med El Sistema och "urvattnade kunskaper". Uttalandena förmedlar en större oro för att det inkluderande och urvattnade skulle ta över än risken för att förmedlingen av goda instrumentalkunskaper skulle ha en exkluderande effekt. Samtalet refererat ovan fortsatte så här:

Lärare 2: För går du in för mycket i "inkludera" och...allihopa och tappar den här spetsen, då får du ingen som spelar ordentligt! För det tar ju faktiskt...10 år att lära sig spela ett instrument ordentligt.
Lärare 5: Då får vi inga förebilder (överlappar Lärare 2 ovan).
Lärare 2: Nej, då får vi inga förebilder. Och då är allihopa ett ras. (händerna nedåt) *Men frågan är om liksom dom* (gest mot utredningen) *inser hur viktigt det är med dom där som kan ordentligt* (en hand markerar högt upp i luften) *i ungdomsleden liksom, för att kunna få med oss dom som liksom aldrig kommer att kunna hamna där, kanske, men som ändå kunde va med där* (visar medelhög plats i luften).
Lärare 5: ...och inget inkluderat där heller... (Skola 1)

Fortsättningen av samtalet tar en retorisk vändning som får effekten att just arbetet med spets sammankopplas med inkludering eftersom arbetet med spets konstrueras som en förutsättning för inkludering av elever på en kunskapsmässig mellannivå. Genom gester illustreras en högre respektive en mellanhög nivå av instrumentalkunskap vilket klargör den förebildande funktion som elever på en högre nivå förmodas ha i relation till elever på mellannivå. Läraren framhåller hur förekomsten av förebilder fungerar som en viktig faktor för att elever på mellannivå överhuvudtaget ska motiveras att fortsätta sina kulturskolestudier. Det "ras" som elevers avhopp från kulturskolan skulle kunnat innebära åskådliggörs med en nedåtgående handrörelse. Inledningsvis förknippas social inkludering med kulturskoleutredningen, El Sistema och det "urvattnade" medan det i avslutningen konstrueras som nödvändigt att arbeta med spets för att kunna uppnå inkludering. Att vända sig emot tanken att vara en inkluderande verksamhet framstår i gruppen inte riktigt gångbart då samtalet av mig som forskare ramats in med hjälp av begreppet "social inkludering". En lösning blir då att på ett flexibelt sätt omförhandla begreppet så att betydelsen harmonierar bättre med de värden som gruppen verkar omhulda. Då begreppet "social inkludering" ofta förknippas med mångtydighet och dilemman (Carlsson & Nilholm 2004) och kan associeras såväl med inkludering utifrån en existerande tradition som betydande elevinflytande (Väkevä & Westerlund 2007) så är omförhandlingen fullt möjlig. Med hjälp av omförhandlingen kan den egna skolans verksamhet legitimeras som socialt inkluderande.

Liksom utdraget ovan utgick utdraget nedan från en diskussion gällande kulturskolans legitimitet. Lärarna talade om vad som betraktades som så viktigt att det motiverade kulturskolans existens. På Skola 3 formulerade en lärare det så här:

Lärare 2: Asså varför ska man ha kulturskolan? Liksom, för det pratade min chef och jag om, just det här, varför ska man ha det överhuvudtaget? //...// vi kan ju inte vä...vi kan ju inte ändra vår verksamhet efter vad som [efterfrågas] vara!
Samtalsledare: Nej. (Nickar)
Lärare 2: Vi måste kunna erbjuda nåt annat! Och det är det vi gör. (Paus) *Men jag tycker att det är lite samma sak som det här med när man har barn och man lagar mat hemma, det är lite samma som det, att om man bara frågar efter pizza hela tiden och man bara gör den maten dom vill ha då, då ser dom inget annat! Och jag menar, det är därför jag tror att just det här med att man ger barn vad dom vill ha, till slut så minskar det, vad dom bara vill ha.* (Visar ett smalt spann med händerna). *(Skola 3)*

När det gäller kulturskolans mening betonar lärarna vikten av att erbjuda något annat än det som efterfrågas ("tillfrågas" var det ord som användes men jag betraktade det som en felsägning). En aspekt av en organisations legitimitet kan sägas handla om att agera ansvarsfullt gentemot dem som har intresse i organisationens verksamhet (Long & Driscoll 2008) och när det gäller kulturskolor skulle det kunna handla just om att erbjuda det som efterfrågas. I det perspektivet är det anmärkningsvärt att läraren här söker legitimitet för verksamheten genom att framställa det som absurt att erbjuda det som efterfrågas. Det absurda med att "ändra verksamheten efter vad som efterfrågas" framställs på ett sätt som placerar påståendet i doxa. Placerandet av påståendet i doxa accepteras också av mig i interaktionen vilket ger läraren bekräftelse. Min bekräftelse kan härledas ur att jag hade en accepterande hållning i många delar av samtalen men eventuellt också i en förståelse för resonemanget från min sida, eventuellt grundat i en musiker/musiklärar-bakgrund som kan ha likheter med den aktuella lärarens. Motiven för denna hållning från kulturskolans håll konstrueras utifrån ett antagande om att barnen själva inte har möjlighet att ha en uppfattning om vad som är bäst för dem.[1] Läraren liknade detta vid hur vuxna bör erbjuda annan mat än den som barnen själva efterfrågar då barnets eget val skulle kunnat innebära uteslutande pizza vilket skulle inneburit en begränsad och förmodligen mindre spännande och näringsriktig kost. Att vara socialt inkluderande konstrueras som att bjuda in barnen till en verksamhet som pedagogerna ansvarar för att ha utformat på det sätt de ur sin professionella position bedömer lämpligt.

Legitimitet genom att betona brett utbud och elevinflytande
På två av skolorna (Skola 2 och 5) lyfte lärarna kulturskolornas breda utbud av ämnen och kurser som en viktig förutsättning för att vara socialt inkluderande. Att eleverna får möjlighet att välja mellan ett flertal instrument inklusive orientaliska instrument och aktiviteter som till exempel musikproduktion och hip-hop lyftes som strategier för att nå fler grupper av elever på Skola 2 och 5. En lärare på Skola 2 uttrycker det såhär:

//...det här spannet, alltså vi kan erbjuda dom flesta genrer man kan tänka sig, från...vilket är fantastiskt. (Skola 2)

De två olika strategierna formulerades så här på Skola 5:

Lärare 1: Det ena är, vi ska f... vi ska faktiskt se till så att ALLA spelar cello oavsett vad man kommer ifrån för...klass (visar högt och lågt med händerna) *om vi säger så. Eller: Vi ska se till att kulturskolan är till för alla klasser så att vi erbjuder det som alla är intresserade av! //...//Antingen, antingen säger man: Det här är kulturskolan. Vi spelar cello. Eller så säger man: Det här är kulturskolan och vi kan göra allt. Och då kan alla vara med. (Skola 5)*

Uttalandet målar upp två stereotypa och förenklade valmöjligheter för kulturskolan vilket får andra strategier att framstå som orealistiska. Formuleringen "vi spelar cello" illustrerar hållningen som betonar kulturskolans definitionsmakt när det gäller vad kulturskolan ska erbjuda medan den andra hållningen utgår från att kulturskolan ska erbjuda en stor bredd av ämnen och aktiviteter vilket utgår från att detta skulle ha en socialt inkluderade effekt. Läraren fortsätter:

> *Lärare 1: Som trombonlärare, trumpetlärare som kanske är lite jämförbart med cello så är det ju ändå som att man VILL att alla ska kunna göra det men man inser att det inte riktigt BLIR så… (Skola 5)*

I uttalandet ovan associerar läraren även instrumenten trumpet och trombon med det som innefattas i uttalandet "vi spelar cello". Baserat i sin position som lärare uttrycker hen det som önskvärt att spel på dessa instrument skulle framstå som intressant för barn oavsett klasstillhörighet men framställer det som oundvikligt att barn med olika klasstillhörighet har olika intressen. Kulturskolors mångsidighet konstrueras som en förutsättning för att nå barn oavsett klassbakgrund.

Kulturskolornas renodling av förhållningssätt

Resultaten ovan från Skola 1, 2, 3, och 5 kan sammanfattningsvis relateras till de två olika riktningar som Väkevä och Westerlund (2007) urskilt, vilka förenklat kan sägas bygga på betoning av lärarnas definitionsmakt alternativt på elevinflytande. Båda förhållningssätten var representerade i lärarnas uttalanden på de fem skolorna men föreföll svårkombinerade då varje enskild skola renodlade den ena eller andra hållningen. (På Skola 4 kunde sådan renodling inte konstateras.) Tack vare den mångtydiga karaktären av begreppet "social inkludering" görs det möjligt att legitimera väldigt olika slags undervisning som socialt inkluderande.

Att legitimera sin egen svaga position – Kulturskolan som "underdog"

I förhållande till en rad faktorer beskriver lärarna kulturskolans förhandlingsposition som svag. I dessa beskrivningar konstrueras den svaga förhandlingspositionen som naturlig – deras uttalanden tyder inte på att de ser så stora utsikter att förändra dessa förhållanden i grunden. Denna "underdog-position" intar lärarna ofta i relation till idrott, i kampen att motverka elevernas könsstereotypa val och i relation till politik och policy på olika nivåer.

Lärarna verkar vara medvetna om hur könsstereotypa mönster visar sig i deras verksamhet och hävdar att de arbetar för att motverka dem även om det också framkommer att de ibland faller tillbaka i könsstereotypa mönster. De könsstereotypa mönstren är uppenbara när vi diskuterar andelen pojkar jämfört med flickor som spelar olika instrument med överrepresentation av flickor på flöjt, violin och kör och överrepresentation av pojkar på slagverk och elbas.

När barns intresse för idrott nämns blir det tydligt att idrotten konkurrerar med kulturskolornas verksamhet och anses vara en stark konkurrent.

> *I konkurrens med idrott vinner ofta idrott. (Skola 1)*

I konkurrensen om barnens tid säger lärarna att de ofta kompromissar för att behålla eleverna:

> *Vi kan ju inte liksom straffa bort dom på det sättet. Så därför så har ju...det är en helt annan press i idrott än vad vi har. (Skola 3)*

Enligt lärarna konkurrerar många sysselsättningar om barnens intresse och tid - först och främst idrott men också läxor och andra fritidsaktiviteter. Skolarbetet sägs vara mer krävande nu än tidigare på bekostnad av kulturskoleengagemanget. Lärarna verkar konstatera dessa saker med jämnmod:

> *Lärare 2: Sen tycker jag det att det är...det viktigaste är ju att barn och ungdomar har ett intresse! Att man har nånting att göra.* (övriga lärare hummar medhållande). *Sen tycker jag att det... måste ju inte, jag menar vi behöver ju inte slå oss blodiga för att det ska vara just musik eller kulturskolan egentligen.*
> *Lärare 4 något senare i samtalet: Man ska inte tvinga in alla i musikfällan om dom hellre vill spela fotboll eller så, förstås. (Skola 1)*

Lärarna uttrycker ingen ambition att täcka alla slags musik och verkar inte se det som möjligt eller nödvändigt:

> *Lärare 4: Men vissa grejor behöver vi nog inte slita IHJÄL oss för att klara. Det mår nog samhället bra av att ha nåt slags annat kulturliv också. Ja, i alla fall i mina genrer. (Läraren undervisar i pop och rock.)*
> *Lärare 4 något senare i samtalet: Men sen kan man ju vända på det och säga, vi BEHÖVER ju inte nå alla asså, kulturskolorna är ju inte lösningen på världens alla problem. (Skola 4)*

Det kan vara så att anledningen till de försvar som kom till uttryck i dessa episoder av samtalen kunde härledas till att jag som samtalsledare inledningsvis presenterat social skiktning gällande barns kulturskolemedverkan som något problematiskt. Beskrivningarna gör det rimligt för kulturskolan att inte göra stora förändringar eftersom det konstrueras som orealistiskt att nå "alla" och vara "lösningen på världens alla problem". Att välja en överdriven och tillspetsad formulering, något som kan benämnas som *extremisering* (Potter 1996), av vad kulturskolan kan eller inte kan göra gör det möjligt att undvika problemet. Utan tvekan ledde användningen av dessa tillspetsade retoriska verktyg till lättnad i grupperna.

Ur ett bourdianskt perspektiv, är det inte förvånande att motstånd inte visar sig från de dominerade gruppernas sida. Detta förklarar han med hjälp av begreppet *amor fatis* - i direkt översättning "kärleken till ödet" (Bourdieu 1977, 77). Det manifesteras enligt Bourdieu genom att acceptera och ibland till och med uppskatta förtyckande förhållanden baserade i ett erkännande av tillståndet som naturligt och oundvikligt och därmed "bra". Forskarens tendens att förvänta sig att människor känner igen strukturen bakom de mönster eller förtryck som de utsätts för är något Bourdieu refererar till som det *skolastiska misstaget* (*scholastic fallacy*) (Bourdieu 1990, 384). Han förklarar det skolastiska misstaget som "tendensen att placera de modeller, som forskaren måste konstruera för att redogöra för praxis, även i agentens medvetande" (Bourdieu 1990, 384, min översättning). Han finner det mer sannolikt att dominerade grupper avfärdar förtryckande mönster som används av forskaren än att de benämner och motsätter sig dem. I utdragen ovan tar lärarna det för givet att kulturskoleverksamhet har en underordnad position i relation till idrott. Idrottens överordnade position utmanas inte och lärarna konstruerar det som naturligt att idrotten ofta "vinner" då det uppstår konkurrens mellan idrott och kultur-skolans verksamhet om barnens tid. Kulturskolornas begränsade inflytande i förhållande till idrottens inflytande i många barns liv är något som konstrueras som naturligt – något som kan anses anmärkningsvärt med tanke på lärarnas passion för musik och kultur som uttrycks i andra delar av konversationen. Bourdieu (1994, 4, min översättning) påminner oss om att "saker och ting kunde ha varit (och fortfarande kan vara) annorlunda" och

kulturskolans "underdog-position" i relation till idrott är kanske inte oundviklig utan skulle kunna utmanas? Ur ett legitimitetsperspektiv så innebär dock kulturskolelärarnas "underdog-positionering" en möjlighet att vinna legitimitet för att bevara ett eventuellt bekvämt *status quo* och inte initiera några betydande förändringar.

Legitimitetsarbete i respektive genom El Sistema

Då El Sistema-verksamhet finns representerat i 35 av Sveriges kulturskolor (El Sistema Sverige 2018) framgår det att verksamheterna är formellt inkorporerade i respektive kulturskolors organisation. Samtidigt framkommer ett tydligt gränsdragande i samtalen på flera av skolorna mellan El Sistema å ena sidan och annan kulturskoleverksamhet å den andra. I utdraget nedan har samtalet kretsat kring gruppundervisning och inkludering. Gruppundervisning anser lärare 2 på Skola 3 (El Sistema-skolan) passa i El Sistema-verksamheten, men inte i annan kulturskoleverksamhet:

> *Lärare 2: Vi är väldigt inkluderande. Ja, asså vi har ju såhär att vi undervisar ju bara i grupp.*
> *Lärare 2 lite senare i samtalet: Nej för...nej för det här handlar om två helt olika saker. För det vi jobbar med här handlar om barn som bor här.* (Vänder sig bakåt där jag kan skymta höghusområdet) *och den metoden som vi...kan man inte ha på [nämner visst socialt gynnat område i större stad]!*
> *Samtalsledare: Varför då då?* (Ganska lång paus)
> *Lärare 2: ...det känns som här är socialt utsatt område, det är bara så det är, och vi jobbar för att fånga upp dom här barnen. Så... (Skola 3)*

Uttalandet klargör att El Sistemas verksamhet och de metoder som används uppfattas av lärarna som intimt sammankopplade med det faktum att undervisningen sker på just den aktuella platsen som etiketteras som ett "socialt utsatt område". Skälet som Lärare 2 anför till olikheterna i metodik är El Sistemas uppdrag att inkludera barn i just det aktuella socialt utsatta området. Ingen speciell anledning till att metoderna ska vara olika i de olika aktuella områdena nämns utan det faktum att områdena är tydligt olika baserat i socioekonomiska förhållanden framställs som en förklaring som inte behöver utvecklas närmare. Genom att kontrastera det "socialt utsatta området" med det markant mer gynnade området i den större staden konstrueras skillnader i metodik som rimliga.

Lärarna på Skola 4 talar så här om starten av El Sistema-verksamhet i deras kommun:

> *Lärare 2: Men samtidigt blir det ju vårt uppdrag då hela tiden, och det har vi ju med chefer med oss också, att försöka då...VÄNDA det här feltänket att vi hela tiden måste mäta det bara individuella lektioner här på* (centrala skolans namn) *utan att man KAN liksom göra annat...Sen att det då blev El Sistema som ett fristående, det är ju bättre än ingenting, såklart. Men det är ju ändå grej...på det sättet man skulle kunna jobbat i kulturskolans regi OCKSÅ på olika sätt.*
> *Samtalsledare: Samma, samma...sätt som El Sistema jobbar?*
> *Lärare 2: På samma sätt! Ja, absolut. (Skola 4)*

I uttalandet framställer läraren anställda på kulturskolan som ansvarsfulla men mot-arbetade av "feltänk" på politikernivå. Ordvalet framställer till och med politiker som lite mindre intelligenta och omedvetna om den för-givet-tagna motsättningen mellan under-visning i centralorten och möjligheten att nå barn från alla delar i kommunen. Lärarna på Skola 4 uttalar sig positivt till starten av El Sistema-verksamheten i kommunen men för-medlar ändå att det egentligen inte är El Sistema-verksamhet som uppfattas som viktig utan snarare ekonomiskt stöd som möjliggör långsiktig verksamhet ute på skolor.

När det gäller samspelet med andra aktörer som kulturskolan är beroende av förmedlar lärarna upplevelsen av en slags godtycklighet. Den nystartade El Sistema-verksamheten på Skola 4 föregås av en serie skeenden som återges så här:

> Lärare 5: Det skulle inte varit.
> Samtalsledare: Det skulle inte varit?
> Lärare 5: Nej, och det kan jag förklara varför. Det utreddes under flera år det här, och riktigt seriös utredning. Och sen föll det på att det skulle vara många som skulle skjuta till lite pengar. Så var där nåra stora förvaltningar som drog sig ur detta här. (Tittar på samtalsledaren)
> Samtalsledare: Um.
> Lärare 5: Och då las det ner. Och sen fick tidningen tag i det. Sen tog det EN MÅNAD så va det...(Klappar händer) slått igenom!!/…//Då tänker man bara...då blir man bara...hur tänker politikerna? För då kan dom lika snabbt lägga ner grejor! (Skola 4)

Det beskrivna skeendet med de olika delarna återges av läraren på ett komprimerat sätt med tidningen som en avgörande faktor för politikernas beslut. Genom att klappa händer förmedlas känslan av att beslutet som ledde till förändringen kom plötsligt och var avhängigt av den massmediala skildringen. Berättelsen om beslutskedjan framstår som en rolig anekdot helt utanför lärarnas kontroll. Det distanserade berättandet gör att politikerna framstår som ganska opålitliga och godtyckliga i sina beslut.

Ur ett nyinstitutionellt perspektiv blir El Sistema-konceptets funktion intressant i legitimitetsarbete som utgår från idealet om socialt inkluderande verksamhet. Från kulturskolornas perspektiv skulle det kunna ses som positivt att inkludera El Sistema inom sin egen verksamhets gränser och därigenom associeras med socialt inkluderande värden. När det gäller El Sistemas interna legitimitetsarbete, som kan påminna om ett varumärkesbyggande[2], förefaller det däremot angeläget att värna om en särprägel som i samtalen till exempel framgår genom att El Sistema-lärarna betonar att man arbetar i ett socialt utsatt område med speciella metoder, att lärarna som undervisar i El Sistema har musikererfarenhet och att man samarbetar med en professionell orkester. Utifrån talet på Skola 1 om att El Sistema på andra ställen än deras egen har tätare undervisningstillfällen och också mera utvecklad kontaktverksamhet med föräldrar kan man sluta sig till att ganska stor variation ändå förekommer mellan olika El Sistema-verksamheter i Sverige. Att olika kulturskolor anpassar El Sistema-verksamheterna till lokala förhållanden skulle kunna tyda på låg isomorfism enligt DiMaggio och Powell (1982) men motsägelsefullt nog kan också en hög isomorfism konstateras mellan enskilda El Sistema-verksamheter eftersom konceptets gemensamma särdrag betonas åtminstone på ett retoriskt plan. De lokala variationerna skulle kunna ses som frikopplade lösningar (Røvik 2000, 2008) utifrån en isomorf omhuldad gemensam nationell El Sistema-kärna. När det gäller kulturskolornas perspektiv på att inkludera El Sistema-verksamhet under sitt paraply så skänker det möjlighet att därigenom åtnjuta legitimitet som socialt inkluderande verksamhet genom sin association med El Sistema.

Diskussion

I relation till ett politisk ideal när det gäller socialt inkluderande musikundervisning uppvisade sammanfattningsvis lärarnas sätt att legitimera sin verksamhet en spännvidd från att betona inkludering i en redan existerande tradition till att betona brett utbud och elevinflytande. De båda ideal vid utformning av musikundervisning som Väkevä och Westerlund (2007) presenterat kan båda sägas vara representerade i materialet. Varje enskild skola föreföll renodla den ena eller andra hållningen vilket ur ett institutionellt

perspektiv skulle kunna tolkas som att avsaknad av tydliga mål kan leda till att respektive kulturskola genom intern social kontroll institutionaliserar lokala normer för sin verksamhet och att kulturskolefältet därigenom uppvisar låg ismorfism med Dimaggio och Powels (1982) terminologi.

Samtidigt som låg isomorfism förfaller typiskt för kulturskolefältet så uppvisar det också en hög isomorfism genom den relativt vanliga tendensen att anamma El Sistema som en del av verksamheterna. På Skola 4 talade lärarna om hur en tidningsartikel påverkade lokalpolitikers vilja att satsa ekonomiskt på El Sistema-konceptet. Detta kan betraktas som ett exempel på hur narrativet om El Sistema på ett kraftfullt emotionellt präglat sätt verkar i samspel med massmedia och marknadsföring (Baker 2014; Kuuse, Lindgren & Skåreus 2016). Detta illustrerar hur satsningen på El Sistema är avhängigt av en massmedial bild av konceptet och därigenom bygger på ett slags institutionaliserad myt som Meyer och Rowan (1977) talat om som styrande för organisationer. Genom association med social inkludering som institutionaliserad myt bedöms El Sistema ha en potential att skänka legitimitet till kulturskolor som socialt inkluderande. Røvik (2000, 2008) talar om hur organisationer anammar koncept som trender vilket kan skapa isomorfa organisationer (DiMaggio & Powell 1982; Meyer & Rowan 1977) som härmar varandra - allt i syfte att legitimera sin verksamhet och framstå i positiv dager.

Kulturskolornas lärare uttalar sig också på sätt som positionerar kulturskolans verksamhet som underordnad inflytandet från idrott, könsstereotypa mönster och politik och policy på olika nivåer. Lärarna förefaller ta kulturskolans underordning i dessa fall som naturlig och svår att bryta – i Bourdieus termer placerar de tingens ordning i doxa och accepterar sitt öde (amor fatis).

Sammantaget förfaller lärarna legitimera sina verksamheter som socialt inkluderande på högst skiftande sätt – något som bekräftar bilden av social inkludering i undervisning som förknippat med mångtydighet och dilemman (Carlsson & Nilholm 2004). Lärarnas benägenhet att framställa sin egen position som svag i relation till idrott, stereotypa könsmönster och i policysammanhang bekräftar den bild Schmidt (2015, 2017) beskrivit av lärare som relativt passiva i policysammanhang.

En implikation av studien skulle kunna vara att överväga Schmidts (2015, 2017) uppmaning till musiklärare att mera medvetet och initierat engagera sig i policyarbete och därigenom ta mandatet att verka för social inkludering i det egna arbetet i den riktning man anser lämpligt. Schmidt (2017) har ett pluralistiskt perspektiv på policy som såväl formell som informell, såväl hård som mjuk och undviker ett top-down perspektiv på begreppet. Detta sätt att betrakta policyarbete belyser den potential som ligger i lärares engagemang. Genom att ta mandatet att påverka skulle musiklärarprofessionen på kulturskolor på ett konstruktivt sätt kunna påverka frågor rörande såväl sitt eget arbete som hur verksamheten kan utformas för att förhålla sig till social inkludering. Även om den institutionaliserade myten talar om El Sistema som socialt inkluderande är inte en socialt inkluderande praktik en automatisk följd av retorik som talar om social inkludering (Kuuse 2018). Ett reflekterat sätt att förhålla sig till policy skulle kunna leda till väl övervägt agerande när det gäller olika sätt att utforma socialt inkluderande kulturskoleverksamhet oavsett om detta innebär satsning på El Sistema-verksamhet eller inte. ◼

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Noter

[1] Detta kan jämföras med Dobson (2016) och Baker (2014) som beskriver auktoritära aspekter av pedagogiken i El Sistema-verksamhet och pekar på att pedagogiken inom El Sistema riskerar att motverka rörelsens egna inkluderande och demokratiska ideal.

[2] Enligt Camilla Sarners blogg på El Sistema svenska hemsida (El Sistema Sverige, 31 mars 2017) finns behov av att "trygga detta skepp" och en oro för att "oseriösa aktörer klampar in" vilket inbjuder till ett perspektiv på El Sistema som ett varumärke som det finns anledning att skydda.

Abstract

The aim of this study is to shed light on music teachers' constructions of legitimacy in response to a political ideal of socially inclusive music education in the Swedish Community Schools of Music and Arts. Eighteen teachers from five such schools participated in focus group discussions. Discursive psychology as well as the perspective of new institutionalism and Bourdieu's concepts of *field* and *doxa* formed the basis for the analysis. In order to legitimize their programs, the teachers cited a range from inclusion in an existing tradition to inclusion through the influence of students and a broad range of offered courses. Through its association with social inclusion, the El Sistema concept is suggested to have the potential to bring legitimacy to the schools in the form of *institutionalized myth*. Simultaneously as the dissemination of the El Sistema concept in the field of Community Schools of Music and Arts creates *isomorphism*, these schools also display a strong tendency toward localized variation, which conveys their *decoupling capacity*. An implication on the policy level is to support programs that are deemed socially inclusive, regardless of whether it adheres to the construct of El Sistema, and, thereby, see through the institutionalized myth of this concept. ■

Sara Sintonen

Children's produced graphical instructions in music as a multiliteracy act

Introduction

This article focuses on a group of emergent writers (Finnish 6 – 8 years old children) and their used strategies in writing instructions for self-invented sound phrases. The process of inventing sounds and creating phrases out of those, writing graphical instructions and demonstrating those to others is here considered as a multiliteracy process comprising several acts (exploring, producing, conceptualizing and sharing). In this article, the main focus is on children's produced instructions which are considered and analyzed as texts representing children's multiliteracy. In music education, exploring, creating and inventing sounds are too often a question of one's ability to correctly play a music instrument or use software or sing in tune instead of one's potential to think, communicate and create meanings with and through sounds. For music and literacy education, learning to write graphic instructions for audio material could offer an interesting new viewpoint, as a multiliteracy approach to sounds will widen the existential ideas of literacy learning among young learners.

First, this article will demonstrate how sound-related inquiry and activities can form a basis for convening multiliteracies in and through music. The relationship between sound and music is evident, but still the main focus in (music and arts) education is typically on music in the form of songs, pieces and adults' compositions – and the notation system of those. Sound is still an understudied area of literacy learning and making (Wargo 2017), and even the discussions of the multimodal nature of literacy and multiliteracies pedagogy have privileged the role of images to the virtual exclusion of any consideration of music (Barton & Unsworth 2014, 3). Multiliteracy in music reaches above and beyond more typical music appreciation, notation reading and writing, towards individual and shared meaning making and multimodal activities and processes. Hence it will serve young learners' multiliteracy needs more profoundly.

The second target of this article is to discuss the educational importance of multiliteracies and recognising children's existing literacy abilities through music and arts. The aim is to attract the attention of school teachers and early educators to the potential contribution of sonic (audio) and non-verbal graphic (pictorial, symbolic, etc.) texts to the enhancement of multiliteracy learning, creation and communication processes in general and in young children in particular. This should be very notable also from the viewpoint of learners who are not proficient in the local language or children with learning challenges in their development of academic skills.

Multiliteracy as a dynamic construction

The technological evolution creates new forms of texts and media and reforms literacy cultures. New media, especially mobile devices, are embedded in the everyday practices of many children. Many researchers (e.g. Marsh 2004; Gee 2010) argue that these practices are changing the attributes of what should be considered as literacy. In the technological and cultural contexts of the past two decades, the movement towards on-print and print-mixed texts has accelerated due to the accessible digital affordances for creating and mixing print, images, sounds, video and music. The ongoing trend towards multimodality is global

and multigenerational. The swing in the landscape of communication from linear print to spatial images prompts the creation of many print-mixed texts (Kress 1999, 2003, 2010).

In Finland, recently renewed curricula for early childhood education, pre-primary education and basic education have introduced *multiliteracy* as a new foundational competency to be promoted as part of other transversal competencies across the education system. The Finnish curricula (OPH 2014, 2016a, 2016b) hold a broad understanding of multiliteracy, as it is seen to interact with other transversal competencies including critical thinking and learning-to-learn, social interaction and expression, working life and entrepreneurship as well as social participation and influence. In the curricula documents, multiliteracy is defined as a set of skills and knowledge of making sense and producing meanings via different modes and media for diverse purposes and audiences in diverse communicative settings. In these broader definitions, multiliteracy accounts more strongly for agency, identity, and citizenship in the 21st century.

In music, multiliteracy will shift the perspective of music as an autonomous idea and embrace the transformative meanings that our students bring to creating and interacting with music (Tremblay-Beaton 2015, 2580). In this article, the emphasis on the process over the product supports the idea of children engaging in inventing sounds and creating phrases from them. This follows also Freire's (1987) view of literacy, *reading the world*, which is not exhausted merely by decoding the written word or written language, but rather anticipated by and extending into knowledge of the world. This opens a more dynamic process of transformation (rather than a process of reproduction), which forms a basis for the theory of multiliteracies. The theory of multiliteracies addresses the increasing multiplicity and integration of significant modes of meaning making as well as the textual relationship between the visual, audio and spatial, and focuses on the modes of representation that are much broader than language alone (New London Group 1996, Cope & Kalantzis 2009).

Sound is a very powerful modality: sounds have the capability to surround and capture us, energize and comfort, lead and mislead (van Leeuwen 1999). As powerful as sounds are, they are often mysterious, too, especially for children. In general, the phenomenon of sound is hard to approach and explain to children: from a child's point of view sound is not something that can be touched, felt and seen. Approaching multiliteracy through sound is relevant also from a multimodality point of view, as various semiotic modes of communication better enable learners to have better access to literacy and meet the communicational demands of the era (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001). This is also connected to Kress' (2003, 50) philosophy of 'reading as design', which emphasizes the creative processes involved in interpreting multimodal texts, where the cognitive load for readers/learners involves making meaning in a way that makes sense and is significant for them at a given moment and for a particular purpose. This is especially relevant in the digital era (see Sefton-Green et al. 2016, 23), as the act of reading multimodal texts requires creativity and criticality from readers in finding and transforming relevant information. In this article, 'the act of reading' is considered as both receiving and producing, a dynamic process of action.

Research process and data collection

This case study focuses on young children's multiliteracy by considering their written, graphic instructions for self-invented sound phrases as a multiliteracy act. This study was designed as a qualitative study in order to reveal the intermediate between "reality and representation" (Silverman 2006, 57). Early and Cummins (2011) argue that case studies provide creditable data documenting authentic instances of practice that allow hypotheses to be formed and tested, thereby contributing to theory.

This study was implemented in two Finnish pre-primary and school groups of children aged six and seven to eight (May 2017, January 2018) during one school lesson (from 45 to 60 minutes). The pedagogical development work behind this research was based on an alternative approach to music education and literacy learning by concentrating on receiving and producing sounds and creating various multimodal texts on the base of those experiences. The children were provided with opportunities to create instructions for their self-created sound phrases and rhythmic riffs and share them with peers, all without being shown any conventional musical notations by the researchers (or a teacher). This research has been conducted as part of research and development program called 'The Joy of Learning Multiliteracies, MOI' (2017–2019) funded by Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture (www.monilukutaito.com). The pedagogical principles of learning environments promoted by MOI are multisensory, playful and story-like, and they encourage children to use their imagination, creativity, and collaboration. MOI relates multiliteracy to agency and affordances of different modes and media (Kress, 2010) for participation and influence, and is developing productive ways to meaning making and engagement in an increasingly diverse world.

The teaching content related to this study focused on creating individual sound phrase with Tipsit®, a pedagogical wooden finger tool designed for sound tinkering and creation. Children were first asked to invent and play different sounds with the tool anywhere in their classroom, and after that they were asked to form a short phrase with sounds. Once they had created sound phrases, the children were asked to write instructions on a paper slip as they liked. The researcher (or teacher) did not introduce any written and/or graphic notations in the class. During the workshop, the researcher walked around the classroom and discussed the instructions with the children (in order to examine the relationship between each symbol) without guiding them in their writing process. At the end of the session, the children were allowed to see and hear each other's creations. After the session, the children were asked to take a digital photo of their instructions by using a digital camera.

In music education, graphic notations are often used to demonstrate the listening experience of a student or to demonstrate students' ideas as music creators, and the target is to help students learn an actual music notation system better. Researchers have been interested in children's own notational strategies; especially in music education and psychology, several studies have produced findings showing that children's notational products change over time as a result of maturation and musical experience (e.g. Davidson & Scripp 1988; Barrett 2000; 2001; 2002; 2005). However, in these studies the main focuses have been on researching children's musical communication and/or conception rather than focusing on children's multiliteracy and supporting emergent writers' literacy skills through sounds in the way that the present study does.

In this study, self-invented sounds worked as a stimulus for instruction production. As a pedagogical decision, children were asked to draw 'instructions' instead of 'graphic notations' in order to obviate the children's possible thoughts of not being 'musically' skilled enough, or not being capable of writing music. The term instruction was focused more on other people's (peers' and teachers') ability to reproduce children's ideas, and instruction writing demands more thinking in stages. As Lankshear and Knobel (2003, 2006) argue, what students need is *performance* knowledge—knowing *how* to find, gather, use, communicate and imagine new ways of envisioning assemblages of knowledge.

Research questions and data analysis

This research focused on two questions: 1) What kind of solutions do children independently depict in their written, graphic instructions for self-invented sound phrases; and 2) how do these resonate with the substance of multiliteracy? This research does not focus on

analyzing children's sonic creations/compositions (short sound phrases), or children's ability to represent their own compositions visually. Instead, the focus is on mapping children's independently created solutions which are considered as a representation of children's multiliteracy.

The data consist of eleven (N=11) children's graphic instructions for self-invented sound phrases (photographed by children), which are analyzed by the nature and quality. The analysis was influenced by visual semiotics analysis, and was mainly concentrating on iconic and indexical signs, as there is an inherent relationship between the signified and signifier comparing to the symbolic signs (e.g. Rose 2016, 120). The visual semiotic analysis concentrates on the graphically presented communication by explicating icons, symbols, forms and any graphic signs that are impressed. Although the study is qualitative in nature, the children's texts (graphical instructions) are categorized with numbers also in order to demonstrate the richness and differences in their solutions.

The analysis was focused and based on the children's written instructions but took advantage also from demonstrations in a class room: the analysis has been formed out of photos children took after the sessions. The components found in each graphic instruction were revealed and analyzed using a visual approach: Children's self-invented graphic/written instructions were considered as the texts with specific semiotic features. All the visual and material attributes in the data were classified into two main categories (pictorial/abstract) collecting all the actions, sound notations and indications created by the children: *Pictorial* refers to visual representations with concrete objects, and *abstract* refers to symbolic expressions. The subsequent coding categories were also constructed and elaborated as additional examples surfaced new concepts. Also, the reading direction of the graphic instructions was examined.

Findings: Focusing on children's produced graphical instructions

The data demonstrate that children used and formed various methods and graphic signs in their written instructions as a semiotic mode to communicate their ideas. These can be seen as a meaningful process in which they create signs to express their thoughts and to demonstrate their intentions. Written, graphic instructions are representative of their con-structive, self-directed intentional process of thinking-in-action. Although these chil-dren were considered as emergent writers, their repertoires of graphic instructions for self-in-vented sound phrases indicate that they have a knowledge of rich writing and texts cult-ures, with an ability to express the self in writing and produce sensible written material.

In group 1, seven participants developed unique systems to organize and write/draw symbols helping them to recall the sound phrase they created. Six participants made use of the horizontal direction, while one chose the vertical. The sample repertoire of graphic instructions from group 1 is demonstrated in figure 1.

Figure 1. The sample repertoire of graphic instructions for self-invented sound phrases from group 1.

The categorizing of the content in children's self-invented graphic instructions from group 1 indicates that they possess rich writing culture and ability to use many signs and symbols in a purposeful way (Table 1). Children were mainly using both iconic and indexical signs, although also symbolic expression occurred. For example, the need to notify the dynamics of a sound necessitated symbolic signs.

Notation of an object and/or a place: graphics, words

Notation of an amount /rhythm:
note(-like) symbols, rhythmic notation, numbers, literal symbols and words

Notation of the playing hand: literal symbols, graphics

Notation of playing direction: arrows, graphics

Notation of pitch: staff (five lines)

Notation of dynamics (volume): graphics (single line)

Reading directions: Three from left to right, one from up to down, and three no direction

Three created a sound phrase with two different sounds, four with one sound (two hands)

Division: One divided instructions into two sections

Color: Two coloured, five used black-and-white

Two pictured human characters (the player)

Three illustrated sound visually

General characterisation: Two abstract, five pictorial creations

Table 1. Categorizing children's self-invented graphic instructions (group 1, N=7)

In group 2, four participants developed unique systems to organize and write/draw symbols helping them to recall the sound phrase they created. Three used the horizontal direction, one chose the vertical. The sample repertoire of graphic instructions for self-invented sound phrases from group 2 is demonstrated in Figure 2.
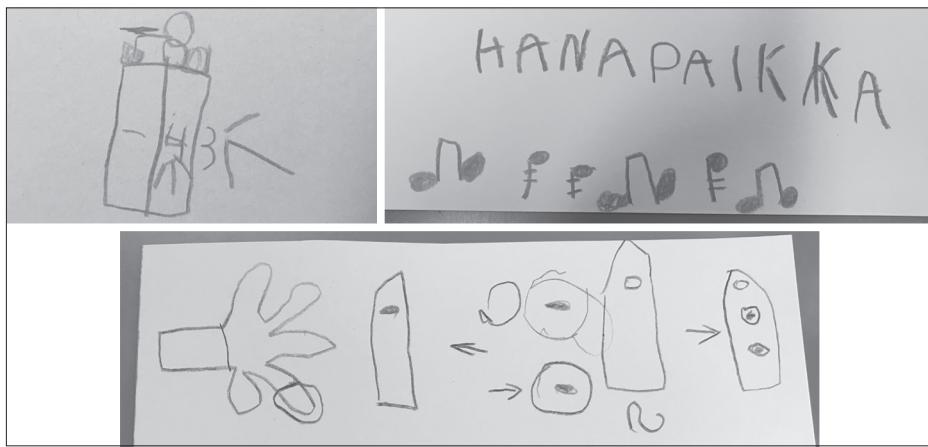
Figure 2. The sample repertoire of graphic instructions for self-invented sound phrases from group 2.

The categorizing of the content in children's self-invented graphic instructions from group 2 also indicates that participant have a knowledge of rich and creative writing culture and ability to use various signs and symbols in a purposeful way (Table 2). In this group too, children were mainly using both iconic and indexical signs, although also symbolic expression occurred.

Notation of an object and/or a place: graphics, words

Notation of an amount/rhythm: note(-like) symbols, rhythmic notation, numbers, literal symbols

Notation of the playing hand: graphics

Notation of the playing direction: arrows, graphics

Notation of pitch: -

Notation of dynamics (volume): -

Reading directions: Three from left to right, one from up to down

One created a sound phrase with two different sounds, three with one sound (two hands)

Division: -

Color: Zero coloured, four used black-and-white (or similar)

One pictured human characters (the player)

Zero illustrated sound visually

General characterisation: One abstract, three pictorial creations
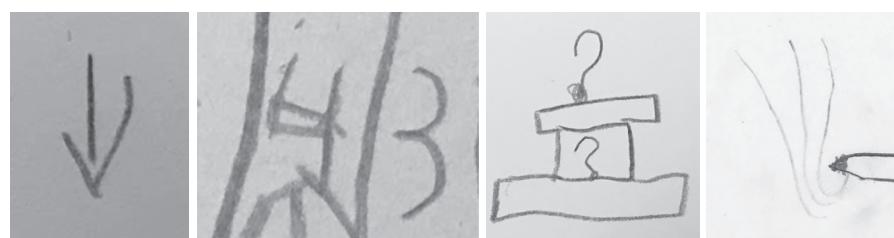
Table 2. Categorizing children's self-invented graphic instructions (group 2, N=4).

The findings of this study are congruent with the observations made by Lee (2013) showing children's perceptions do not refer to either 'figural' or 'metric' types [pictorial/abstract], but how they *organize* those symbols and *create meanings* from them. The *layered meanings* are represented simultaneously (cf. Wohlwend 2010). Children orchestrate modes in order to create meanings; this demonstrates emergent writers' potential for learning literacy via multiliteracy actions.

Reading direction	Notations and symbols
left to right	
abstract (4)	words, letters, staff, note symbols, illustrated sound, object, lines
pictorial (2)	letters, words, rhythm notes, objects, lines (arrows)
From up to down	
pictorial (2)	two sections (comics), written orders, human character, objects, illustrated sound
No direction	
pictorial (3)	numbers, words, arrows, objects, illustrated sounds, character

Table 3. The summary of children's self-produced graphic instructions for their own sound phrases.

The children did not apply one single principle in their graphical instructions, but used various signs. Children not only invented their own symbols but also borrow some symbols from their surroundings and everyday life (for example a play button symbol). This resonates with the study of Lee (2013) who also found that children began with pictorial drawings and gradually moved towards using abstract symbols to write precise pitches and rhythms. More generally, in language learning children's literacy abilities develop gradually as they come to realize that they can make graphic marks, that these can stand for an object or event and that others can interpret their graphic representations. They then realize that specific marks and letters, can convey the meaning depicted by the sounds of language. The realization that graphic marks can convey meaning—a first order representation—is evident also in symbolic play and language (Vygotsky 1968, 1978). In written language, abstract, symbolic forms are associated with referents to convey meaning. Drawing and spoken language develop separately and then link to create a writing domain (e.g. Martley & Sorsby 1995, 2). Children have a social and personal investment in the symbolic meanings of their culture right from the start, and it follows that their engagement with such meanings is likely to be always intentional and purposeful (Lancaster 2007, 185).

Focusing on the question of what kind of solutions children independently depict in their graphic instructions for self-invented sound phrases, this research managed to demonstrate children's potential for multiliteracy. In this case, children were processing their multiliteracy through music: each child had developed a unique system in organizing the signs and symbols which helped them recall the self-invented sound phrases they have created. In other words, children demonstrated their representational abilities and indicated being literacy experimentalists although the formal schooling system consider them only as emergent writers (and some of them might even struggle with reading and writing).

The writing instruction task was pedagogically designed to leave to the children to choose their own type of response, giving space for their agency. These emergent writers

indicated creativity and inventiveness in their work. Children, whatever they are doing, are doing it intentionally; the difficulty lies in identifying what the intention *is*, rather than in establishing whether there is any (Lancaster 2007, 128). Rather than targeting towards strict pre-determined goals and outcomes in teaching, this research encourages recognizing to the existing (that includes always variation) in teaching and learning, and the progressions that lead learners into new spaces, communications and literacy acts.

Concluding thoughts: Multiliteracy's educational importance

My goal in this research was to explore the possibilities of multiliteracy in music education. This small-scale research study found that children employed both pictorial and abstract symbols to construct the graphic instructions for self-invented sound phrases. They organized symbols and created layered meanings from them. As noticed, numbers, rhythm notes and other symbols (e.g. arrows) were used in a purposeful way to meet the writers' own needs, and the graphical instructions that the children produced during the study had a purpose and logic of their own, and were not necessarily describable in terms of conventional notation systems. The children also chose their own reading direction. In this way, self-invented graphic instructions became complex 'multimodal ensembles' (cf. Kress 2009), and the repertoire shows the variation in children's solutions and meaning making processes. Young emergent writers solved various ways of communicating meaning graphically; the signs that they produced during the study had partly a purpose and logic of their own. This complexity offers multiple pathways into literacy by giving children a choice of features to notice, through their own writing and seeing others' solutions. The process also helped participants to become aware of and effectively communicate what they already know. Allowing children to construct knowledge of multimodal communication within music education from their own perspective is as an exciting move and interesting pedagogical outcome of this study.

The multimodal perspective for literacy raises interesting questions about the pedagogical ways of teaching notation system to children. From a multiliteracy point of view education should encompass a full range of such communicative settings, where children can use a variety of representative forms of expression and modes of meaning making with equal dignity and importance (Eisner, 1994; Wong, 2001). Following Kress's (2003) thoughts, it seems clear that young learners need texts that are much more multimodal than the graphic representation of print which have served writers in the past (Kress, 2003). Multimodality can operate as the analytical lens that leads our attention to other areas where meanings emerge, beyond that of language. Rich, multimodal textual environments that encourage children to investigate, conceptualize, produce, share and make meaning are at the heart of supporting children's engagements with and learning about multiliteracies. This also provokes a discussion of what is or should be valued regarding literacy practices in music education.

This study shows that multiliteracy in music reaches above and beyond traditional music appreciation, notation reading and writing, and towards individual and shared meaning making as well as playful activities and processes. Hence it will serve young learners' literacy needs more profoundly. This study was designed to respond to the needs for learning multiliteracies through and in music. This widens the traditional literacy practices towards more dynamic literacies referring to hybrid literacy practices in which various tools and practices meet and intersect (see e.g. Potter & McDougall, 2017). Potter and McDougall define a dynamic literacy space in which diverse meanings and learning are negotiated through the agentive activity of individuals. In music/arts education, leaving space also for students' own (notation) innovations means giving space for their own agency, knowledge and multimodal thinking. Graphical representations of content

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also support learners who have more limited prior knowledge. In music, according to this study, the emergent writers' literacy skills can be endorsed and recognized if children are allowed to demonstrate alternative solutions and are encouraged to invent and discover their own multimodal ways of writing and reading. Multiliteracy-based pedagogy also invites teachers to reflect critically on how their teaching approaches enables different sorts of learning, and how they can support "new forms of communication which are necessary to participate fully in our dynamic and culturally diverse society" (Mills 2009, 10). This concerns music educators both in school and outside of school.

Writing instructions for self-invented sound phrases seemed to be a pedagogically interesting viewpoint for children's learning. As Miller (2010) argues, what is important to note are the underpinnings of these new multimodal literacies. They are purposeful literacy practices that are meaningful to users as social communication. Children's repertoires of graphic instructions indicated that children can read and write multimodal texts, with an ability to express the self in writing and produce sensible written material. This adds new dimensions to their communication and multiliteracy acts in music and in other subjects too. It might be purposeful to take account of the intellectual weight and creative understanding of young writers. Appreciating multiliteracy can lead to a process through which children can have their say, and more children will have their voice. This is also in line with the most recent curricula in Finland and also in many other countries, highlighting the importance of taking account of what children already know when introducing new areas of learning.

A natural extension of this research to progress further would be using the idea and pedagogy of instruction writing for other areas of arts too. Also, the other possibility would be asking children to document their self-invented instructions with other multimodal strategies than writing, including audio recording, video recording and photographing. This would enable children to demonstrate their (already existing) skills and literacy potential in their own repertoire of multimodal practices. ■

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Abstrakti

Artikkelissa tarkastellaan, mitä tapahtuu, kun pieniä oppijoita (6–8-vuotiaat) pyydetään laatimaan (kynä ja paperi) soitto-ohje heidän itse keksimilleen lyhyille musiikillisille kuvioille. Lapset saivat itse etsiä heitä kiinnostavia ääniä omasta oppimisympäristöstään ja muodostaa näistä sarjoja, musiikillisia kuvioita. Lapset eivät osanneet kirjoittaa nuottikirjoitusta (ja olivat ylipäätään lukijoina ja kirjoittajina vielä oppimisvaiheessa) ja siksi oli kiinnostavaa tutkia, millaisia ratkaisuja he omissa ohjeiden laatimisissaan tekivät. Näitä ratkaisuja tarkastellaan osana lasten monilukutaitoa, taitoa käyttää ja hyödyntää erilaisia monimodaalisia merkkejä ja järjestelmiä, joilla voidaan luoda merkityksiä. Prosessia (äänten tutkiminen, musiikillisen kuvion tuottaminen, käsitteellistäminen ja ohjeen jakaminen toisille) kutsutaan tässä yhteydessä monilukutaidon teoksi, jonka teoreettiset juuret ovat sosiokulttuurisessa oppimisessa ja monilukutaidon multimodaalisessa, semioottisessa näkökulmassa. Tämän laadullisen pilottitutkimuksen valossa näyttää, että vielä ylipäätään lukemaan ja kirjoittamaan opettelevat lapset ovat monipuolisia ja taitavia merkitystenmuodostajia, joilla on selvästi hallussaan moninainen symbolien ja merkkien repertuaari. Tämän repertuaarin puitteissa he pystyivät myös ilmentämään soivia musiikillisia kuvioita ja sarjoja paperille. Tutkimus antaa viitteitä lisätutkimuksille ja monilukutaidon pedagogiselle kehittämiselle taidekasvatuksessa. ∎

Katsaukset | Reports

Tuulia Tuovinen

Revisiting student-centeredness: a literature review

The educational system is probably the most influential of all institutions—outranking the family, the church, the police, and the government—in shaping the interpersonal politics of the growing person. (Carl Rogers 1977, 69)

Introduction

I n order to discuss the various elements involved in placing *a student* at the *center* of an educational process, we must first posit a legitimated process where one individual, the *student*, is educated by another individual, usually the *teacher*. The idea of an educational space with a *center* implies that there are different affordances for the positions within this space, occupied by different stakeholders. Today's institutionalized forms of education for young children require that this type of education also concurrently play a specific role in society. In this socially-constructed power asymmetry between adults and children, it is vital to consider what the roles of the persons engaged in the process *necessitate*, what the purpose of this interaction is, and how the individual with *less* power negotiates and exerts agency. Revisiting the foundations and purposes of education from a student-centric vantage point can been seen as a beneficial process, as the underlying aim in student-centeredness has been an effort to understand and improve the position of the student in the educational process. Further to this goal, student-centeredness has always included both efforts encouraging the betterment of 'effective' means and strategies for student learning, and considerations of student rights and justice (Macfarlane & Tomlinson 2017).

In this article, I will review the literature on student-centeredness and revisit the history of the meanings that the term has appropriated since the beginning of the 20th century. This literature review aims to contribute to a wider understanding of how the term student-centeredness has taken on many meanings over its history, including the perspectives put forth by the work of John Dewey and his contemporaries, along with Carl Rogers, who originated the term in his person-centered approach to psychology in the 1950s, as well as the more recent appropriations to the term. Due to the fact that student-centrism has constructed its meanings alongside the development of formal education and institutionalization, literature concerning student-centeredness includes literature connected to theories on learning, philosophy of education, and the constructivist discourse and its associated theories in psychology and education. The constructivist paradigm has had a notable influence on the student-centric ideologies of the 20th century, and has in turn contributed to the creation of an overwhelming quantity of how-to guides and instructional manuals on how to implement the constructivist understandings of student-centered learning (McCombs & Whistler 1997; Aaronsohn 1996). With the term's widespread use has come a certain definitional looseness (Weimer 2013), which has also contributed to the large amount of uncertainty amongst teachers and practitioners regarding the actual implementation of student-centeredness at the classroom level (Klemenčič 2017).

While student-centric ideologies have been widely discussed by educational theorists throughout the 20th century, it is worth pointing out that student-centrism in music

education has remained a largely underexamined topic (Sgruggs 2009; Jørgensen 2000; Schuh 2004). However, this does not mean that the position of the student in the music learning process has not been considered - quite the opposite: over the past two decades there has been a strong movement to strengthen students' role in making decisions for their music education, and likewise to encourage them to take ownership of their learning process (Hallam 2001; 2006; Gatien 2009; O'Neill 2012; Virkkula 2015), or to advance student-led pedagogy (Lebler 2007) and students' autonomy in terms of content and goals (Gilbert 2016). Past initiatives have also been developed further in order to create more robust models for student-centered music education (Hansen & Imse 2016). The cognitive turn, and the advances in music psychology in the mid 1980s (Hargreaves 1986), contributed to moving the pedagogical focus from *teaching* to *learning,* and to aiming to understand the learning process from the learner's point of view. This emphasis on the cognitive process also lead to a desire to identify the artistic processes central to creative thinking (Winner 1997).

Although the term student-centeredness is now commonly used in contemporary literary and policy statements, the term has remained poorly defined in policy documents (Klemenčič 2017). In addition, the theoretical underpinnings of student–centered learning have been surprisingly absent in educational literature (O´Neill & McMahon 2005). Narrow interpretations often view student-centered and teacher/content-centered approaches as dualisms, rather than as poles in a continuum (Gordon 2008). Claims have been made that the concept of student-centeredness should somehow be "reclaimed" – in order to promote the deeply democratic aims it originally had (Macfarlane 2017). Views critical of promoting mere *student engagement -* rather than students' actual capabilities to intervene in and influence their learning environments and learning pathways - have also emerged, as it has been asserted that *student agency* is what student-centeredness is essentially about (Klemenčič 2017). As student-centered learning is currently considered the key principle underlying the intended reforms towards enhancing the quality of teaching and learning in European higher education (Klemenčič 2017), there has been a strong desire to develop a comprehensive description of what student-centered learning actually means in the Bologna context (ESU 2015). Commitments to the implementation of student-centered learning can also be found in various institutional strategies for higher education (ESU 2015; Nordic Council 2015; AEC 2010), as well as in some national plans for basic education and basic education in the arts (see for example Finnish National Board of Education 2014; 2017).

A history of the meanings of student-centeredness

As mentioned in the introduction, the term student-centeredness has encompassed a variety of meanings, often attributed to the term by various different stakeholders. Student-centeredness has often been equated with constructivism (Matthews 2003; Yilmaz 2008; Krahenbuhl 2016), active learning (Weimer 2013; Klemenčič 2017), experiential learning (Burnard 1999), discovery learning, self-directed learning, flexible learning (Taylor 2000), and transformative learning. These perspectives share portraying the student as an active learner, with a capacity for self-regulation and autonomy. In the 1990s, the rise of constructivism, with the view of learning being a more social process, both conversational and constructive, was considered to represent a paradigm shift for educators compared to the traditional transmissive views of learning (Land & Jonassen 2012). Teacher-led classroom practices were claimed to lead only to students´ passive rote learning, and the stifling of critical and creative thinking (Heyneman,1984; Rowell & Prophet, 1990; Rowell, 1995; Jessop & Penny, 1998).

The growing diversification of student populations is currently seen as one of the driving forces for student-centered learning, as it demands that the individual needs of students be taken into account, including their learning styles and their different levels of skill and knowledge. The diversification of the student population has also had an effect on the history of institutionalized education, for example in the promotion of compulsory public education. In Finland, the growth of formal education to include wider populations was influenced by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi's (1746–1827) educational approach, which took into account learners' individual differences and sought alternatives to the early forms of schooling, which were based to a large extent on the memorization of text books and listening to recitations. Pestalozzi was an educational theorist who developed a pedagogy that emphasized the value of experiential and multi-sensory learning. His work was largely influenced by his work with the children of the poor in Switzerland.

Experiential education, which Pestalozzi and his contemporaries advocated, was in turn influenced by the work conducted by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1721–1778) and the educational philosopher John Dewey (1859–1952). Dewey was seen as the most famous proponent of experiential education at the beginning of the 20th century. In 19th century America, the idea of a common school—of everyone having access to school—was considered radical. Education was characterized by rote memorization (Henson 2003), and experiential education presented a new approach to schooling, which promoted the idea that experience must precede symbolism. Dewey (1938) critiqued the authoritarian education system as being too concerned with delivering knowledge, and not enough with understanding students' experiences. In Dewey's (1938) view, the traditional scheme of schooling imposed adult standards, methods, and subject matter upon students, which were beyond their reach and experiences to possess. Rather than the memorization of rote knowledge, Dewey insisted that education should provide students with critical thinking skills. Other critical views of traditional education were later put forth by the Brazilian pedagogue Paulo Freire (1921–1997), who critiqued the transmission model of education as one that viewed education as a specific body of knowledge that needed to be trans-mitted from the teacher to the student, thus ignoring students' pre-existing knowledge and reinforcing their lack of critical thinking and knowledge ownership.

The term student-centeredness is often used interchangeably with learner-centeredness, although the latter term has been used by some theorists in a conscious effort to move the focus from teaching to learning (Weimer 2002; Barr & Tagg 1995). The term learner-centeredness gained attention in the 1970s, in the field of language instruction (Strevens 1977), when the seminal article by Alan McLean (1980), *Destroying the Teacher: the Need for Learner-Centred Teaching*, pushed the discussion towards more learner-centered approaches. Theorists claimed that this was the start of a new paradigm from providing instruction to producing learning (Barr & Tagg 1995). In addition to the terms student-centeredness or learner-centeredness, the term child-centeredness is often used interchangeably with them, or when specifically addressing children of a young age in an educative situation. A literature review of the historical meanings of child-centeredness conducted by Chung and Walsh (2000) found more than 40 meanings of the term. As with the term student-centeredness and learner-centeredness, Chung and Walsh's work points to the many layers of the three terms' complex and sometimes contradictory meanings, forged over the years by competing interest groups.

Weimer (2002; 2013), who has written extensively on learner-centered education, advocates the use of the term learner-centeredness in order to move away from the student-as-customer discourse that took place at the end of the 1990s. The increasing demand for institutions to operate according to the forces of marketisation emphasized their need to work towards competitiveness, efficiency, and consumer satisfaction. While the problems inherent to this move towards a market-based agenda, with its view of

students as customers, are widely recognized by educators, the ways in which the shift in policy approaches has filtered through to students' experiences in learning has only recently been studied (Tomlinson 2014). One recent research project conducted in the UK showed that undergraduate students' more highly developed consumer orientations lead to lower academic performances (Bunce, Baird & Jones 2017). Educational theorists have thus critiqued constructivist implementations, which do not take into account that expertise in a discipline involves a certain amount of time and study within a particular field, and that the learning of factual knowledge is not a threat to higher order thinking, but rather a necessary precondition to it (Krahenbuhl 2016; Beghetto 2016; Christoloudou 2014).

Student-centeredness in music education

In music education, the importance of student-centered approaches is widely recognized (Fung 2018; Bautista, Pérez Echeverría & Pozo 2010; Hallam 1995; Hallam, Cross & Thaut 2009; Hultberg 2002; Viladot, Gómez & Malagarriga 2010). Claims have been made, however, that there are actually few accounts of the ways in which teachers can move from developing transformative approaches to actually implementing these learning practices in formal classrooms (Sewell 2006). A large amount of literature has aimed at elucidating the problems of teacher-driven practices in music education (Green 2001; Fautley 2010; Creech 2012; Gaunt & Westerlund 2013; Jaffurs 2004; Folkestad 2006; Feichas 2010; Finney & Philpott 2010: Wright & Kanellopoulos 2010), or practices that merely transmit and preserve knowledge (Baker 2006; Jørgensen 2001).

From the point of view of active learning, it has been claimed that the master-apprentice model—which still holds the central place in most instrumental learning in music schools, conservatoires, and professional studies—does not support autonomous and self-regulative learners (Gaunt 2005) who are capable of self-assessment and critical and reflective thinking, which are characteristics that have also been found to be important for lifelong musical learning (Falchikov 2007; Montalvo & Torres 2004; Boud 1989; Boud et al.1999). The passive role of the student in the traditional learning process, when the teacher chooses the repertoire and the learning strategies and makes the final evaluative judgement of the learning process (Bautista et al. 2009; López et al. 2009), is the focus of the critique. It has been asserted that these formal learning practices are guided by performance practices and repertoire choices rather than contemporary views on learning (Gaunt & Westerlund 2013).

Interest in the perspectives of children and young people, and in their engagement in musical practices, increased in the early 1990s, when specialists in music education sought to expand their views of children and to query their musical engagement outside the realm of formal schooling (Campbell 1998, 2010; Campbell & Wiggins 2013; Campbell 2007; Marsh and Young 2006; Nettl 2005; Dairianathan & Lum 2013). Many of these works aimed to advance a perspective of the world of music as children know it, in their own words (Campbell & Wiggins 2012). In music psychology, an extensive review of the musical development of children has been conducted since the 1980s (McPherson 2006). In addition to raising awareness of the informal learning taking place every day in families and public settings, researchers and educators have been aware of the often apparent incongruence between the aims of institutional music education and the social experience of many young people, and have sought to develop practical strategies and methods for increasing young people's participation in and broader engagement with music (Green 2001; 2008). This new array of pedagogical possibilities, that builds on strategies found within learning situations or practices outside formal settings, has been acknowledged throughout the field of international music education (see e.g. Barrett 2012; Folkestad 2005; Karlsen & Väkevä

2012). Addressing the needs of an increasingly diverse student population has also been advocated by culturally responsive pedagogy, which has sought to understand how different culturally specific knowledge bases impact learning, and how children's cultural references could be included in all aspects of learning (Lind & McKoy 2016).

Carl Rogers and the person-centered approach

The origins of the student-centered approach are credited to Carl Rogers (1902–1987), an American psychologist, who expanded his client-centered approach in psychotherapy to the theory of education in the 1950s. When compared to the more recent appropriations of the term student-centeredness, Rogers' original views pay more attention to the relationship between the student and the teacher—or, in Rogers' terms, the facilitator of the learning: "we cannot teach another person; we can only facilitate his learning" (Rogers 1951, 389). In addition to maintaining a climate of learning and managing the initial mood of a group or class experience, the facilitator's empathetic relationship with the learner meant that he/she had an essential confidence and trust in the capacity of the human individual and the development of his/her inner autonomy, and that this relationship could be used to encourage growth (Rogers 1969). Rogers' approach to understanding personality and human relationships was considered unique but controversial in his time: as opposed to the usual professional assumption that clients needed experts to solve their problems, Rogers' view entailed that a person has an ability to actualize the self, which, with the help of the therapist, could result in the person solving his or her own problems.

This inbuilt proclivity toward growth and fulfilment could, in Rogers' view, be facilitated via an empathetic, accepting, and genuine relationship between the client and the therapist. The therapist was not to impose specific goals and values on the client, but let the client decide on his or her own specific values and life goals. Rogers claimed that teachers should consider the needs and interests of the individual rather than their own agenda, as well as making the widest possible resources for learning easily available. In his view, significant learning took place when the subject matter was perceived by the student as having relevance for his or her own purposes (Rogers 1969).

Rogers emphasized the genuine relationship between the facilitator and the learner: the facilitator´s personality being fully present in the relationship meant that he/she was a real person in the relationship with the students, "[...] not a faceless embodiment of a curricular requirement, nor a sterile tube through which knowledge is passed from one generation to another" (Rogers 1969, 106). During the learning process, the facilitator thus becomes a member of the group, a participant learner, expressing openly feelings and thoughts as those of an individual group member, in ways that do not impose or demand, but represent a personal sharing which the students may take or leave. Rogers emphasized the link between student-centered learning and democratic principles, by stating that "*the goal of democratic education is to assist students to become individuals*" (Rogers 1951,387). For Rogers, this meant that teachers and educators might also disagree with the students' choices: "If the students are free, they should be free to learn passively as well as to initiate their own learning" (Rogers 1951, 34). Autonomy in learning, in its truest sense, thus implied the learner´s right to make their own decisions as an adult.

Reclaiming student-centeredness

Student-centrism is by definition contextual, context-dependent, and emergent, acknowledging structural conditions and cultural values (Thanh Pham 2011). For arts education in particular, student-centered pedagogies need to recognize that identity and

culture are embedded in art making (Halverson & Sheridan 2014). Due to the situated nature of student-centered pedagogies, there is no one-size-fits-all student-centered solution that remains applicable throughout different times and contexts (Attard et al. 2010). Student-centeredness in pedagogy is thus about increasing flexibility in all aspects of pedagogy (ibid. 2010), both in terms of the time and structure of learning and in systematically recognizing what certain pedagogical choices in instructional strategies *do* or *don't do*, rather than labeling them as being either teacher- or student-centered. Encouraging greater flexibility in curriculum design thus calls in for recognizing students' unique ways of learning, in order to develop more personalized approaches to pedagogy and move away from a uniform provision towards an individualized curriculum arrangement. Student-centeredness does not present itself as an instructional device, or a mere pedagogy limited to a certain methodology; rather, it can only be truly promoted through a cultural shift in the institution (ESU 2015).

As opposed to calls for a diminished role for the teacher, implementing a truly student-centered approach—for example as suggested by Rogers (1965) or Brandes and Ginnis (1986)—takes a considerable amount of effort on the teacher's part (O´Donoghue 1994; Weimer 2013). Contemporary interpretations of student-centered learning thus do not advocate for a withdrawal of teachers, or a diminishment of their roles—rather the contrary (Hmelo-Silver et al. 2007). As opposed to the recent beliefs that unguided approaches can foster learning (ibid. 2007), in this view teachers have a large role in creating avenues of access and making the learning relevant, as relevancy is seen often to emerge through teacher mediation (Brooks & Brooks 2001) rather than being pre-existing for the student. Moreover, education providers have a central role in creating educational practices that value learning as a social practice, the importance of which has been repeatedly emphasized (Sawyer 2018; Sawyer 2004; Sawyer 2012; Wenger 1998).

Potential challenges for educators arise when they might not feel comfortable with allowing children to make decisions in areas where power relations might shift as a result (Weimer 2013; Schweisfurth 2011), or with functioning in a system of shared control (Vega & Tayler 2005). Teachers should also be aware that children may not 'naturally' take such positions without assisting them to do so (Dewey 1959). A more nuanced understanding of student-centeredness, as based on this literature review, thus necessitates revisiting the foundations of the relationship between the teacher and the learner, and the democratic aims of education (Macfaren 2017). Without due caution, focusing on the student's voice in educational policy can otherwise become merely a means of achieving school improvement with higher standards of attainment, rather than as a broader matter of citizenship and rights (Thomson and Gunter 2006).

As Brandes and Ginnis (1986) suggest, in a similar vein to Carl Rogers' (1961) disposition, purposefully adopting a stance of unconditionally positive regard for the person could thus mean that the person is in charge of herself, and "[…] can participate or not, as she chooses" (Brandes & Ginnis 1986, 5). Institutions should thus critically view how the "student" is constructed within the institutional culture, and what the potential obstacles for individuals are to complying with the norms. Using student-centered ideologies to justify *participative performativity* (Macfarlane & Tomlinson 2017) merely morphs the meaning of student-centeredness into an authoritarian construct, where the new hidden curriculum promotes a certain type of student profile. Challenging the ideology of the "normal", and established standards of normalcy (Annamma et al. 2013; Baynton 2001) or practices that subordinate certain types of ways of learning or the social status of those affected (Fraser 2008), as well as recognizing institutional practices that construct normality and view difference as *deviance,* should thus be critically viewed.

Lastly, the review of the literature on student-centeredness shows a gap in the center: in the striving towards student-centeredness, educational debates seem too often to be

carried out without incorporating the crucial perspectives of children and young people, including efforts at understanding their lives in contemporary times. Listening carefully to student perspectives might thus challenge the tradition of ranking children in school, and in educational research, as subordinates in social and moral terms (James et al. 1998; Wyness 2006). As Emberly (2012) points out, in the world of anthropology and ethnomusicology, representing children's experiences from the perspective of the children themselves is a recent approach. What is thus missing from the student-centered literature is the voice of young learners (Cox et al. 2009), and consequently these student perspectives systematically followed-through to inform classroom practices (Burnard & Björk 2010; Thomson & Gunter 2006), or students themselves implementing the desired changes (Thomson & Gunter 2006). The need to promote contextual, emergent pedagogies should thus urgently call for getting to know the students, their lives in their communities, and the global and local resources available to them for learning and being in the world. ■

Acknowledgements

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Reports

Marja-Leena Juntunen

Promoting accessibility and equality in Finnish Basic Education in the Arts

Introduction

This report describes the research objectives, sub-studies, and some preliminary results of the *Basic Arts Education for All* research group, which examines the structures, practices, ideologies, and pedagogical premises of the Finnish Basic Education in the Arts (BEA) system. The team forms part of the ARTSEQUAL research project.

The ARTSEQUAL research initiative examines the arts as a public service with equality as the starting point, and explores how the arts can meet the social challenges of the 2020s. It studies how the arts and arts education can increase equality and well-being, and how they could be understood as a public service that belongs to everyone. It reflects the role of the arts and arts education by (1) recognizing the mechanisms that produce inequality, (2) by revisioning the role of the arts and arts education in society, (3) by theorizing the social dimensions of the arts and arts education with the help of system analysis, and (4) by making policy recommendations and suggestions for actions that promote equality. Thus, the ArtsEqual research project not only produces new knowledge for policy makers and the academic and professional fields, but also aims at changing current policies and practices, as well as envisioning new ones. This multidisciplinary project, with six research groups, over 80 researchers, and several consortium partners, is one of the largest such projects ever conducted in the arts (education) in Finland. The six-year project (May 2015–April 2021) is coordinated by the University of the Arts Helsinki and financed by the Academy of Finland's Strategic Research Council from its Equality in Society programme (for more information, see www.artsequal.fi).

The Finnish Basic Education in the Arts (BEA) system

The BEA is a national network of government-funded and government-coordinated (regulated by legal guidelines and a national core curriculum) arts institutions. It offers goal-oriented and progressively advancing extracurricular (voluntary) arts education in music, literary arts, dance, performing arts (circus and theatre), and visual arts (including architecture, audio-visual art, pictorial art, and arts and crafts), primarily for minors (2–16 years old). Providers of BEA usually charge moderate fees. The system comprises about 900 institutions, and 120.000 students, including over 180 publicly funded music schools. Music is the most popular BEA subject in terms of both supply and demand.

Teaching in BEA is guided by the national core curriculum. The BEA curriculum (FNAE 2017) is divided into an advanced syllabus and a basic syllabus, which differ from each other in terms of the amount of lessons, learning objectives, and contents of the studies, and assessment principles and practices. The basic syllabus builds on flexible study opportunities, offering various study modules for students to choose from. In turn, the advanced syllabus implies a more structured and goal-directed study path towards vocational, polytechnic, and university education (see also Väkevä, Westerlund & Ilmola-Sheppard 2017).

The Finnish education system is based on the idea of equality, and is regarded as offering high-quality teaching and support for all young people, regardless of race, gender,

geographical location, or socioeconomic background (Jakku-Sihvonen & Kuusela, 2002). Accordingly, the BEA system is guided by the same ethos of equality. In practice this means, for example, that attendance is subsidized through state and/or municipality funding, making this voluntary arts education affordable for a great number of Finnish families. Also, it is mandated that equal standards should be applied to all applicants of any study program.

Nevertheless, in recent years the BEA system has been the subject of criticism concerning its levels of accessibility and equality (e.g. Aluehallintovirasto 2012, Koramo 2009, Tiainen et al. 2012). These criticisms have addressed a wide variety of issues, including regional differences in institutional supply and accessibility; gender equality; special education requirements; the rights of minoritized cultures; curricular composition and representation; provisions for life-long learning; and the relationship between BEA and other systems of arts education in Finland. Regarding music education in the BEA, the criticism has additionally addressed the historical, political, and economic justifications for providing subsidized music instruction, as well as the ideological basis of music education (e.g. Finnish Music Council 2015).

The "Basic Arts Education for All" team

The Basic Arts Education for All research group consists of fourteen researchers, with varying working periods and amounts of funding (if any). The group was first led by professor Lauri Väkevä (2015–16). Later, as Väkevä moved on to other duties, the leadership was taken by professor Marja-Leena Juntunen. The other members of the group represent the field of music education, except for one who comes from dance education. However, the perspectives of all art fields are considered as much as possible. In addition, the group collaborates with BEA operators across the art forms, for example through joint events and publications.

In our research group we ask: how accessible is teaching and learning in the BEA, who is able to participate, and on what terms? The group focuses on identifying mechanisms that produce and maintain inequality in the BEA and, on the other hand, on highlighting and producing policies, strategies, and practices that promote equality and well-being. More precisely, we (1) analyze how the BEA system can better serve marginalized groups in Finnish society, thereby enhancing equal and inclusive institutional and pedagogical practices nationwide; (2) explore and highlight the strategies and practices of those BEA institutions that already follow exceptionally inclusive policies; and (3) through interventions, we construct new strategies and practices that promote accessibility, equality, inclusion, social justice, and the wellbeing of arts education within the BEA and in Finnish society at large. Furthermore, we aim to support cooperation between BEA and other operators in the field of (arts) education, culture, and welfare, and to inspire and aid policy-making processes that enable critical co-reflection between municipalities, institutions, teachers, and students to support the implementation of new political agendas in the BEA encouraging equality, inclusivity, social justice, and well-being. These objectives respond to the recent national evaluation (e.g. Tiainen et al. 2012), and the demands therein to include the most vulnerable societal groups in the BEA.

The research perspectives include the historical, political, economic, and ideological bases of art education, gender equality, rights of cultural minorities, regional differences in supply and accessibility, art education for students with special educational needs, and lifelong learning. The findings of these studies provide visions of alternative approaches and constructive practices of reflection and learning. Part of these suggestions and visions are presented in the form of policy briefs, tool kits, and discussion papers, which the team publishes along with scientific papers and articles for the professional community.

The historical, political, economic, and ideological bases of the BEA

A set of historical, social, and cultural beliefs frame the BEA's professional ethos and its justificatory discourses. These are made manifest, for example, in the mechanisms for student selection, curricular choices, teacher recruitment, assessment, and resourcing. Yet, many of them are implicit, or even unconscious. One of the goals of our work is to identify and make explicit some of the historical, political, economic, and ideological bases of arts education.

Marja Heimonen uses theories of justice to examine equity and equality in the BEA, with some references to other Nordic countries. The findings of the study suggest that especially those individuals who interpret and apply legal norms in practice (e.g. heads of institutions, rectors) are of great importance in promoting justice (equity, equality) in the BEA. Educational systems are always created by human beings. Therefore, development and research projects are needed to encourage ongoing critical reflection and dialogues in arts education. Compared with other countries, it seems that the success of Finnish education is rather based on equity than on competitive-minded excellence, evaluation, and control from the outside (Heimonen & Hebert, in press). Heimonen applies virtue ethics to enhance the understanding of human *flourishing* in extracurricular arts studies, and explores the role of the state in promoting and creating conditions and circumstances for a flourishing life. She asks: what can national educational policy enable—or restrict? (Björk & Heimonen, in press.) Her studies also discuss the rights of indigenous peoples to self-determination, which she explores from the perspective of the BEA, especially in music.

Lauri Väkevä analyzes the discourses of BEA administrators, addressing how they justify and argue for the current system. Special attention will be put on co-operation across institutional borderlines, and the administrators' views on how the BEA system should be developed in the future. The results of this study will be published in 2019 as a refereed article and a book chapter.

In her doctoral study, Hanna Kamensky is interested in equal accessibility to the BEA system, and how the BEA can be made more accessible to at-risk students. Her case study is the *Floora*-project, initiated and established by BEA music teachers in 2014. It aims at enhancing socially and/or economically marginalized students' access to the BEA music education system (see also www.amabilery.fi). Floora aims at establishing new pathways for children and young people from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds to participate in BEA services. In Floora, the socio-economic accessibility of BEA is increased through cooperation across administrative and organizational boundaries, through the collaboration of music institutions, schools, and social services. Most of the students taught through the Floora project represent lower socio-economic backgrounds, and non-dominant cultural and linguistic groups, or receive temporary family counselling, or are in full custody of the state. Floora is a good example of cross-sectoral cooperation between the educational and social welfare sectors. In the bigger picture, it can be seen as an intervention that creates resilience in the BEA system by forcing it to re-define its boundaries (Väkevä, Westerlund & Ilmola-Sheppard 2017). Floora received the award for outstanding achievement in arts education by the Finnish National Board of Education in 2017.

Kamensky describes her study in more detail as part of the symposium report, page 114.

In her PhD study, Heidi Elmgren examines the experiences of exclusion and inclusion that music school students undergo, what elements comprise these experiences, and whether there are implicit or explicit manifestations of hierarchies in music schools. Her preliminary results suggest that there are implicit and explicit hierarchies in Finnish music schools. The hierarchies are created by subtle institutional messages, such as the performance order in concerts, by including only certain students in performances, creating

orchestras based on the level of players' skills, and by the teachers' words and attitudes. In her post-doctoral research, she will interview music school teachers and principals and study their experiences of the new national core curriculum (2017). How is the core curriculum applied in practice? How is it negotiated among the staff? What kind of values does the new core curriculum reflect, and how do they relate to those presented in the previous version? The aim is to study 'the agents in times of change': to make explicit the professionals' tacit knowledge and insight into the current state of the institution, and into the threats and opportunities brought about by institutional changes.

The pedagogical equality and accessibility of the BEA

Through educational reforms to the Finnish national curriculum for basic education in the 1970s, constructivist conceptions became the new paradigm of learning. This implied a shift of focus from teaching to learning, from a teacher-centered perspective to a learner-centered perspective. Although significant efforts were also made over the years to put these ideas into practice in music education, there is little evidence to show that they resulted in a shift from teacher to learner centeredness in instrumental music teaching practices (López-Íñiguez 2017). Therefore, Guadalupe Lopez-Iniguez has written a toolkit especially for instrumental teaching in the BEA, which offers methods to promote constructivist instrumental music education as a mechanism for pedagogical equality. It provides information about relevant research on constructivist instrumental music teaching and learning, and offers suggestions for teachers on how to enact pedagogical equality by putting constructivist theories into practice. The toolkit describes the key principles for constructivist instrumental music teaching: what and how to teach and learn constructively. Lopez-Iniguez (2017, 2) suggests that as constructivist ideals are embedded in the new national core curriculum for the BEA (FNAE 2017), "instrumental music students at all levels of instruction should be offered comprehensive, flexible, and tailored lessons that fully connect with their own interests and individual personalities. The purpose of instrumental music education should support personal thinking, autonomy, and the artistic identity of every student. In doing so, we may lay the groundwork for pedagogical equality."

As stated above, although learner-centeredness has indeed been the key approach in teaching and learning for decades, instrumental music teachers still face difficulties in implementing the idea. In her doctoral study, Tuulia Tuovinen explores inclusive and socially-grounded, participatory instrumental music learning practices in the context of group teaching. More precisely, by reflecting on the emphasis on student centeredness and the personification of learning present in the new core curriculum (FNAE 2017), she examines ways of enacting these principles. In her ethnographic practitioner-research study, she has designed a teaching practice within the BEA that can be considered a pedagogical intervention into the traditional system of one-on-one tuition. She examines how students themselves build their music learning environment when their active agency for doing so is supported, and what challenges the collaborative co-construction of such a learning environment faces. Her preliminary results suggest that in order for student-centered approaches to systematically permeate all relevant educational processes and institutional structures, it is crucial to identify the processes that enforce and legitimize the normative ways of learning music.

Regional cultural differences and rights have not been systematically considered in the BEA system. For example, the BEA does not currently offer any arts education in Sámi languages. There are neither equivalent opportunities to study Sámi arts through Sámi pedagogies within the BEA system, nor any other equally funded and government-supported means to do so. As such, it has been argued that "this education system does not provide equal opportunities for different ethnic and language minorities to promote

their own… traditions" (Moisala 2010, 211). In her post-doctoral study, Alexis Kallio examines diversity and the rights of indigenous people(s) and cultural minorities. She addresses the issues of equality in the BEA system, as experienced by Indigenous Sámi artists, arts educators, scholars, and community leaders. Challenging national narratives of cultural homogeneity and egalitarianism, her research identifies aspects of this publicly-funded arts education system that function to create or perpetuate inequality for Sámi learners. It reflects upon these processes of exclusion in order to envision new possibilities for this national arts education system, not only to accommodate Sámi learners, but also to learn from and together with Indigenous peoples, arts, pedagogies, epistemologies, and ways of being to enhance equality for all (Kallio & Länsman 2018, also Kallio & Heimonen 2018).

In addition to research publications, Kallio (2017) has published a discussion paper with the title of *Basic Education in the Arts, Equality, and Sámi Communities in Finland*. It was prepared in collaboration with The Sámi Music Centre Inari (Sámi Parliament), The Sámi Music Academy Utsjoki (Sámi Education Centre), and City-Sámit ry Helsinki. The paper offers institutions and educators some basic information about the Sámi people, their culture, and their pedagogical principles, and by drawing on these premises suggests questions for further discussion, in order to promote equality in the BEA from the perspectives of Sámi communities. As proposed elsewhere, Kallio (2017, 4) identifies Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy "as one means to develop teaching that supports students' own cultures and languages (such as Sámi musics and languages), facilitates access to dominant cultural competencies (such as western art music knowledge and skills), and accounts for the dynamic and ever-changing nature of cultural practices." The discussion paper does not offer a blueprint of what is already being done in the BEA, or what should be done, but rather serves as a point of departure for discussions and a resource for decision-making, as the BEA continues its efforts to enhance equality for all. For this purpose, the publication encourages operators of the BEA to collaborate with both international and local Sámi experts and organizations.

A BEA for students with special educational needs

When discussing equality, a distinction is often made between equality *for* education, *in* education, and *through* education (Temkin 2016; Lazenby 2016). Equality *in* education is closely linked with the notion of inclusion. In her dissertation, Tuulikki Laes (2017) examines the 'impossibility of inclusion' in democratic music education by challenging the assumptions of appropriate music education in terms of 'special' and 'regular' education. The context of her case studies is The Resonaari Music Centre, which promotes inclusive and accessible music education, especially for students with disabilities and older adult learners within the BEA system. Her sub-studies examine and reflect on the complexity of inclusion from individual, institutional, and policy perspectives (see Laes 2015; Laes & Schmidt 2016; Laes & Westerlund 2017). Through the methodological lens of critical reflexivity, the overarching task of this research project was to examine: how might Resonaari's activist practices disrupt the hegemonic social practices and discourses of music education; and what potential might these ruptures hold for the reconstruction of the structural, ethical, and political enactments of inclusion? The study is further presented by Laes herself in this journal, page 116.

One of the main conclusions of her study is that the change towards a more inclusive music education system starts with teachers who are committed to promote the learners' musical agency regardless of their varying capabilities. Laes also suggests that students should not be perceived solely on the basis of any particular characteristic, such as ethnicity, gender, or (dis)ability, and a focus on students as individuals should not be

limited to considering different ways of learning or their special educational needs. Categorizing students according to assumed characteristics or identities does not promote equality, and in fact entails many problems, including the risk of stigmatization. In turn, this can shape teacher and student expectations, and interactions between them (see also Laes et al. 2018). Teaching can be differentiated based on students' individual needs in everyday teaching practices, without having to label anyone as "special" or "different". On a more general level, real inclusion in arts education requires institutional resilience and an expanded notion of musicianship, as well as a broader reform of the arts education service system through cross-sectoral co-operation (Laes & Westerlund 2017; Laes 2017).

The starting point for Laes's post-doctoral research is an increasing need for the arts and arts education services to respond to current societal challenges. She examines how the arts, and especially music, can proactively deal with the rapid increase of the older population, both in Finland and globally. She believes that fostering a holistic learning perspective in music education in later adulthood, rather than focusing on the 'health benefits' of music, may increase individual well-being and bridge the generation gaps in our ageing society. By breaking the barriers between arts (education) and medical care in an open-minded way, she believes it is possible to promote the well-being of elderly people. As part of her work in ArtsEqual, Laes also strives to promote adult learners' wider access to BEA studies through research and policy initiatives (see Laes & Rautiainen 2018).

The potential of a student to participate in a meaningful way is often determined by the choice of pedagogical approaches. In her doctoral study, likewise conducted at The Resonaari Music Centre, Sanna Kivijärvi examines *Figurenotes* as a vehicle for equity in music education. Figurenotes is a simplified notation system developed at the Resonaari Centre in the 1990s. The application of this system has opened up access to music as a field of education and an art form for many students with cognitive disabilities. For example, it has allowed these students to attend music lessons offered under BEA. The findings suggest that the application of Figurenotes has shifted the conventions within Finnish music education towards practices that bridge education and therapy, influencing the establishment of the field of special music education. More generally, through the case of Figurenotes and the BEA, this study argues that the broad application of Western music notation is a mechanism that creates inequity in music education.

In addition, together with postdoc researcher Ari Poutiainen (University of Helsinki), Kivijärvi has studied interaction and social capital in Resonaari Music Centre's concerts (Kivijärvi & Poutiainen 2018, in press). In this case study, special attention is given to the potential for interaction and social capital that music learning, music making, and experiencing music offer. From the standpoint of social capital (Putnam 2000), the findings reveals how imperative it is that students with special educational needs are allowed take responsibility for the artistic aspects of their performances. The findings also highlight that it is crucial that teachers subtly support their students' independence. Compared to various types of arts therapy and rehabilitation services that focus on the cure, and enhancing basic interaction skills, goal-directed education may open up new opportunities to participate in networks and consequently create, share, and increase social capital.

Pedagogical accessibility is also of interest in Johanna Hasu's post-doctoral research. In the context of instrumental learning in the BEA, she examines how the reading of music notation can be facilitated and, in turn, how it can support general reading skills among 4–7 year-old children (including children with a diagnosis or risk of dysphasia or dyslexia). The study is a continuation of her doctoral study (Hasu 2017), which examined BEA students' experiences of learning difficulties in piano lessons, and whether the piano teacher's observations of the student's learning difficulties in piano playing were consistent with the results of the tests measuring learning difficulties. In addition, the study aimed to identify and develop teaching methods that help these students learn faster and more easily.

Gender equality

The minority role of male students in TPO programs is a widely acknowledged concern in Finnish art pedagogy discourse. Three out of four of all students in basic education in the arts are female (Tiainen et al. 2012). In music schools, about 70 per cent of the students are female. Among dance students, the percentage is as high as 90. Architecture is the only field of study where the majority of the students are male (Aluehallintovirasto 2014).

Gender issues in BEA are studied in two subprojects, those of Anna Kuoppamäki and Isto Turpeinen. In addition to contributing to the theoretical understanding of the social mechanisms behind the present unequal distribution of females and males in the BEA, both subprojects lean on Turpeinen's (2015) suggestion that art education interventions can be realized as dialogical practices, with the goal of understanding the uniqueness of each individual learning process. In this way it is possible to problematize and deconstruct socially determined codes that frame one's thinking and discourse regarding the question: For whom is arts education meant?

In her doctoral study, Kuoppamäki (2015) examined the complexity of 9-year-old children's gendered negotiations in a BEA music classroom (Basics of Music course), particularly how gendered learner identities and the construction of musical agency are intertwined when learning music in a group. She also aimed to identify practices in which agency is either supported or restricted. The study discusses both the complications and even the inequalities that children's gendered interaction may cause in learning, as well as situations where social boundaries are crossed and multi-voicedness is promoted.

In her post-doctoral study, Kuoppamäki examines social and cultural mechanisms that restrict adolescents' involvement with music and their creative cultural activity. She is especially interested in adolescents' cultural agency and gendered practices in music. She points out that for students who do not start their studies within the BEA at an early age, it may be difficult to enter arts education (other than that offered by their comprehensive school) later in their lives.

Isto Turpeinen's research interest lies in gender inequality. He addresses male students' minority role in BEA programs, and especially reflects on reasons why dance remains relatively inaccessible for boys. He has organized two workshops: *The Fathers and Sons* workshop and *The Dancing Boys* workshop (for boys who were not accepted in a special class with an extended dance curriculum in basic education). Through these workshops, he aims to develop gender and culturally sensitive pedagogies in the arts. He reports that the reason for boys' low participation is the resistance generated by cultural and social mechanisms. The cultural preconceptions of being a boy or a man restricts their identity building and agency development. Likewise, Kuoppamäki points out that accessibility in arts education is affected by cultural attitudes, where art subjects are seen as feminine pursuits. The studies of both researchers suggest that children within the BEA have stereotyped perceptions regarding boys and girls as agents in the arts, and that these preconceptions restrict pupils' freedom of choice and participation in the arts and arts education (Kuoppamäki 2015; Turpeinen 2015; 2017; Turpeinen & Buck 2016, in press).

Though Kuoppamäki and Turpeinen talk about boys and girls, it is important to understand that gender does not have to be examined as being dichotomous or binary. As several scholars have argued, it may be more feasible to examine gender in terms of social-cultural interaction and lived experience, which may reveal more subtle differences in how it is produced. Research suggests that 1,7 % of world population does not fit into a binary gender system (e.g. Fausto-Sterling 2000), which further raises the question of how transgender students are acknowledged in the BEA.

Katsaukset

Accessibility as a starting point in the BEA

In Spring 2018, the team members, in collaboration with representatives of the Culture for All Service and with support from the board members of The Finnish Association for Basic Education in the Arts, wrote a policy brief entitled *Accessibility as the starting point in the Finnish Basic Education in the Arts system* (Laes et al. 2018). It offers government bodies and local institutions responsible for the implementation of the BEA insights from recent research to inform discussions on accessibility. In addition, it offers concrete suggestions on how accessibility can be realized in all fields of arts education.

In this policy brief (p. 3, italics original): "*BEA is envisioned as a system that is open to everyone, allowing for multiple and diverse forms of participation. Regular cooperation with accessibility professionals as well as diversity experts, organizations and initiatives support the planning and practical work of teaching in a sustainable and equitable way.*" The publication offers insights and information of different aspects of physical, economic, and pedagogical accessibility, as well as practical suggestions for improving current teaching practices and teachers' in-service training from these perspectives. It suggests increasing cooperation across administrative and organizational boundaries, and extending collaborations between the educational and cultural sectors, including the youth work and social welfare sector. Through such collaboration, it is assumed that the BEA will be able to reach new student populations who might not otherwise be involved in arts education through its more traditional access points. The cross-sectoral work can also contribute towards the vitality of art and cultural activities in general.

Currently, alongside the sub-projects still in process, the team is preparing a survey in order to highlight the strategies and practices of BEA institutions that already follow inclusive policies, as well as gathering information on the recent efforts and actions to promote equality and accessibility within the BEA. The survey will be directed to rectors of BEA institutions, and conducted in the late Autumn of 2018 in collaboration with The Finnish Association for Basic Education in the Arts. In addition, Turpeinen, together with the team members, is preparing a tool kit regarding the promotion of cultural participation (*Cultural outreach work*). It will articulate some principles for, and present examples and models of, low-threshold arts education and cultural services at large. The aim of such work is to equalize the uneven access to, and sometimes exclusion from, individuals' basic cultural rights, and to expand all people's inclusive access to BEA and cultural services.

ArtsEqual's contribution to the basic education in the arts?

Taken in sum, the studies of the *Arts Education for All* team described above have produced - and continue to produce - knowledge of and solutions for pedagogical and organizational development of BEA practices and services from the perspective of equality and accessibility. They contribute to the increasing participation of those children, adolescents, and adults whose participation in the BEA remains restricted for various reasons. The research findings will further provide visions of alternative approaches and potential collaborations across traditional institutional borders that will promote equality, inclusivity, and community engagement in the field.

These continuing studies and resultant policy recommendations have already raised internal discussions within the field and promoted a vision of arts pedagogy that respects diversity and is culturally sensitive and norm critical. It is important to note that even small-scale, local, and emergent practices may act as catalysts for fostering overall equality in arts education. The team's experiments, carried out with the support of thorough theoretical analysis, have generated new thinking for improving not only the practices, but

also the system of BEA. The studies have also pointed out and made explicit the previously implicit and hidden practices and discourses that maintain inequality, and de/reconstructed and developed them, and have also started discussions of these matters in broader society.

In the Spring of 2017, ArtsEqual initiated a project in the metropolitan area of Finland to create a partnership between the BEA, Basic Education, Culture for Children, and Youth Work. It uses ArtsEqual research results to design local solutions to remove the structural barriers of art education and to improve accessibility through closer co-operation and clarification of work distribution. This is an example of how the work of the team has already had societal impact, not only through research and policy publication but also through collaborative activities. Our collaboration with interaction partners has also intensified the cooperation between researchers and practitioners, and influenced the re-formulation of research questions and objectives, as well as enhancing the availability and application of the research results.

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Katsaukset

Johanna Hasu

Oppimisen vaikeudet pianonsoiton opiskelussa; oppilaiden kokemuksia ja opetuksen keinoja

Reports

Tässä artikkelissa käsittelen pianonsoiton oppimista ja siihen liittyä vaikeuksia väitöstutkimukseni (Hasu 2017) pohjalta. Tutkimuksessani tarkastelin musiikkiopistossa taiteen perusopetuksen laajaa oppimäärää opiskelevien eri ikäisten pianonsoittajien oppimisessaan kokemia vaikeuksia sekä opettajan käyttämien opetuksen keinojen vaikutusta oppimiseen. Musiikkioppilaitosjärjestelmän ja pianonsoiton opetuksen perinteet ovat vuosikymmenten ajan vaikuttaneet siihen, miten oppilas tulee kohdatuksi opetustilanteessa. Käsittelen siksi myös järjestelmän historiaa ja niin sanottujen erilaisten oppijoiden tai hitaammin edistyneiden oppilaiden asemaa järjestelmässä.

Suomalainen musiikkioppilaitosjärjestelmä on ainutlaatuinen ja maailmalla arvostettu. Puhutaan Suomen "musiikki-ihmeestä", jolloin viitataan usein Suomesta lähteneiden huippukapellimestareiden, instrumentalistien tai oopperalaulajien määrään. Tämän ihmeen juuret nähdään sotien jälkeisessä Suomessa, jossa suomalaiseen koulutukseen, kulttuuriin ja niitä tukevaan lainsäädäntöön panostettiin voimakkaasti. Tämän panostuksen seurauksena syntyi mm. väkilukuun nähden maailman laajin musiikkioppilaitosverkosto.

Musiikki-ihmeellä on ollut myös kääntöpuoli: moni on lopettanut musiikkiopisto-opintonsa kesken ja kokenut olevansa jollain tavalla epäkelpo. Erityisesti niin sanottujen erilaisten oppijoiden asema on ollut haasteellinen (ks. esim. Jäppinen 2008a ja 2008b; Tiainen ym. 2012) tai heidän olemassaoloaan ei ole tiedostettu. Tutkimukseni (Hasu 2017) mukaan kuitenkin sellainenkin oppilas, jolla on oppimisen vaikeuksia, voi edistyä musiikkiopisto-opinnoissaan opetussuunnitelman mukaisesti ja mikä tärkeintä, päästä ilmaisemaan itseään musiikin avulla. Tarkastelen tässä artikkelissa oppilaiden kokemuksia soitonopiskelusta taiteen perusopetuksessa. Kiinnitän erityistä huomiota niiden oppilaiden kokemuksiin ja haasteisiin, joilla on oppimisen vaikeuksia.

Pianonsoiton opetus Suomessa perinteiden valossa

Suomalainen musiikkioppilaitosverkosto on ulkopuolelta katsottuna muiden, esimerkiksi eurooppalaisten, soitonopettajien näkökulmasta erityinen. Harvassa maassa verkosto on yhtä laaja, ja useissa maissa soitonopetus tapahtuu ryhmäopetuksena lyhyillä oppitunneilla. Pitkät, oppilaiden edistymisen myötä pitenevät soittotunnit ovat myös ihmettelyn aihe, samoin se, että valtio ja kunnat tukevat toimintaa. Suomalaiset soitonopettajat ovat hyvin koulutettuja, ja he saavat täydennyskoulutusta erilaisten kurssien ja seminaarien kautta. (Sarmanto-Neuvonen 2016.) Järjestelmä takaa myös periaatteelliset mahdollisuudet päästä tavoitteellisen musiikinopetuksen piiriin riippumatta siitä, missä päin Suomea asuu.

Musiikkioppilaitoksissa opetetaan useimmiten taiteen perusopetuksen laajaa oppimäärää. Opetushallitus päättää taiteenaloittain taiteen perusopetuksen tavoitteista ja keskeisistä sisällöistä, ja opetussuunnitelman perusteet voivat lain mukaan sisältää erilaajuisia oppimääriä. Käytännössä oppimääriä on kaksi: yleinen ja laaja. Koulutuksen järjestäjän tulee hyväksyä kullekin taiteenalalle opetussuunnitelma. (Laki taiteen perusopetuksesta, 663/1998 5§). Uudet opetussuunnitelman perusteet ovat valmistuneet syyskuussa 2017 (TPOPS 2017), ja niihin perustuvat uudet opetussuunnitelmat otettiin käyttöön 1.8.2018. Elokuussa 2018 opintonsa aloittaneet oppilaat opiskelevat uusien opetussuunnitelmien mukaisesti, "vanhoilla" oppilailla on kolmen vuoden siirtymäaika. Edelliset laajan oppimäärän opetussuunnitelmien perusteet ovat vuodelta 2002.

Musiikkioppilaitosten historia on taiteen opetuksen historiaa, ja pianonsoiton opetuksen perinne on suurten nimien perinnettä. Puhutaan "pianistien sukupuusta", jossa voidaan vetää viivoja mestarin ja tämän oppilaiden välille löytäen jatkumoita esimerkiksi Johann Sebastian Bachista Ludwig van Beethovenin ja Karl Czernyn kautta Franz Lisztiin asti. (Ks. esim. Herman-Philipp 1982, 88–89; Bernstein 1997, 3; Gillespie 1965.) Ne oppilaat, jotka eivät ole syystä tai toisesta edistyneet musiikkioppilaitoksissa asetettujen vaatimusten mukaisesti, ovat usein lopettaneet opintonsa ennen aikojaan ja jääneet siihen käsitykseen, ettei heistä ole soittajiksi. Vasta viimeisen vajaan kymmenen vuoden aikana esiin on nostettu erilaisten oppimisvaikeuksien vaikutus myös soitonopiskelussa. Kaikkonen (2013, 29) huomauttaa, että koulutuksellinen tasa-arvo taiteen perusopetuksessa virallistui uusien opetussuunnitelmien myötä vasta 2000-luvulla. Taiteen perusopetuksen laajan oppimäärän opetussuunnitelman perusteisiin erilaisten oppijoiden huomioiminen nostettiin vuonna 2002, jolloin määrättiin opetuksen yksilöllistämisestä (Taiteen perusopetuksen musiikin laajan oppimäärän opetussuunnitelman perusteet 2002, 10§).

Taiteen perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteiden ja pedagogiikan toimivuutta arvioivassa raportissa vuonna 2012 kiinnitettiin huomiota siihen, että musiikkioppilaitosten omissa opetussuunnitelmissa opetuksen eriyttämistä koskevat lauseet on kopioitu lähes suoraan opetushallituksen laatimista opetussuunnitelman perusteista. Samassa raportissa todetaan myös, että oppimäärän tai opetuksen yksilöllistäminen on kuvattu vain muutaman musiikin laajaa oppimäärää antavan oppilaitoksen opetussuunnitelmassa, vaikka erilaiset oppimisvaikeudet ja oppilaiden lisääntyneet vaikeudet tunnistetaankin jo laajalti. Samalla kuitenkin huomautetaan, että oppilaitokset pyrkivät toimimaan niin joustavasti, että myös erilaiset oppijat mahtuvat mukaan ja pysyvät kyydissä. (Tiainen ym. 2012, 53–54.)

Kisällit mestarin aseman vahvistajana

Nykyinen soitonopetusmalli, jossa opetus tapahtuu yksilöopetuksena, pohjautuu vanhaan mestari–oppipoika -perinteeseen. Mestari–oppipoika -tyyppinen soitonopetuksen malli on alkuaikoinaan ollut omiaan aiheuttamaan opettajan näkökulmasta positiivisen kierteen: kuuluisa opettaja on voinut ottaa oppiinsa kaikkein parhaimmat oppilaat, jotka menestyessään omalla urallaan samalla ovat vahvistaneet opettajan mainetta. Nykyään opettajilla on oman instrumentaaliosaamisensa lisäksi takanaan laajat pedagogiset opinnot, ja musiikkiopistoissa tapahtuva opetus on järjestelmällistä. Opetuksen järjestämisessä kahdenkeskinen opetustilanne on yhä perusajatuksena.

Soitonopettajien koulutuksessa pedagoginen osaaminen on hyvin pitkään ollut instrumenttipedagogista: soinnin, sormitusten, tyylien jne. opettamiseen tähtäävää. Myös esimerkiksi alkuopetukseen liittyvä koulutus on ollut instrumentin hallinnan ja sitä kautta tulevan pianistisen osaamisen varmistamiseksi suunniteltua. Soitonopettajilla on nykyisin enemmän pedagogista osaamista koulutuksensa kautta, mutta pedagoginen tietämys ei kuitenkaan tee ihmisestä automaattisesti hyvää opettajaa (ks. esim. Anttila 2004, 4–5). Musiikkioppilaitosten huippusuoritusten perinne (ks. Tuovila 2003, 15–17) usein mieltää hyväksi opettajaksi sen, jonka oppilaista tulee kilpailuvoittajia tai musiikin ammattilaisia. Hitaammin etenevä tai eri tavalla oppiva soittaja ei ole sopinut tähän muottiin.

Kasvattajan identiteetin rakentumiseen vaikuttaa se, miten itse on tullut kohdatuksi ja kohdelluksi ihmisenä ja oppijana (Huhtanen & Hirvonen 2013, 46). Soitonopettajakoulutuksen aikana tapahtuu vähitellen liittyminen ammattikunnan ketjuun, ja noviisin on mahdollista myös tulkita ammattinsa perinnettä uudelleen, vaikka vallitsevaa oppilaitoksen "moraalijärjestystä" (Ylijoki 2003, 138–145) ei tohditakaan usein kyseenalaistaa (Ylijoki 2003, 132–138; ks. myös Huhtanen & Hirvonen 2013, 47). Monet musiikkioppilaitosten toiminta- ja ajatusmallit ovat sellaisia, joihin soitonopettaja on kasvanut jo omana musiikkiopistoaikanaan. Soitonopettajaksi valmistuttuaan hänen – halutessaan

muutosta toimintatapoihin tai ajatteluun – on tarkasteltava kriittisesti sekä omaa histo-riaansa että oppilaitoksen toimintakulttuuria. Opetus- ja kasvatustyössä onkin Huhtasen ja Hirvosen (2013, 50) mukaan oleellista olla selvillä oman identiteettinsä rakentumis-prosessista, se lisää itsetuntemusta ja antaa ymmärrystä myös oppilaiden moninaisten oppimispolkujen tukemisessa. Tietoisen ammatillisen identiteetin omaksuminen on tärkeää, sillä se on hyvin vahva motivaation lähde. Jos vahvan esiintyjäidentiteetin omaksunut ihminen hoitaa opetustyötä epämotivoituneena, se sekä vaikuttaa oppilaiden oppimiseen että tuottaa opettajalle turhautumista. Erityisesti niin sanottujen erilaisten oppijoiden kanssa opettaja joutuu haastamaan sekä opetustaitoaan että ajatustapojaan.

Musiikki, oppiminen ja oppimisvaikeudet

Musiikin, musiikinopiskelun, oppimisen ja oppimisvaikeuksien yhteyksiä on tutkittu melko paljon. Musiikinopiskelun on muun muassa havaittu muokkaavan aivoja (ks. esim. Gaser ja Schlaug 2003; Hund-Geordiatis & Cramon 1999; Hyde ym. 2009; Schlaug 2001; Schlaug ym. 1995; Zatorre 2003; Zatorre ym. 1998). Esimerkiksi muusikkojen aivokurkiainen on Schlaugin ja työryhmän (Schlaug ym. 1995) tutkimuksen mukaan paksumpi kuin ei-muusikkojen. Gaserin ja Schlaugin (2003) tutkimuksessa havaittiin, että ammattimuusikkojen (kosketinsoittajat) pikkuaivot olivat suhteellisesti suuremmat kuin amatöörimuusikkojen tai ei-muusikkojen, vaikka aivojen koossa ei ollut eroja. Gaser ja Schlaug olettavat, että havaitut erot johtuvat harjoittelusta eivätkä ole synnynnäisiä. Soitonopiskelu vaikuttaa myös aivojen plastisuuteen (Hyde ym. 2009; Schlaug 2001) ja muusikoilla aktivoituvat eri aivoalueet kuin ei-muusikoilla rytmin naputtelutehtävissä (Hund-Geordiatis & Cramon 1999). Jo neljäntoista kuukauden harjoittelu näkyy pieninä muutoksina aivojen niillä alueilla, joilla käsitellään soitonopiskelulle tyypillisiä toimintoja kuten hienomotoriikkaa ja melodian erottelukykyä (Schlaug ym. 2005). Niin sanottu absoluuttinen sävelkorva (eli kyky pystyä nimeämään kuultuja säveliä länsimaisen sävel-asteikon mukaisesti) näkyy aivoissa ohimolohkojen planum temporale -alueen epäsym-metriassa: alue on enemmän vasemmalle painottunut kuin muilla muusikoilla (esim. Zatorre ym. 1998; ks. katsaus Zatorre 2003).

Musiikin avulla voidaan tukea oppimista ja toisaalta oppimisen vaikeudet tulevat esiin musiikinopiskelussa. Musiikinopiskelua voidaan käyttää apukeinona esimerkiksi luki-vaikeuksisen oppilaan opettamisessa, ja toisaalta lukivaikeudella voi olla vaikutuksia musiikin oppimiseen (esim. Overy 2003; Piro & Ortiz 2009). Oppimisvaikeuksien vaikutuksia nuotinluvun tai soittamisen, esimerkiksi pianonsoiton oppimiseen ei ole kuitenkaan tutkittu kovinkaan paljon. Jaarsma, Rujssenaars ja Van den Broeck (1998) totesivat, että lukivaikeuksinen soittaja oppija sekä vaati enemmän aikaa nuotinluvun oppimiseen että teki enemmän virheitä kuin oppijat, joilla ei ole lukivaikeutta. Jaarsma ja työryhmä löysivät myös yhteyden matematiikan vaikeuden ja nuotinlukuvaikeuden välillä.

Tutkimuksen kulku ja tutkimusaineisto

Väitöstutkimukseni (Hasu 2017) tarkoituksena oli selvittää, millaisia vaikeuksia oli sellaisilla pianonsoiton opiskelijoilla, joiden oppiminen oli hitaampaa kuin sen olisi pitänyt olla opettajan näkökulmasta oppilaan harjoittelu ja oppimiskyky huomioiden. Samalla tarkasteltiin sitä, ovatko soitonopettajan tekemät havainnot oppilaan soiton-oppimisen vaikeuksista yhteneväisiä oppimisvaikeuksia mittaavien testien tulosten kanssa. Lisäksi tarkoituksena oli löytää sellaisia opetuksen keinoja, jotka auttavat näitä oppilaita oppimaan helpommin ja nopeammin.

Tutkimukseen osallistui yhteensä 27 pianonsoittoa musiikkiopistossa (taiteen perus-opetuksen laajaa oppimäärää) opiskelevaa lasta ja nuorta. He kaikki osallistuivat tutkimuk-

sessani käytettyihin lukemista, oikeinkirjoitusta, nimeämisen nopeutta ja matematiikan osaamista mittaavat testeihin. Tutkimuksessa löytyi viisitoista oppilasta, joilla oli vaikeuksia yhdessä tai useammassa testissä. Heidän soitonoppimisen piirteitään (oppimisen erityisiä vaikeuksia, esimerkiksi nuotista soittamisen ongelmia, ulkoa oppimisen vaikeutta jne.) verrattiin testien tuloksiin (N=15). Lisäksi testien tulosten perusteella haastatteluun valikoitui kahdeksan eri ikäistä ja eri tasoista oppilasta. Haastatteluissa oppilaat (n=8) saivat itse kertoa, miten kokivat soittamisen ja oman oppimisensa. Kaikkien oppilaiden soitonoppimisen piirteitä siis verrattiin oppimista mittaavien testien tuloksiin, minkä lisäksi haastatellut kertoivat omista kokemuksistaan ja soitonoppimisen tavoistaan.

Kaikki tutkimukseen osallistuneet soittajat olivat omia piano-oppilaitani, eli tutkimuksessa testattiin tyypillinen soitonopettajan luokallinen oppilaita. Samalla sain tietoa siitä, millaisia oppimisen vaikeuksia on satunnaisesti valitulla – tosin musiikin oppimisen kyvyiltään testatuilla – oppilailla tavallisessa musiikkiopistossa. Tutkimuksen alkaessa heistä 17 oli alakoululaisia, viisi yläkoululaisia ja viisi lukiolaisia. Nuorimmat heistä (8-v.) olivat toisella luokalla koulussa ja vanhimmat (16-v.) lukion ensimmäisellä luokalla. Kyseessä oli siis melko tyypillinen soitonopettajan "luokka", jossa on hyvin eri ikäisiä ja eri tasoilla (perusasteen alkuvaiheessa, keskivaiheessa ja musiikkiopistoasteella) olevia oppilaita. Haastatelluista oppilaista nuorin oli haastatteluhetkellä 11- ja vanhin 20-vuotias. Nuorin heistä oli ollut ensimmäisen lukitestin aikana 9-vuotias.

Tutkimuksessa käytetyt testit:
Lukeminen: Sanaketjutesti, Tarzan-pseudosanatesti; Nimeäminen; Nopean sarjallisen nimeämisen testi; Matematiikka: KYMPPI 1 ja KYMPPI 2 -kartoitukset. Sain testien valintaan ja tulkintaan apua kokeneilta erityisopettajilta.

Aloitin tutkimusprosessin joulukuussa 2011, jolloin tein ensimmäiset lukitestit piano-oppilailleni. Nopean nimeämisen testit tehtiin pääasiassa toukokuussa 2012, osalle oppilaista saman vuoden lokakuussa ja yhdelle oppilaalle seuraavan vuoden tammikuussa. Matematiikan testit toteutettiin pääosin joulukuussa 2012, muutama testi tammikuussa 2013. Muuna tutkimusaineistona tutkimuksessani olivat oppilaiden oppimisen ja edistymisen havainnointi, muistiinpanot pidetyiltä soittotunneilta sekä kahdeksan oppilaan yksilöhaastattelut. Oppilaiden edistymistä havainnoin tutkimuksen aloittamisesta toukokuun 2014 loppuun. Koska suurin osa oppilaista oli ollut oppilaanani jo sitä ennen, minulla oli ennakkokäsitys heidän oppimisen tavoistaan jo ennen tutkimuksen aloittamista.

Testitulosten ja soitonoppimisen yhteyksistä – tuloksia ja niiden tarkastelua

Tutkimuskysymyksiä oli kolme:

1) Millaisia vaikeuksia soittamisessa on niillä oppilailla, joiden oppiminen on hidasta – millainen on "hidas oppija" pianonsoitossa?
2) Miten opettajan havainnot oppilaasta suhteutuvat oppilaan tuloksiin erilaisissa oppimisvaikeuksia mittaavissa testeissä?
3) Millaiset opetusmenetelmät auttavat oppilasta pianonsoiton oppimisessa?

Tyypillisiä ongelmia oppimisessa olivat muun muassa oppimisen hitaus, nuotista soittaminen ja nuottikuvan saaminen soivaan muotoon, hallittu ulkoa osaaminen erityisesti esiintymistilanteissa, rytmin käsittelyyn liittyvät ongelmat sekä esimerkiksi käsien ja suuntien sekoittuminen. Erilainen oppija soittajana oppii siis soittajana hitaammin kuin muut (vrt. esim. Jaarsma ym. 1998). Hitaus voi johtua esimerkiksi

nimeämisen tai lukemisen vaikeuteen liittyvistä automatisoitumisen ongelmista (ks. esim. Stanovich 1988). Hitaus voi liittyä myös yleisempään ajoitusmekanismin ongelmaan ja näkyä yleisemmin kaikessa oppimisessa niin koulussa kuin soitonopiskelussa (ks. Overy 2003; Wolf ym. 2000). Hitaus näkyy konkreettisesti tunnilla tapahtuvassa työskentelyssä sekä siinä, kuinka nopeasti oppilas saa kappaleita valmiiksi tai oppii esimerkiksi uuden asteikon. Oppilas saattaa kuitenkin oppia nopeasti tunnilla, jos hänelle näyttää jotain. Tämä opittu asia voi myös unohtua yhtä nopeasti (ks. esim. Oglethorpe 2002, 25).Vastaus toiseen tutkimuskysymykseen on kaksijakoinen. Toisaalta soitonopettaja saattaa havaita oppimisen vaikeudet ennen kuin koulussa tai kotona huomataan vaikeuksia. Esimerkiksi tutkimuksessa mukana olleen Einon (nimi muutettu) lukivaikeus löytyi lukiossa, vaikka soittotunnilla tehtyjen havaintojen perusteella olin sitä epäillyt jo aiemmin ja vanhempien kanssa oli puhuttu asiasta. Toisaalta esimerkiksi kuulonvaraisesti aloittaneiden oppilaiden soitonoppimisessa oli samanlaisia piirteitä kuin ns. lukisoittajalla, mutta testeissä ei havaittu luki- tai muuta oppimisen vaikeutta, ja oppimisen ongelmat olivat helpommin ratkaistavissa. Soitonopettaja ei siis voi päätellä oppilaalla olevan oppimisvaikeutta (luki-matematiikan tms.), vaikka itse soitonoppimisessa olisi hitautta.

Tutkimuksessa mukana olleiden oppilaiden edistymisen ja heidän testitulostensa välillä näkyi yhteyksiä. Samansuuntaiset testitulokset saaneiden oppilaiden edistymisessä ja oppimisen tavoissa oli yhteisiä piirteitä. Näistä havainnoista ei kuitenkaan voida tämän tutkimuksen perusteella vetää pitkälle meneviä johtopäätöksiä. Näyttäisi kuitenkin siltä, että lievät lukemisen tai nopean nimeämisen vaikeudet aiheuttavat hitautta soitonoppimisessa, mutta vaikeudet ovat lieviä ja näyttäytyvät kuulonvaraiseen oppimisstrategiaan turvautumisena ja oppimisen hitautena. Lukemis- tai nimeämisvaikeudet yhdistettyinä matematiikan oppimisen vaikeuksiin näyttivät tekevän oppimisesta selvästi vaikeaa. On huomattava, että tutkimuksessani oli kyse pienestä harkinnanvaraisesta otoksesta, joten tiettyjen oppimisen vaikeuksien yhdistäminen eksaktisti tiettyyn soittamisen vaikeuteen ei ole tämän tutkimuksen tulosten perusteella mahdollista. Itse asiassa yhteyksien löytäminen tiettyjen soittamisen vaikeuksien ja tiettyjen oppimisen vaikeuksien välille voi olla jopa mahdotonta. On mahdotonta tietää, onko jonkin tietyn soittamiseen liittyvän vaikeuden taustalla lukemisen vaikeutta, nimeämisen hitautta tai matematiikan oppimisen vaikeutta vai voiko kyseessä olla sittenkin keskittymisen tai toiminnanohjauksen vaikeus. Oppilaalla saattaa myös olla esimerkiksi heikko työmuistin kapasiteetti tai hänellä voi olla vaikeuksia avaruudellisessa hahmottamisessa. Mitään näistä vaikeuksista soitonopettaja ei voi todentaa soittotunnilla.

Haastatteluilla pyrin alun perin saamaan tietoa siitä, miten oppilaat kokevat oppivansa: mikä heille oli helppoa ja mikä vaikeaa, ja mitkä opetuksen keinot ovat heitä auttaneet. Koska minulla oli ennestään käsitys siitä, millaisilla keinoilla oppimista voidaan auttaa, ja mitkä ovat yleisimmät ongelmat soittamisessa, laadin haastattelukysymykset näistä näkökulmista.

 Kysymykset tarkastelivat soitonopetuksen alkuvaiheen motivaatiota ja alkuopetuksen opetusmetodeja (en ollut yhdenkään oppilaan alkeisopettaja) sekä oppilaiden ajatuksia heidän soittamisestaan haastatteluhetkellä. Minua kiinnosti, mikä oppimisessa ja soittamisessa sillä hetkellä oli oppilaan mielestä helppoa tai vaikeaa ja pitääkö oppilas soittamisesta. Kysymykset kartoittivat myös tunneilla käytettyjen opetuksen ja harjoittelun keinojen yhteyttä oppilaan omiin kokemuksiin oppimisestaan. Halusin tietää, millaiseksi oppilaat itse kokivat soittamisensa, jotta pystyisin vertaamaan heidän kokemustaan omiin havaintoihini tunneilla. Lisäksi minua kiinnosti, käyttivätkö oppilaat kotona tunneilla opeteltuja harjoittelun keinoja. Kysyin myös soittamisen ja tunteiden välisestä yhteydestä. Lisäksi halusin tietoa siitä, mitä oppilaat ajattelivat tasosuorituksista ja mahdollisista oppimisvaikeuksia omaaville soittajille myönnettävistä helpotuksista niissä. Kartoitin kysymyksillä myös koulunkäynnin helppoutta/vaikeutta ja koulussa ilmenneitä oppimisen ongelmia.

Käyn seuraavaksi läpi haastatteluissa esiin nousseet teemat. Teemojen avulla tarkastelen sekä oppilaiden kokemuksia omasta oppimisesta ja siihen vaikuttavista seikoista että opetuksen keinoja. Sitaatit ovat oppilaiden haastatteluaineistosta.

Motivaatio

Sellaset kappaleet joista en kauheesti tykkää, niin enhän mä niihin laita panosta.

Motivaatio on monitahoinen kokonaisuus, jossa hierarkkisesta järjestyneet motiivit – kuten tarpeet, halut, sisäiset yllykkeet – ylläpitävät, suuntaavat ja ohjaavat käyttäytymisen suuntaa (Ruohotie 1998, 36–37). Motivaatio saa meidät toimimaan tietyllä tavalla ja tietyllä voimakkuudella, ja se saa meidät myös siis ohjaamaan käyttäytymistämme: esimerkiksi pianistin tai urheilijan harjoittelemaan (Liukkonen & Jaakkola 2012, 48). Soittamisesta puhuttaessa Kososen (2001) mukaan olennaisin motiivi – merkitysten antaja – on musiikki (ks. myös Lehmann ym. 2007, 46). Tärkeäksi teemaksi haastattelussa nousikin juuri motivaatio. Kaikilla oppilailla oli – ainakin opintojen alkuvaiheessa – ollut sisäinen motivaatio, halu oppia soittamaan.

Sisäinen ja ulkoinen motivaatio ovat olleet pitkään tutkimuksen kohteina (ks. esim. Deci 1971; Deci 1972; Gutman & Schoon 2013; Sansone & Haratkiewicz 2000a). Nuorella soittajan tavoitteena oleva soittotaito on kaukana oleva abstrakti tavoite ja sen saavuttaminen vaatii paljon työtä. Tällöin tarvitaan usein tutkimukseni mukaan myös ulkoista motivaatiota. Ulkoinen palkkio voi johtaa sisäisen motivaation kasvuun, ja tällaisen ulkoisen palkkion voi asettaa ulkopuolinen taho tai soittaja itse. Esimerkiksi kiinnostavan kappaleen kuullessaan soittaja haluaa kuulla sitä lisää tai opetella soittamaan sen itse, tällöin kappaleen kuulemisesta virinnyt spontaani uteliaisuus motiivina virittää uusia motiiveja (Kosonen 2001, 32).

Erityisesti silloin, kun oppilaalla on oppimisen vaikeuksia, motivaation on oltava korkealla, jotta pääsee vaikeuksien yli. Tässä opettajan rooli on merkittävä, ja erityisen suuri rooli on valittavalla ohjelmistolla. Kappaleiden on oltava sekä mielekkäitä että riittävän helposti opittavia. Oppilasta siteeraten:

Joo se on tosi paljon parempi asia. [Kun on saanut itse vaikuttaa soitettaviin kappaleisiin.] Just sellaset kappaleet, joista en kauheesti tykkää, niin enhän mä niihin laita panosta.

Kappaleen mieluisa kuulokuva auttaa oppimisessa siten, että se motivoi harjoittelemaan ja helpottaa oppimista. Mieleinen musiikki on edellytys soittamisesta nauttimiselle ja siihen liittyville hallintakokemuksille, kuten Kososen tutkimuksessa kävi ilmi (ks. Kosonen 2001, 90). Mieluisa kappale auttaa myös itse opettelussa, kyse ei siis ole pelkästään siitä, että sitä soittaisi enemmän.

No jos on kivan kuulonen, niin sitten auttaa tietenkin et mä voin silleen vähän korvalla sitä kuulla, ja sitä on must kiva harjotellakin.

Oppilaan motivoiminen ohjelmiston avulla ei kuitenkaan tarkoita sitä, että soitetaan ainoastaan nuorison valtavirran lempimusiikkia tai niitä sävellyksiä, joita oppilas tuntee jo ennestään. Oppilaalle vieraammasta ja siksi joskus häntä vähemmän kiinnostavasta materiaalista (esimerkiksi etydit tai sonaatit) voidaan valita oppilaan mielestä parhaalta kuulostavat ja sellaiset, jotka on mahdollisimman yksinkertaista oppia. Opettajan on myös uskallettava antaa periksi jonkin tietyn kappaleen harjoittelemisesta, mikäli näyttää siltä, että oppilaan motivaatio kerta kaikkiaan loppuu kappaleen kanssa kesken. Oppilaalle on enemmän hyötyä siitä, että saa valmiiksi jonkin itselleen mieluisan sävellyksen, kuin että

hän soittaa kuukaudesta toiseen sellaista kappaletta, jota ei lopulta opi kunnolla. Jos oppilaalla on oppimisen hitautta, hän ei saa kappaleita "valmiiksi" kovin nopeasti. Erityisesti näissä tilanteissa kappaleen mieluisuus on tärkeää. Tutkimusten mukaan oppilaat harjoittelevat lempimusiikkiaan eri tavalla kuin muita kappaleita. He käyttävät harjoitteluun enemmän aikaa ja enemmän erilaisia harjoittelutapoja parantaakseen osaamistaan. (Lehmann ym. 2007, 48–49.) Tällöin myös niin sanottu tavallinenkin oppilas hyötyy siitä, että soitettavat teokset ovat mieleisiä.

Opettajan merkitys

Minust se on paljo tärkeempi, kun mitä se annetaan olla.

Kysymyksen opettajan merkityksestä otin mukaan haastatteluun ajatellen lähinnä opettajan merkitystä soitonoppimiselle: onko opettajan opetustavoilla ja pedagogisilla keinoilla oppilaiden mielestä vaikutusta heidän oppimiseensa. Vastauksissa opettajan merkitys osoittautuikin ennakoitua paljon syvemmäksi, koko soittotunneilla käymiseen ja oppimiseen vaikuttavaksi tekijäksi. Yksi haastatteluista oppilaista sanoi edellisen opettajansa olleen "tosi mukava", mutta silti oppilas oli kokenut harjoittelemattomuudesta moittimisen hyvin raskaana. Toisaalta opettaja voi ajatella olevansa ystävällinen ja kannustava., mutta oppilas kokee hänet toisin. Eri oppilaat voivat myös kokea saman opettajan hyvin eri tavoin (Tikka 2017, 193). Kari Kurkela huomauttaa, että opettaja on ikään kuin oppilaan ihmissuhdestrategioiden armoilla. Myös se, miten musiikki-harrastuksen pariin on päädytty, voi vaikuttaa siihen, millaisen kuvan oppilas opettajastaan rakentaa mahdollisesti jo ennen ensimmäistä soittotuntia. (Kurkela 1994, 319.)

Voidaan ajatella, että tilanne on opettajaa kohtaan epäreilu jo lähtökohtaisesti. Toisaalta nimenomaan musiikkioppilaitoksissa, joissa soittotuntitilanne on yleensä aina alusta asti kahdenkeskinen, opettajalla on omalla käytöksellään mahdollisuus vaikuttaa siihen, millainen hänen ja oppilaan välisestä suhteesta muodostuu. Joskus oppilas käy soittotunneilla vastentahtoisesti, vanhempien painostama. Tällaisessakin tilanteessa opettajalla on suuri merkitys:

Se merkkaa silleen paljon, et jos se opettaja on tyhmä, nii sitte ei kiinnostais mennä ollenkaan sinne tunnille, ku tietää, että on tosi ärsyyntyny ja huonol tuulel ku tulee sieltä pois. Jos se opettaja on kiva, ni sit se soittaminen on niiku tavallaan on paljon kivempaa, että ei tuu sellast et haluu vaan pois sen takii siel.

Erityistä tukea tarvitsevan oppilaan kanssa tunnin ilmapiiri ja opettajan tapa ilmaista asioita on erityisen tärkeää:

Must tuntuu et se toinen opettaja ei silleen niin ymmärtäny. Mul on se lukivika, nii sit se ei niin paljo antanu anteeks kaikkii juttuja jota tulee, vaan piti aina osata kaikki. En mä tiedä, se oli silleen haastavampaa, mut en mä edenny mun mielest paremmin kun täällä, et enemmän hitaammin siellä mun mielestä.

Oppilas saattaa myös kokea jäävänsä yksin, jos ei täytä joko opettajan tai oppilaitoksen normeja.

Minust se [opettajan merkitys] on paljo tärkeempi, kun mitä se annetaan olla. Musiikki-opistoissa se vaan jotenki sivuutetaan. Annetaan oppilaiden soittaa miten soittaa, ja sit esiintymisis, jos tapahtuu jotain, nii kauheella tavalla tehään siit semmonen kylmä tilanne. Minust vähän jotkut opettajat vähän, en tiiä, oudosti opettaa tai en tiiä opettaako ees.

Oppilaan näkökulmasta se, että annetaan oppilaiden soittaa miten soittaa, tarkoitti sitä, että jos oppilas ei oppinut niillä keinoilla, joilla opettaja opetti, hänet jätettiin ikään kuin yksin. Jos oppilas sitten epäonnistui esimerkiksi esiintymisessä, niin tilanne muuttui kylmäksi.

Esiintyminen

On kivaa soittaa jolleen, et ne kuulee mitä sä oot tehnyt.

Koska kappaleiden oppiminen (johtuen oppimisen vaikeudesta) kestää oppimisvaikeuksisella oppilaalla kauemmin kuin muilla, hidas oppija ei pysty esiintymään yhtä paljon kuin muut. Kappaleen saaminen esityskuntoon voi viedä puoli vuotta, vuoden tai jopa kauemmin, etenkin siinä vaiheessa, kun opinnoissa on edetty alkeita pidemmälle. Samalla kappaleen valmistaminen esityskuntoon vie aikaa muulta, kuten ohjelmiston keräämiseltä, improvisoinnilta, vapaalta säestykseltä ja prima vistan harjoittelemiselta. Siinä, missä niin sanottu tavallinen oppilas saa itselleen mukavan esityskappaleen lähes jokaisesta opettelemastaan kappaleesta, erilainen oppija joutuu keskittymään esitystä varten valmistettavaan ohjelmistoon muiden kappaleiden kustannuksella. Esiintyminen on kuitenkin osa opintoja, ja muille soittaminen tekee yksin musisoinnista vuorovaikutuksellista.

Suurelle osalle soittajista esiintyminen on lähtökohtaisesti mukavaa, ja haastattelemistani nuorista ainoastaan kaksi suhtautui siihen kielteisesti. He olivat tulleet oppilaikseni teini-iän kynnyksellä, eikä minulla ollut tietoa siitä, mitä he olivat ajatelleet esiintymisistä nuorempana.

Esiintymiseen liittyvät fyysiset oireet olivat oppilaille tuttuja. Oppilas saattoi tiedostaa esimerkiksi käsien tärisemisen, mutta silti kokea esiintymiset hauskoina tilanteina. Jännittäminen voidaan nähdä positiivisena ilmiönä, jolloin puhutaan "vireytymisestä" (ks. esim. Arjas 2002, 15), ja jos vireytymistaso on optimaalinen, se parantaa suoritusta (Steptoe 1982, 537–538). Vireytyminen voi olla myös liiallista. Monelle urheilua seuraavalle on tuttua esimerkiksi mäkihyppääjän yliyrittäminen, jolloin ponnistus ei osu kohdalleen samalla tavoin kuin rennossa harjoitushypyssä. Toisaalta ammattimuusikot (ja -urheilijat) kokevat tarvitsevansa vireytymistä yltääkseen parhaimpaansa. Patston (2013, 85) toteaa, että esiintymisjännitys (*music performance anxiety*) on sekä soittamista opiskelevien että soitonopettajien mielestä normaali osa muusikoksi kehittymistä. Hän myös huomauttaa, että opettajien pyrkimys saavutuksiin voi samalla saada aikaan pyrkimystä täydellisyyteen, ja opettaja voi itse asiassa laukaista esiintymisjännitystä oppilaissaan (Patston 2013, 91–92).

Aineistossani tuli ilmi, että oppilaat esiintyjinä tekevät eri esiintymistilanteista itselleen eri tavalla merkityksellisiä, ja oppilaiden antamat merkitykset esityksille eivät aina ole sellaisia kuin opettajat olettavat. Osa oppilaista kokee ns. tavalliset esiintymiset (luokkakonsertit, oppilaskonsertit) vähemmän jännittävinä kuin tasosuoritustilanteen. Toisten mielestä tasosuoritus on vähemmän jännittävä kuin konsertti, koska paikalla on vain muutama ihminen. Toisista taas tasosuorituksessa arvioitavana olo on pahempaa kuin suuri yleisömäärä konsertissa. Suhtautuminen esityksessä ilmeneviin ongelmiin vaihteli oppilaan persoonan mukaan. Siinä, missä yksi soittaja kokee virheet kamalina ja itsensä epäonnistujana, toinen kuittaa virheet osana elämää.

Usein siinä on, että on tullut vaikka yks virhe, mutta sitten mä en siitä masennu, vaan että mä vaan jatkan kokonaan. Ja sitten jos vaikka menee vaikka joku tahti väärin, tai sit mä vähän pomppaan, niin se ei minuu haittaa yhtään.

Kokemukset esiintymisistä eivät yksin selitä esiintymisjännityksen määrää ja oppilaan suhtautumista esiintymisiin. Haastattelutilanteen ulkopuolella yksi oppilaista kertoi jännittävänsä monenlaisia asioita, esimerkiksi opettajille puhuminen koulussa oli hänestä jännittävää. Myös toinen oppilas kertoi haastattelussa samanlaisista kokemuksista.

Mä tietosest, jos mä sanon jollekin, mä vähän aikaa joudun suunnitteleen sitä mitä mä sanon. Kouluunki menemiin on aina vähän jännittävää siin ovella, ja tänne tulemiin ja ihan minne vaan semmoseen muualle kun kotiin on aina must jännittävä mennä.

Tutkimuksessani kävi ilmi, että kaikki oppilaat eivät halua esiintyä. Opetuksessa on tärkeää ottaa tämä huomioon. Musiikkiopistoissa tämä onkin yleensä yleensä mahdollista, ja esiintymiset voidaan toteuttaa matalalla kynnyksellä ryhmätuntien tms. puitteissa. Toisaalta innokkaille esiintyjille pitäisi tarjota esiintymismahdollisuuksia – silloinkin, kun kappale ei opettajan mielestä olisikaan vielä tarpeeksi hyvällä tasolla.

Harjoittelu

Tavallaa [harjoittelu] ei oo kyl kauheen kivaa.

Soittoläksyjen harjoittelu voi kertoa lapsen suhteesta musiikkiopiston opetukseen. Tuovilan (2003, 184–186) mukaan ne lapset, jotka kokevat, että musiikkiopiston opetusta voi soveltaa myös muuhun soittamiseen, soittavat sekä läksyjä että muuta musiikkia. Näyttäisi siltä, että vapaa musisointi ilman tarkoituksellisuutta on olennaista taidon oppimiselle. Harjoittelun tulisikin olla tarkoituksellista, opettajan ohjeiden mukaista ja tiettyyn päämäärään tähtäävää, mutta myös vapaata, epämuodollista soittamista. Harjoittelumäärän lisäksi merkityksellistä on esimerkiksi harjoittelun rakenne (esim. harjoitellaanko suunnitelmallisesti vai sattumanvaraisesti), ja harjoittelun strategiat (pätkissä, kädet erikseen, heti ulkoa jne.) ovat hyvin yksilöllisiä. (Davidson, Howe & Sloboda 1997, 192–194.) Perinteisesti musiikkioppilaitoksissa on painotettu tarkasti opettajan ohjeiden mukaan tehtävää harjoittelua, ja omaehtoinen "soitteleminen" on nähty vähempiarvoisena tai jopa haitallisena. Ihannetilanteessa oppilas sekä harjoittelee suunnitelmallisesti että soittelee omaehtoisesti, omaksi iloksi.

Haastattelujen perusteella voidaan todeta, että oppilaat yleisesti ovat hyvin tietoisia siitä, millaista on hyvä harjoittelu ja miten se eroaa soittelemisesta. Harjoittelemaan ryhtyminen tuntuu monesta soittajasta hankalalta, mutta työhön tartuttua pianon ääressä saattaa kulua pidempikin aika. Oppilaat ymmärtävät eron soittelemisen ja harjoittelun välillä myös oppimistulosten kannalta.

Itse asiassa [harjoittelu on] parempi kuin [se] jos soittaa vaan sen hetken, koska sit tuntuu, että on saanutkin jotain aikaan, ja sit on seuraavana päivänä helpompi harjotella.

Soitettavan kappaleen kuulokuva sekä sen nuottikuva vaikuttavat oppilaiden harjoittelumotivaatioon.

Jos on kauheen sekainen nuotti, niin sithän siin on jo heti alussa, ettei tästä tuu yhtää mitään.

Opettajan tehtävä onkin tehdä nuottikuva helpommaksi, jotta kotona harjoittelu onnistuu. Tunnilla yhdessä harjoittelu madaltaa kotiharjoittelun kynnystä ja helpottaa harjoittelua. Ulkoiset motivointikeinot toimivat yllättävän hyvin, eikä niitä tule pelätä. Jos halu oppia soittamaan (sisäinen motivaatio) on olemassa, opettaja voi auttaa oppilasta

ulkoisilla motivointikeinoilla vaikeiden vaiheiden ja haastavien tilanteiden yli. Nuorempien oppilaiden on helpompi ryhtyä harjoittelemaan, jos tavoite on konkreettinen: soita ensimmäinen rivi viisi kertaa. Harjoittelu saattaa tuntua hallitsemattomalta möykyltä, mutta yksinkertainen harjoitteluohje toistojen määrästä muuttaa tehtävän hallittavaksi. Opettaja voi antaa oppilaalle tarroja suoritetuista tehtävistä, ja kymmenen tarraa kerättyään oppilas voi saada lisäpalkinnon, esimerkiksi uuden kappaleen. Myös kodilla on tärkeä rooli harjoittelun motivoinnissa.

Tilanteessa, jossa lapsi inhoaa nimenomaan soittamista yli kaiken, ei harjoittelusta saada sisäistä palkintoa: hyvää mieltä osaamisesta. Harvoin tilanne on kuitenkin se, että musiikkiopistossa opiskeleva nuori inhoaisi soittamista, yleensä vastustusta aiheuttaa harjoittelu, ohjelmisto tai ongelmat opettajan kanssa.

Myös aluksi epämukavalta tuntuneesta kappaleesta voi lopulta saada onnistumisen kokemuksia:

No se harjottelmeminenhan, jos ei tykkää jostain laulusta, ni onhan se hirveetä. Mut sit taas just, jos sä opit soittaa sen jonkun etydin ja soitat sen hienosti, ni kylhän sä sit haluut sitä soittaa, ja sitä on kivaa soittaa kun sä kerran oot sen opetellut.

Tulkinta ja tunne, oma itse musiikissa

Kun löytää oman tyylin siihen kappaleeseen, ja se nollataan.

Haastattelukysymyksellä: ”Pitääkö musiikissa olla tunteita?” halusin selvittää, onko musiikin tunteilla merkitystä oppilaille itselleen. Pitääkö musiikin herättää tunteita, onko musiikin herättämillä tunteilla merkitystä näille nuorille? Kokivatko he, että teknisen osaamisen ja oppimisen hitauden rinnalla myös musiikin tunteisiin vetoava puoli on tärkeää? Olin tutkimuksessani myös kiinnostunut, herättääkö musiikki oppilaissa tunteita ja onko musiikin mahdollisesti herättämillä tunteilla merkitystä heille. Koska kysymys voidaan ymmärtää myös ulkokohtaisesti – pitääkö musiikin esittämiseen laittaa tunnetta eli edellyttääkö musiikkiesitys sitä – vastauksista kävi ilmi sekä oppilaiden oma suhde musiikin heissä herättämiin tunteisiin että heidän käsityksensä musiikista ja tunteista yleisesti: oppilaat kokevat tunteita omasta osaamisestaan ja musiikki herättää heissä tunteita, mutta he myös tiedostavat että musiikin tulkinta edellyttää tunteiden ilmaisemista – vaikka he eivät itse kokisikaan niitä.

Yksi soittamiseen liittyvä tunne on ilo omasta osaamisesta. Oppilas voi saada iloa osaamisestaan, vaikka toisiin verrattuna soitto ei olisikaan yhtä hyvää kuin muilla. On tärkeää, että opettaja antaa oppilaan iloita osaamisestaan, sillä vaikka soitto ei täyttäisikään perinteisiä hyvälle pianonsoitolle asetettuja laatuvaatimuksia, oppilaan on saatava tuntea onnistuvansa. Haastatteluissa kävi ilmi, kuinka tärkeää oppilaille on saada kokea onnistuvansa soittajana, mutta myös se, että he pian oppivat siihen, että oma osaaminen ei ole koskaan riittävällä tasolla. Hitaampi oppilas myös saattaa ajatella, että kaikki muut oppivat nopeammin ja paremmin kuin hän.

Tunteet yhdistetään helposti tunteellisuuteen, ja räväkällä luonteella varustettu oppilas ei ehkä halua olla ”tunteellinen”. Yksi oppilaista vastasi hyvin painokkaasti ”EI” kun kysyin, pitääkö musiikissa olla tunteita. Hän yhdisti tunteet hempeilyyn, ja hän halusi mieluummin soittaa vauhdikkaasti ja rohkeasti. Tunteiden ilmaisemiseen saattaa liittyä myös ulkoa tuleva pakko ja katseen alla olemisen epämukavuus:

No romanttises musiikis, kun se vissiin pitäis soittaa jotenki silleen oikeen kunnol tunteel, niin se on jotenki oikeen tuplast naurettavampaa, kun se kuulostaa jotenki tyhmälle, jos vaan heiluu siin pianon eessä silleen. Kun mä oon ajatellu kaikkee mitä mä teen, et se

näyttää tyhmälle, ja en mä voi tehä silleen. Nii sit se on vähän sama pianossakii, et kun mä nään esityksessä, kun joku heiluu siin pianon eessä, ja mä toivon et se biisi jo loppuis, nii sitte vaan kattoo kun se heiluu.

Erityisesti vanhemmille soittajille oman tulkinnan tekeminen soitettavasta kappaleesta ja omien tunteiden käsittely musiikin avulla olivat tärkeitä soittamisessa. Kun on oppinut kappaleen, voi alkaa tehdä musiikkia, ja hankala opetteluvaihe onkin yksi askel kohti musiikin tulkitsemista ja oman itsensä ilmaisemista musiikin keinoin. Tietynlaisten kappaleiden tulkinta on oppilaille helpompaa kuin toisten, mutta kappaleesta on pidettävä itse. Tulkintaa voidaan toki myös opettaa.

Joskus oppilas tietää, millaista tunnelmaa kappale vaatii, mutta jos hän ei pidä kappaleesta, hän ei halua soittaa sitä "tunteella.". Joskus oppilaan kokemus kappaleen tunnetilasta on hyvinkin erilainen kuin opettajan käsitys tai vakiintunut soittotapa. Barokkimusiikkia kuuluu soittaa eri tavoin kuin romantiikan ajan musiikkia, ja käsitykset oikeasta tavasta soittaa kulkevat perintönä soittajasukupolvelta toiselle. Tämä aiheuttaa soitonopetuksessa tietynlaisen ristiriidan: toisaalta halutaan kannustaa oppilaita löytämään omia näkökulmia kappaleisiin, mutta toisaalta heidän näkemyksiään saatetaan rajoittaa, jotta he soittaisivat tradition mukaisesti "oikein". Oppilaalle tämä ristiriita on vielä suurempi. Jos oppilas avaa itsensä tulkitsemaan kappaletta ja saa kuulla, ettei sitä saakaan tehdä niin, hän voi kokea itsensä huonoksi ja turhautuu:

Tota se on just, kun löytää oman tyylin siihen kappaleeseen, ja se nollataan, niin sit ei löydä mitään siihen.

Oppimisen vaikeudet ja soittaminen

Kun siihen pystyy kuitenkin, ei oo mitään järkee olla tekemättä.

Kaikilla haastatelluilla oppilailla oli jonkinasteisia lukivaikeuteen viittaavia vaikeuksia. Kahta lukuunottamatta he saivat lukitesteissä keskimääräistä alhaisemman tuloksen tai haastattelussa kävi ilmi koulussa esiintyvä lukivaikeus. Yksi oppilaista kuvaili sanojen olevan hänelle usein aakkossoppaa, ja kolmelle koulussa oli vaikeaa joko äidinkielen tai vieraan kielen opiskelu. Yhdellä haastelluista oppilaista oli erityisopettajan lausunto lievästä, lähes keskivaikeasta lukivaikeudesta. Myös muita oppimisen haasteita ilmeni: Kaksi oppilasta sai matalahkon tuloksen matematiikan testissä.

Kahta lukuunottamatta kaikilla haastatelluilla oli hitautta joko lukemista tai nimeämistä mittaavissa testeissä. Lisäksi he kuvailivat kouluopintojaan lukivaikeus-oppilaille tyypillisellä tavalla: yksi oppilaista kuvaili sanojen olevan hänelle usein aakkossoppaa, ja kolmelle koulussa oli vaikeaa joko äidinkielen tai vieraan kielen opiskelu. Myös kaksi haastateltua – joilla oli vaikeuksia matematiikan, ei lukemisen testeissä – kuvaili oppimistaan samoilla ilmaisuilla. Yhdellä haastelluista oppilaista oli erityisopettajan lausunto lievästä, lähes keskivaikeasta lukivaikeudesta. Lisäksi usealla haastatellulla oli perheessä lukivaikeutta joko toisella vanhemmalla tai sisaruksella.

Kukaan haastateltavista ei kuitenkaan kaivannut omalle kohdalleen helpotuksia musiikkiopisto-opinnoissa. Tasosuorituksiinkaan ei välttämättä kaivattu helpotuksia, vaan sitä, että oppimisvaikeus huomioidaan. Tämäkin on yksilöllistä, sillä yksi oppilaista ei halunnut lautakunnan tietävän hänen lukivaikeudestaan, vaikka täten hän olisi voinut esimerkiksi *prima vista* -tehtävässä saada lisäaikaa tehtävän suorittamiseen. Osa haastateltavista piti tärkeänä, että lautakunta tietäisi, miksi soitto menee tietyllä tavalla. Kaikki haastateltavat kokivat, etteivät itse tarvitse helpotuksia vaatimuksiin, mutta olisivat valmiita suomaan niitä muille.

Lukivaikeus oli oppilaalle osa hänen persoonallisuuttaan, ja hänen näkökulmastaan myös lukivaikeuksinen soittaja voi pystyä mihin tahansa.

Vaikka mulla on tää lukihäiriö, ja mul on jotain vähä erilaista, niin en mä sen takii haluu tehä jotain semmosta [eri tavalla], mihin mä kuitenki kykenisin. Kun siihen pystyy kuitenkin, nii ei siin oo mitään järkee olla tekemättä. Ei se lukihäiriö rajota tekemistä sillai, et kyl me pystytään yhtä hyvin, jos me vaan harjotellaan enemmän.

Kaiken kaikkiaan haastatellut kokivat kehittyneensä tutkimuksen aikana (2011–2014) nuotinluvussa ja *prima vista* -soitossa, uusien kappaleiden opettelemisessa ja hallitussa ulkoa soittamisessa. Nämä taidot kehittyvät yleensä soitonopiskelun aikana joka tapauksessa, mutta haastattelujen perusteella tunneilla tehdyt harjoitteet ja opetuksen keinot olivat olleet oppilaille hyödyllisiä, vaikka ne eivät olleetkaan poistaneet oppimisen ongelmia tai tehneet oppimisesta vaivatonta. Oppilailla oli kuitenkin myös erittäin realistinen kuva omasta kehittymisestään.

Toisaalta joskus oppilaan on vaikea nähdä omaa edistymistään, etenkin jos soittaminen tai tietty osa-alue soittamisessa tuntuu vaikealta. Oppilaalla voi olla myös eri käsitys siitä, mikä on hyvää osaamista ja mitä oman tason parantaminen voi olla.

Yhteenvetona voidaan todeta, että haastatteluissa nousseet teemat: motivaatio, opettajan roolin merkitys, esiintyminen ja esiintymisjännitys, harjoitteluun liittyvät kysymykset, tulkinta ja oppimisen vaikeuksien kokeminen, olivat oppilaille yhteisiä. Kokemukset olivat kuitenkin eritasoisia: joillekin esiintyminen ja siihen liittyvä vireytyminen näyttäytyivät opiskeluun luontevasti kuuluvina asioina, osalla esiintymisjännitys oli niin suurta, että he eivät halunneet esiintyä ollenkaan. Suhtautuminen harjoitteluun näytti olevan kaikilla samanlaista: päämäärätietoinen harjoittelu tiedetään tehokkaammaksi kuin kappaleiden läpisoittaminen, mutta kaikille itsekseen soittaminen oli mieluisampaa. Kaikkein tärkeimmäksi teemoiksi haastatteluissa nousivat motivaatio sekä opettajan rooli nuorta tämän elämäntilanteessa ymmärtävänä ammattilaisena, joka vuorovaikutus- ja opetustaitojensa avulla voi auttaa oppilasta oppimaan helpommin ja pääsemään tavoitteisiinsa.

Coda: Hyvän soitonopetuksen elementtejä

Tutkimukseeni vaikutti toki se, että olin tutkijana samalla opettajan roolissa. Eri roolien tunnistaminen auttoi kuitenkin niiden analysoinnissa ja erottamisessa toisistaan. Tämänkaltaisen tutkimuksen tekeminen ei olisi mielestäni ollut mahdollista ilman opettajuutta ja kontaktia oppilaisiin. Koska tarkoituksena oli kokeilla opetuksen keinojen toimivuutta, se oli tehtävä aidossa opetustilanteessa. Osa opetuksen keinoista oli myös sellaisia, että ne olivat tutkimuksen alkuvaiheessa vain "minun päässäni", eli eivät vielä monistettavissa ja muiden käytettävissä.

Tunnistin itsessäni taipumuksen nähdä kaikki oppimisen ongelmat oppimisvaikeuksista eikä esimerkiksi harjoittelun vähyydestä johtuvina. Opettajan ja tutkijan roolien ollessa ristiriidassa opettaja nousi vahvemmaksi. Tarkoitan tällä niitä kertoja, kun tutkijana olisin halunnut kokeilla tiettyjä opetuksen keinoja esimerkiksi tuntitilanteessa pidempään, mutta opettajana näin oppilaan motivaation hiipuvan. Toisaalta tutkijana olin jo päätynyt siihen tulokseen, että motivaatio on oppimisessa avainasemassa, joten opettajana toimin tämän tuloksen perusteella.

Tutkijana pyrin löytämään sellaisia soitonopetuksen keinoja, joilla hitaammin etenevä oppilas voi edistyä opinnoissaan. Tarkastelin käyttämiäni keinoja kriittisesti ja pyrin tiivistämään niistä hyvän soitonopetuksen elementtejä. Oppilaiden omat kokemukset keinojen toimivuudesta sekä oppilaiden soittotaidon kehittymisen kriittinen tarkastelu (esimerkiksi suhteessa toisiin samanikäisiin oppilaisiin) lisäsivät mielestäni keinojen

toimivuuden luotettavuutta.

Tutkimukseni tuotti myös ymmärrystä hyvä opetuksen elementeistä. Ne ovat oleellisia paitsi "erilaisten oppijoiden" myös kaikkien oppilaiden opettamisessa. Tutkimukseni tulosten mukaan kahdenkeskinen opetustilanne on paras, mikäli halutaan opetussuunnitelman perusteiden mukaisesti ottaa huomioon jokainen soittaja yksilönä ja edetä hänen tavoitteidensa ja edellytystensä mukaisesti. Toimiessaan optimaalisesti kahdenkeskinen tilanne on myös paras mahdollinen tapa päästä aitoon vuorovaikutukseen ja sitä kautta löytää jokaisen oppilaan oma ääni. Musiikki on upea tapa ilmaista itseä, kokea ja käsitellä tunteita ja kokea yhteyttä muiden kanssa. Tutkimuksessani mukana olleilla oppilailla oli kaikilla merkityksellinen suhde musiikkiin, vaikka klassinen pianonsoitto ei olisikaan ollut heille paras tapa musiikilliseen itseilmaisuun.

Monipuolinen opetus

• Koska opettaja ei yleensä voi tietää pienen oppilaan aloittaessa soittotunnit, onko tällä oppimisen vaikeutta vai ei, opettajan olisi pyrittävä *opettamaan mahdollisimman monipuolisesti eri keinoja käyttäen* alusta alkaen. Opetuksen keinot ovat osittain opettajan ajattelutapaan liittyviä: vuorovaikutuksen merkitys oppimiselle, motivaation parantaminen, ja opettajan merkitys näillä molemmilla alueilla. Osa opetuksen keinoista on selkeästi teknisempiä: ulkoa soittamisen harjoitteleminen, nuotinluvun opettaminen, oppimisen helpottaminen ja apuvälineet.

Positiivinen ja kannustava vuorovaikutus ja ilmapiiri

• Opettajan ja oppilaan välisen vuorovaikutuksen toimiminen ja tunnilla vallitsevan ilmapiirin pitäminen kannustavana ja turvallisena on opetuksen keinoista tärkein. Vastuu vuorovaikutuksen toimimisesta on aina ammattilaisella, soitonopettajalla. Vuorovaikutusta korostavassa ajattelutavassa keskiöön nousee yksittäisten musiikillisten tulosten (yleisölle soitettu esitys) sijaan oppilaan ja opettajan suhde, jonka toimiessa hyvin myös oppilaan taidot karttuvat. Tämä itse asiassa mielestäni mahdollistaa yhä useamman oppilaan pääsemisen yhä korkeammalle tasolle osaamisessaan, sillä hyvä suhde opettajan ja oppilaan välillä sekä oppilaan ja musiikin välillä lisää motivaatiota ja siten oppimista. Opettaja pystyy vaikuttamaan myös oppilaan motivaatioon, ja esimerkiksi harjoittelemaan motivointiin on soitonopettajan tehtävä. Oppilaat tarvitsevat ohjausta harjoitteluun vielä melko pitkällä opinnoissaan ollessaankin, ja harjoittelun järjestelmällisyys on erityisesti oppimisvaikeuksiselle oppilaalle tärkeää. Tällöin on kuitenkin koko ajan huolehdittava myös motivaatiosta: liiallinen järjestelmällisyys tai metodiin sitoutuminen voi heikentää oppilaan intoa ja siten myös hidastaa hänen edistymistään.

Musiikkiopintojen monipuolisuus – huippusuorituksista laajaan osaamiseen

• Kirjoitan väitöskirjassani soittajaksi oppimisesta. Soittajaksi oppiminen on mielestäni oleellista harrastuspainoisesti opiskeleville, joita suuri osa musiikkioppilaitoksissa opiskelevista lapsista ja nuorista on. Se antaa mahdollisuuden tulla hyväksi muusikoksi tai pianistiksi, mutta myös vapauden "pelkälle soittamiselle" ilman ammatillisia tai taiteellisia tavoitteita. Soittajaksi opettaminen on mielestäni yksi pianonsoiton opettajan tehtävistä, ja se pitää sisällään nuotinluvun ja nuotista soittamisen, prima vista -soittamisen, kappaleiden opettelemisen, vapaan säestyksen, improvisoinnin ja esittämisen taidot. Niin sanottu erilainen oppija, jonka on esimerkiksi vaikea nopeasti oppia uusia kappaleita, saattaa päästä nauttimaan yhteismusiikista nopeammin, jos hänellä on hyvät vapaan säestyksen taidot. Hänen on myös mahdollista opetella itsenäisesti häntä motivoivia sävellyksiä, jos hänelle on opetettu sekä nuotista soittamisen että kappaleiden opettelemisen taitoja.

Soittaminen sekä nuoteista että kuulonvaraisesti

- Lukemaan oppiminen vaatii paljon toistoa, samoin nuotinluvun oppiminen. Samalla on pidettävä huoli siitä, että oppilaan motivaatio soittamiseen säilyy. On myös kehitettävä pianonsoiton tekniikkaa. Tämä kaikki onnistuu parhaiten opettamalla monipuolisesti: on soitettava sekä kuulonvaraisesti että nuoteista, on käytettävä aikaa myös asteikkoihin sekä improvisointiin ja vapaaseen säestykseen. Tutkimukseni perusteella olen tullut siihen tulokseen, että nuottikuva olisi hyvä ottaa mukaan soittotunneille heti. Alusta lähtien oppilaalla olisi oltava sekä esityskappaleita, joita voidaan opetella kuulonvaraisesti, että nuotista opeteltavia kappaleita. Soittajaksi oppiminen vaatii erilaisten kappaleiden valitsemista oppimistavoitteen mukaan. Jos halutaan oppia soittamaan nuotista, annetaan läksyksi sellaisia kappaleita, joita oppilas pystyy opettelemaan nuotista. Kappaleet voi jättää "huonoon kuntoon" ja ottaa sitten soitettavaksi uuden kappaleen: sekä prima vista että nuotista opettelemisen taito paranevat. Kun halutaan opettaa oppilasta soittamaan prima vista, nuottiin ei tehdä merkintöjä, mutta tunnilla toki opetetaan, miten nuottia kannattaa lukea.

Opetuksen moniaistisuus

- Opetuksen tulee olla alusta alkaen monikanavaista, eli mahdollisimman monta aistikanavaa hyödyntävää. Näköaistia käytetään sekä nuottien että koskettimien ja käden liikkeiden katsomiseen, kuuloaistia tietenkin kuuntelemiseen. Tuntoaistia käytetään koskettimien tuntemiseen. Kaikkia eri aistikanavia ja oppimisen tapoja kannattaa käyttää rinnakkain, välillä erillisinäkin, oppimistavoitteen mukaisesti. Vaikka oppilasta opetettaisiin hänen vahvuuksiensa mukaan, on tärkeää kehittää kaikkia aistikanavia, ja siten oppilasta monipuolisesti.

Teknologian ja muiden apuvälineiden hyödyntäminen

- Oppilaat voivat käyttää myös erilaisia apuvälineitä. Yksi on esimerkiksi nauhoittaminen, joko videointi tai pelkän äänen taltiointi. Apuvälineeksi voisi laskea myös tietynlaisen nuottikuvan etsimisen oppilaalle. Tutkimukseni mukaan oppilaiden on helpompi oppia, mikäli nuottikuva on harvaan kirjoitettu, ja nuotteja ei ole liikaa päällekkäin. Nuotteja voi myös muokata tarpeen mukaan. Nuoteista voi ottaa suurennettuja kopioita, tai voi ottaa kopion ainoastaan yhdestä tai kahdesta tahdista. Nuottia voidaan peittää siten, että näkyviin jää ainoastaan soitettava alue.

- Tabletteja (iPad ym.) voidaan käyttää apuna esimerkiksi nuottien suurentamiseen, vaikkakin joitakin oppilaita helpottavia merkintöjä ei nuottiin pysty samalla tavalla tekemään. Moni soittaja tarvitsee ylimääräisiä sormijärjestysmerkkejä, joita on vaikeampi piirtää tabletille kuin nuottiin. Myös muunlainen opetuksen mukauttaminen ja erityisesti oppilalähtöinen lähestymistapa oppilaan yksilöllisyyteen opetuksen järjestelyssä (ks. ArtsEqual Policy Brief 1/2018) on usein tarpeen.

- Joskus valkean paperin ja mustan tekstin välinen kontrasti aiheuttaa rivien "hyppimistä" (ks. esim. Oglethorpe 2002, 53–54). Värilliset lukikalvot nuottien päällä ovat auttaneet useampaa soittajaa tämän ongelman kanssa. Myös niin sanotulle tavalliselle soittajalle lukikalvoista voi olla iloa. Rytmien hahmottaminen on monelle oppilaalle vaikeaa. Tutkimuksessani isommillakin oppilailla oli epäselvyyttä pisteellisten kahdeksasosarytmien kanssa (tir-ri, ri-tii). Monelle pienemmälle oppilaalle tuottaa vaikeuksia myös tahtilajien ymmärtäminen: miten niin tahtiin mahtuu kaksi neljäsosaa, jos siinä on neljä nuottia (kahdeksasosia)? Matematiikan opetuksessa murtokakkuja käytetään murtolukujen havainnollistamiseen, soitonopettaja voi tehdä omat murtokakut paperilautasista.

Lopuksi

Kohdatessaan hitaammin etenevän oppilaan soitonopettaja joutuu pohtimaan monia asioita. Onko kyse oppimisvaikeudesta? Vai onko kyse oppimisstrategioista (esimerkiksi turvautumisesta kuulonvaraiseen soittamiseen ja arvailuun silloin, kun se ei ole tarkoituksenmukaista)? Onko oppilaalla motivaatiovaikeuksia? Onko oppilaalla mahdollisuus harjoitella, osaako hän harjoitella? Onko oppilaan kotona jotain sellaista, joka vaikuttaa etenemiseen? Omaa rooliaan, soittotunnin ilmapiiriä ja soitettavaa ohjelmistoa sekä opetuksen tapoja pohtimalla opettaja voi etsiä keinoja oppilaan auttamiseksi. Mahdolliset oppimisen vaikeudet on kuitenkin otettava puheeksi hyvin varovasti ja huoltajien kanssa, ei oppilaan (ellei kyse ole esimerkiksi lukiolaisesta tai muusta vanhemmasta oppilaasta). Tällöinkin on syytä lähteä liikkeelle keskustelemalla oppilaan vahvuuksista ja tunnilla havaituista oppimisen tavoista hienovaraisesti.

Tutkimukseni aikana kävi ilmi, että kouluissa seulotaan oppimisvaikeuksia, mutta seulan läpi menee sellaisia oppilaita, joilta oppimisvaikeus löytyy myöhemmin tai joilla on vaikeuksia, mutta ne eivät löydy käytetyillä testeillä. Käsitykseni myös on – käytyäni keskusteluja kokeneen luokanopettajan kanssa – että koska koulujen resurssit ovat rajalliset, ns. riittävän hyvin pärjäävät oppilaat saavat pärjätä omillaan, vaikka jotain vaikeuksia olisikin. Jos oppilaan osaaminen on kouluarvosanoilla mitattuna 7-8 luokkaa, hän ei välttämättä saa tukitoimia, eikä tuen tarvetta myöskään havaita. Tutkimukseni aikana kävi myös ilmi, että koulussa saatetaan kokea ulkopuolelta tullut oppimisvaikeusepäily puuttumisena koulun toimintaan: "Kyllä me olisimme huomanneet, jos jotain vaikeutta olisi."

Pianonsoiton (ja muidenkin instrumenttien) oppiminen on kuitenkin mielestäni niin vaikeaa, että pienetkin oppimisen vaikeudet näkyvät soittotunnilla helposti. Jos koulussa ei kuitenkaan ole havaittu oppimisen vaikeuksia, tai perhe ei halua niistä kertoa, soitonopettaja voi opettaa oppilasta "oireiden mukaisesti", käyttämällä monipuolisia opetusmenetelmiä ja apuvälineitä. Moni oppilas myös haluaa olla yksi muiden joukossa, ei erilainen oppija (vrt. Laes 2017), joten yksilöopetuksessa kaikkien opettaminen on mahdollista ilman erilaisuuden leimaa. Kuten Eino totesi: "Kun siihen pystyy kuitenkin, ei oo mitään järkee olla tekemättä." ■

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Reports

Expanding professionalism through social innovations—Symposium Report

Heidi Westerlund

1. Expanding professionalism through social innovations: Towards wider participation in and through music schools in France, Sweden and Finland

Research in many countries has shown that music education programs not associated with compulsory education tend to serve only part of the population. For instance, according to Ruth Wright (2015), in Ontario, Canada, extracurricular "music education serves on average 10%–12% of secondary school students, once they complete compulsory music education at the age of 14" (p. 343). The reason is not simply a lack of interest, or the fact that the institutional foundation of music schools may still partially rest on their original mission to provide a learning environment for potential professionals, the carefully selected talents who can then develop and sustain the artistic institutions of modern society (Laes, Westerlund, Väkevä & Juntunen 2018). In Finland, reports show that there are better options available for families of a higher economic status. For instance, a report from the city of Helsinki shows that neighborhoods with higher socioeconomic standards of living provide more opportunities for children and young people to apply to instrumental music studies (Vismanen, Räisänen & Sariola 2016). Moreover, as Wright (2015, 345) argues, the children of certain social groups are culturally predisposed to understand and benefit from education before their less advantaged peers, since they have already learnt the cultural codes involved in instrumental studies from their parents. In other words, some students understand very early on that instrumental studies are somehow not intended for them, whereas children of other families are privileged to know more about their available options, and are actively supported in exploring these options by their parents.

In this symposium, presented in July 2018 at the International Society for Music Education World Conference in Baku, we addressed the need to see the European music schools as *social systems* (Luhmann 1995), which need to adjust their existence to the changing social conditions in today's complex societies. As a whole, *we argue that the profession of music education ought to bear a broader responsibility for diminishing inequality in society* and, in order to do so, *expand professionalism in instrumental teaching and create reflexivity beyond issues of musical quality*, i.e. the usual business of music teaching. We will examine the potential of music schools and conservatories to contribute to the democratisation of societies through what organizational researchers have called *social innovations*. By social innovations, researchers refer to efforts to design initiatives in an organisation, a practice, or an area of activity "that signal a promising path towards wider social change … and that seek to advance convert experiments designed to solve social problems into transformative ambition" (Mangabeira Unger 2015, 233). Such innovations can also be seen as catalytic events that provide new conditions for understanding social systems, such as music schools (Väkevä, Westerlund & Ilmola-Sheppard 2017).

Moreover, the cases that we will present can be seen as attempts to create *institutional resilience*. It has been argued that institutional resilience is needed in modern service systems as a counterforce to the organizational 'silo effect', in which the institutional system blindly pursues its purpose and social reproduction, favouring some and excluding others (e.g. Tett 2015). Social scientists today argue, therefore, that in current rapidly changing conditions it is vitally important to find ways to avoid the detrimental effects of an overly narrow, specialized, and self-serving focus of organizations—the so-called silo effect. Here we suggest that *one way to create institutional resilience is collaboration with other service systems*—in other words, a rethinking of the institutional boundaries of the social system (Westerlund, Väkevä & Ilmola-Sheppard, in print).

We will explore how the balance between changing societal needs and increasing inequality has been addressed through the four cases in France, Sweden, and Finland. The cases arise from the current situation in Europe, where policy makers expect inclusion from all institutions, and where for instance rapidly increasing migration has already increased cultural segregation and inequality. Music schools and conservatories that enjoy public financial support cannot hide themselves from these demands, but can be expected to develop a heightened sense of responsibility towards the various groups comprising society. For instance, the European Union is now calling for action focused on integration, and urges the whole of society to "move away from narrow concepts of integration and community cohesion … towards a richer and more inclusive, yet perhaps more realistic, objective in which a constantly changing 'we' creates ever more robust and resilient communities" (Vision Europe Summit, 2016, 14). In light of this vision, it can be argued that *a heightened sense of social responsibility will be the precondition for European music schools to continue flourishing in the 21st century.*

Within this context, we will position music professionals and researchers as key players in political decision-making and creators of alternative futures. The cases presented by this symposium not only challenge the self-serving goals and insular values of music schools that stem from the prevalent institutional silo-thinking, but also illustrate *how* multi-professional cross-sector collaboration can be beneficial to inclusion. Through collaboration, it may be possible to open new spaces, develop novel practices, and reach students who would not otherwise find their way into instrumental lessons. As a whole, this symposium will encourage music practitioners to use their imagination to envision new social innovations, and to take the risk of breaking with institutional path-dependency and moving towards novel collaborations between different professional groups and disciplines, stakeholders, and sectors when tackling social challenges. ■

Martin Galmiche

2. The AÏCO system: social innovation inducing a new approach to musical instrument learning in a French conservatory

Preliminary description of the situation

Lyon (France) has a large conservatory (including music, dance, and theatre), with education ranging from initiation to pre-professionalization. The children generally enter the conservatory starting with a two-year discovery course. The conservatory has one main building on the Fourviere Hill, and eight smaller buildings in other areas of the city, including Lyon 8, an area associated with lower socioeconomic status. Most of the families living there immigrated more or less recently from North Africa. In this area, the conservatory courses take place inside the building of a primary school, the "Jean Giono school" (but of course on extracurricular time). Unfortunately, the children coming to these conservatory courses come from other areas of the city. There is no connection between the conservatory and the primary school, even though they are located in the same building. One of the reasons for this is that the discovery course is expensive and difficult to attend for the children living in this area (some of the lessons must be attended at Fourviere, on the other side of the city). Moreover, for many reasons, the children in this area have the strong feeling that the conservatory is "not for them". The so-called 'silo effect' seems to actually have two faces: a practical, financial one, and a psychological one.

The musicians in schools

At the Lyon conservatory, in addition to the instrumental departments, there is a department dedicated to music in primary schools. This department is mainly composed of *musicians in schools* who have been trained at CFMI, the French training center for musicians in schools. The CFMI has a two-year training program including singing, playing, musical creation, and improvisation with children in primary schools (Stumpfögger 2017, 245; Galmiche 2013). The training emphasizes pedagogy and an artistic project that takes place within the class as a whole, during the scheduled day, in partnership with the class teacher. This partnership with the teacher is crucial. In the eyes of the children, the involvement of the teacher in the practice of music or related practices adds real value to the project.

Four professions meet each other

The AÏCO system (*Apprentissage Instrumental et Invention Collective*, i.e. instrument learning and collective invention) was born when the musicians working at the Jean Giono school met three instrument professors from the conservatory who wanted to work on social innovation. They decided to work together to change the situation, and allow the children from the primary school to attend conservatory instrument lessons. This obviously had to be done in collaboration with the primary school and, in particular, with the school teachers. First, a two-year discovery course was organized on school time (free, for all, "here and now"), for children aged from 6 to 7. After attending this discovery

course, the motivated children can attend an instrument lesson (on extracurricular time) that has been conceived in such a way that it is very simple to attend: only one, lengthy, weekly course held at only one, well-identified place (the primary school). The tuition fee is very low (from 25 euros per year, according to the family situation) and the instruments are provided. In addition, an administrative and social coordinator helps in communicating with the families. The course is therefore given by five adults, all working together with a group of 18 children: three instrument professors (harp, violin, and flute), one administrative and social coordinator, and one artistic and pedagogical coordinator, who is also a musician at the Jean Giono school on school time, and therefore acts as a bridge between the class teachers (primary school) and the instrument professors (conservatory).

Pedagogical innovation

The multi-professional interaction is very beneficial in this system. First, it makes it possible to improve the connection between the primary school and the conservatory, between the instrument professors and the school teachers, and between the professors and the parents. But the collaboration between the instrument professors and the musicians in schools has also generated a new pedagogical approach: because the musicians in schools know how to drive an artistic project with a large group, and the instrument teachers know how to teach technical skills, they decided to work together on technical learning based on collective invention. During the long weekly course (2h15 with a pause), the five adults and eighteen children play and sing together. They work on an artistic project including songs, inventions, improvisation, and staging. They learn the musical notions necessary within the frame of their musical practice. This nicely symbolizes the junction of so-called elitist teaching and the social role of musicians in schools. Of course, the adults also learn a lot from each other.

The AÏCO course started in September 2017. All the children have been present every week. They gave a concert in June 2018 that included a semi-improvised piece created collectively, songs accompanied by the children themselves, and pieces chosen and played by them.

Why can social innovations induce pedagogical evolutions?

The AÏCO course is therefore characterized by two main features: (i) social innovation (accessibility to children living in areas associated with lower socioeconomic status) and (ii) pedagogical innovation (based on a collective and inventive artistic project). Is it necessary for a conservatory to change its pedagogy to be accessible in such an area? Perhaps not, but one may ask the question why it happens that pedagogical changes often occur when social questions are addressed. Is it because the people asking questions on social matters and the people asking questions on pedagogical matters are often the same? A more realistic reason is that social innovations need professional collaboration in order to be effectively addressed. But professional collaboration not only induces social innovation. It also induces other positive (secondary, but not negligible) changes, such as pedagogical advances. Therefore, social issues may be seen as opportunities to improve our pedagogy, because they require us to work together. The AÏCO system is a good example showing how this mechanism can operate. The need for social innovation acts as a catalyst: it drives professionals to meet each other and to give birth to new pedagogical ideas. The induced pedagogical innovation may also have some positive effects on the pedagogical evolution in the rest of the conservatory.

Institutional resilience

The AÏCO course has been discussed extensively inside the conservatory from a pedagogical point of view, as well as from a "political" point of view, including by professors who do not work in the AÏCO system. But it has also been presented in various meetings and congresses in France and abroad. It has been identified as initiating research activity in the conservatory, and has had a real institutional consequence—the management team has decided that a pedagogical and artistic research group would be created in the conservatory, called "Le Cluster", starting in September 2018. This shows how a project initially motivated by social innovations can allow a conservatory to question its own pedagogy and social action, and can have consequences for research at the institutional level. This mechanism may be further analysed in terms of dynamical systems (Väkevä, Westerlund & Ilmola-Sheppard 2017). ■

Eva Sæther

3. El Sistema in Sweden: Breaking the taken-for-granted's of Music and Arts schools through the habitus crises

The global phenomenon of El Sistema serves as a catalytic tool for widened participation in Swedish music and art schools (Sæther, Bergman & Lindgren 2017), much in line with national policy recommendations, such as the recent national investigation (SOU 2016). When outlining the future of Swedish Music and Art schools, the report suggests a national policy to strengthen both the role and the quality of the municipal music schools. It also states that these schools should play an important role in efforts to include new immigrants. El Sistema Sweden, with the outspoken aim of including 100 schools over the next few years, holds an important position in the ongoing change process of the municipal music schools in Sweden.

In Malmö, Sweden's most multicultural city, El Sistema started in 2013 as a regular part of the Art and Music school, situated in two schools located in a part of Malmö where 85 different nationalities are represented, and where 33% of the inhabitants are born abroad. It started as a regular part of the municipal music school, with the aim to protect and promote all citizens' access to cultural expressions (Lorensson 2013), corresponding with the UNESCO convention on the diversity of cultural expressions (UNESCO 2005) and recommendations from a research report on a sustainable Malmö (Stigendal & Östergren, 2013). Today, the El Sistema section of the municipal music school has grown to cover four elementary schools in socio-economic poor areas.

As a result of these conditions, the music teachers working within El Sistema Malmö have been asked to perform a balancing act: on one hand the artistic goals are high, and on the other hand they are expected to improve the life conditions for those living in socially vulnerable parts of Malmö – with the orchestra as a tool. In the school year 2017-2018 some of the teachers decided to start a Spelmanslag in order to manage this balancing act, using Swedish folk music. This case description is based on the preliminary results from field work conducted in the Spelmanslag, together with pupils and teachers.

Integration and social innovation

Starting the Spelmanslag in Kroksbäck, Malmö, the music teachers there are involved in a process of social innovation that is characteristic of El Sistema in Sweden, with its aim to promote integration. Municipal music schools in 35 Swedish municipalities have started El Sistema, and approximately 9.000 children are involved in these musical activities, including children that would otherwise normally not take part in Music and Art school courses (El Sistema Sverige 2018).

Out of the 800 children in Malmö who are active in El Sistema, 16 children in their third school year have been members of the Spelmanslag. The children in the Spelmanslag play violin and flute, but in total El Sistema offers violin, cello, trumpet, trombone, horn, percussion, eurythmics, choir, and orchestra. The children have lessons three times a week, plus concerts for parents once a month, and several external concerts each semester. Thirteen music teachers are employed in this effort.

When El Sistema Malmö chooses to start a Spelmanslag, it touches the core of the El Sistema ideology; the connection between Western classical music and a better society. For

the founder of El Sistema, José Antonio Abreu, it is through classical music that the children of the streets will be saved from poverty (Baker 2014). With this emphasis on classical music, the El Sistema concept has been described as a conservative and reactionary phenomenon: "… yet El Sistema has sent the pendulum swinging back the other way, representing symphonic music as a route to socioeconomic and moral salvation" (Baker 2014, 3). However, as Swedish research on El Sistema shows, it cannot be regarded as either radical or conservative, but rather as a hybrid ingredient in glocal music education that stirs up tension fields in late modern or post-modern societies (Lindgren, Bergman & Sæther 2016; Bergman, Lindgren & Sæther 2016).

The El Sistema Spelmanslag also stirs up the tug of war in Swedish traditional music. Leaders of the immigration hostile political party Sverigedemokraterna often dress in traditional costumes at official events, thus signalling their desire for the preservation of Swedish folk music—for the Swedish. The political use of national symbols has led to an ongoing discussion on folk music, between advocates of a more "Swedish" Sweden and active folk musicians who use folk music as an expression for intercultural dialogue.

Swedish folk music, when introduced and practiced within the frames of El Sistema, is given a different signification than that which the concept was originally loaded with in the national-romantic era. In 1992, folk music was introduced at the Academy of Music in Malmö, together with pop, rock, and a development towards intercultural music educational competence (Sæther 2013). In retrospect, the place for folk music in music education praxis and music education research has moved from a focus on multi-culture in the 1990s towards a more demanding focus on interculturality (Sæther 2012; 2016), combined with post-colonial theory and epistemological rethinkings (Westerlund & Karlsen 2017).

Community music within institutional frames

To the music teachers working in El Sistema Malmö, fostered in a music teacher education system where the dominance of classical music was already broken, the El Sistema emphasis on Western classical music is far from self-evident. The decision to start a Spelmanslag grew from the ambition to promote playing by ear and a holistic understanding of music with dance as an important ingredient (interview with El Sistema teachers, Autumn 2017). It is possible to regard El Sistema as a form of community music (Lindgren, Bergman & Sæther 2016), however in this example it takes place within the frames of formal music education, within a municipal music school. As Kerz-Welzel (2016) shows, there has been a tendency in community music research to "oversimplify the complexity of musical activities" (p. 118). She argues that music education in schools, as well as in community music contexts, needs well equipped music teachers—"critical practitioners" (p. 120)—with professional training to avoid non-reflected project work. In the context of our symposium, it is interesting to note that during the implementation of El Sistema Malmö, the music teachers were afforded time to reflect on and expand their professional competence. Many necessary skills for intercultural communication were developed during the practical work with the children—in habitus crises, breaking with the taken-for-granted's of the Music and Art Schools (Sæther, in print). Habitus crises, or habitus alterations, is a concept introduced by Pöllman (2016), developed to understand the potential of intercultural competence in educational settings. It is closely related to Illeris' (2015) concept of transformative learning, needed in times when there is use for social readjustments.

The El Sistema teachers have, as critical practitioners, developed a sensitivity to the taken-for-granted's of the children of the suburbs, didactic choices, genre choices, and the place for classical music in Swedish school music. The reflexivity of the teachers, when

practicing Swedish folk music, was expressed by a refusal to use labels, and a continuous evaluation of the Spelmanslag—to the point where after one semester it took a new direction, more directed at basic skills with the instruments and playing together in an orchestra. By this constant re-designing of the musical activities, and breaking the taken-for-granted's of El Sistema, folk music, and Music and Arts Schools, the teachers of El Sistema Malmö provide conditions for understanding music schools as social systems, as suggested by Väkevä, Westerlund and Ilmola-Sheppard (2017). They also, in their everyday musical practice with the children, perform transformative learning, no matter what genre is played. ■

Hanna Kamensky

4. The Floora project: Multi-professional cross-sector collaboration in the Finnish music school system

Researchers in Finland have recently identified an increasing gap between the rich and the poor, which is a fairly new phenomenon for the small Nordic welfare state. The population is increasingly divided into individuals from higher and lower socio-economic backgrounds, and is thus facing new challenges in such areas as public schooling and, for example, regional living standards (e.g. Vettenranta et al. 2016, Kauppinen & Vaalavuo 2017). This polarized situation demands new considerations and practices in order to maintain Finland's egalitarian education system, and to ensure equal opportunities for all students regardless of their family background, ethnicity, or socioeconomic status. This is also a concern for Finland's extracurricular Basic Education in the Arts system (henceforth, BEA).

Basic Education in the Arts

The Finnish governmentally regulated and subsidized BEA is a system complementing arts education in comprehensive schools, primarily serving children and young people. The art forms available through the system include music, dance, theatre, visual and audiovisual arts, crafts, architecture, literary arts, and circus performance. The system is founded upon a mandate of equality, where every child has the right to learn artistic skills and expression. The BEA currently consists of almost 400 arts schools that serve approximately 126 000 students. Music schools, as the largest part of the BEA system, comprise almost 100 schools that serve approximately 67 000 students. The new National Core Curriculum for the BEA highlights the need for extracurricular arts education to attend to matters of equality in Finnish society (Finnish National Agency for Education 2017). It is the first time that equality has been explicitly mentioned in the national curriculum for the BEA.

In the field of BEA music education, these concerns are manifested in who has access to music education institutions and services. In 2016, the Helsinki Department of Culture found that neighbourhoods representing a lower socio-economic demographic also had the lowest participation rates in music institutions (2.1%), whereas neighbourhoods with more financially stable populations had the highest participations rates (26,7%) (Vismanen, Räisänen & Sariola 2016). In the latest funding decisions made in 2017, the Helsinki Department of Culture cut the annual BEA music budget by 5% as a consequence of failing to enhance accessibility, equality, and diversity within its institutions.

The Floora project as a social innovation of multi-professional collaboration

The Floora project was established in 2014 by teachers working in BEA music schools. The aim of the Floora project was to respond to the rapid changes occurring in Finnish society. Accessibility and equal opportunities for extracurricular education formed the starting points of the project. Cooperation with the child welfare system, schools, and third sector actors was seen as a way to reach children and young people who do not

attend music schools for different reasons. Approximately 60 music teachers in various music schools were the first to come up with the Floora project. Music institutions were then given the opportunity to develop Floora project music lessons. The department of child welfare, schools, and third sector actors helped the music school teachers to find families who could join the project. The selection criteria were based on offering music education to children from lower socio-economic backgrounds, and offering them access without musicality testing or entrance exams. The project initially only offered music education to children and young people registered with the Department of Child Welfare in Helsinki, but was soon expanded to serve 158 students, aged 5 to 20-years-old, living in 10 cities around the country. From the data that has been collected during the Floora project, a notable point is how the project actors have offered this education specifically to immigrant families, with a participation rate of 57 %. The new level of cooperation between various municipal sectors - including culture, education, and various social areas – in an effort to reach the children and young people in the music education system, has itself been a significant outcome of the project. Hence, the project can be considered as an innovation of multi-professional cross-sector collaboration. As such, the Floora Project may serve as a model for potential solutions for other problems that have not yet been adequately addressed by conventional practices within the national music education system.

The Floora project has been identified as a 'social innovation' in the Finnish extracurricular music education system (Väkevä, Westerlund & Ilmola-Sheppard 2017). This perspective highlights the project's potential to offer music education in a socially just manner, while conceptualizing the explicit educational aims and ethos of equality and accessibility as a form of "social investment and institutional innovation, as it suggests a new way of cooperating in the late modern society" (Väkevä, Westerlund & Ilmola-Sheppard 2017, 140-141).

In considering the multi-professional, cross-sectoral collaboration in the Floora project, I offer Ronald Barnett's (2011) definition of *ecological professionalism*, which can be considered relevant in this context. Barnett argues that "the modern professional is caught in space and time complexities and part of today's professionalism lies in the handling of the juxtaposition of interior and exterior callings" (p. 30). The notion of ecological professionalism offers an insight into how awareness of alternative possibilities for actions and utterances are possible, and he believes that ecological professionals "sense themselves as embedded in multiple timeframes and spaces, the local and global, the short term and the longer term" (p. 40).

Conclusions

Floora teachers within the BEA music education system could be seen as ecological professionals*,* and thereby they may impart an important message in how to expand professionalism more broadly within the BEA system. For Floora teachers, selecting children for inclusion in the project through musical criteria was not a factor. Rather, the challenges were concerned with how to reach the children, as the Floora project discovered that most families either did not know about the BEA, did not consider it feasible for their children, or simply could not afford the music tuition offered in BEA schools. To tackle this particular challenge, new cross-sectoral cooperation was established to help reach these families. In future research initiatives stemming from the Floora project, one might consider how ecological professionalism amongst music teachers could be given more space within the BEA music education system, and how institutions might expand their traditional understanding of music education and music education professionalism. ■

Tuulikki Laes

5. Resonaari:
Striving towards inclusion through teacher activism within a Finnish music school for differently abled learners

F inland is renowned for its egalitarian approach to education for all - but how is it put into action in music education? The myth of musical talent as an inherited gift has remained powerful in the Finnish music school system. Even when the weight of *musicality* per se has been alleviated, the entrance exams used in approximately 70% of music schools ensure that the schools cater first and foremost to children who demonstrate a certain *readiness* and *capability* to learn music in predetermined ways. In this case description, I look at a counter-narrative within this Finnish music school system that challenges the selective pyramid model of music schools in general, whilst not abandoning the goal-oriented and pedagogical ambitions.

The context of my research (Laes 2017) is the Resonaari Music Center in Helsinki, Finland, which has promoted pedagogical change within the traditional music school system. Resonaari is one of many schools within the music school network in Finland following a national Basic Education in the Arts curriculum regulated by the National Board of Education. However, it has been a pioneer in experimenting with what an alternative music school might look like, especially taking into consideration the dominant target student populations of traditional music schools and pedagogies with regard to who is left outside. Hence, Resonaari does not have entrance exams at all. Most of the students have enrolled in Resonaari because they have not been able to study music in other music schools; for example, due to specific needs related to learning, or physical or cognitive characteristics that the other music schools have been ignorant of or unable to respond to. However, having a special need is not a prerequisite in order to study music in Resonaari, and the accessible pedagogical approach used there has seen the school's student base expand to also include adult beginners.

The paradox of inclusion

Resonaari promotes inclusion in music education not only through accessible structure and pedagogy, but also flexible policy. Through years of long-term, persistent pedagogical development and policy work, the teachers and founders of Resonaari have successfully created an independent music school under the official status and within the general structures of the music school network, yet still operating on its own terms and substructure. However, by building its own separate institutional space for differently abled learners to study music, Resonaari also generates a *paradox of inclusion.* In other words, students with special needs are *included* in the music school system, by being *excluded* from mainstream music schools and taught in Resonaari. Slee describes this paradox as a 'confusing and distorted view' of inclusion that bares "an assumption that the sole beneficiaries of inclusive education are those students who have been permitted to enter as inclusion students" (Slee, 2009, 178). Indeed, inclusion does not always refer to policies and practices that ensure the inclusion of *everyone,* but has in many ways been downgraded to a "sub-system of special education" that allows several forms of exclusion in the educational

practices to persist unchallenged (Liasidou 2012, 9). Hence, Resonaari's institutional stance entails a paradox when set against the practices in music schools, producing metalevel questions such as: do we need special education institutions to take care of our special students, or can inclusion be realized in other ways than creating alternative, exceptional contexts of music education?

The activist teaching profession in Resonaari

While residing as a special educational institution within the network of conventional music schools raises questions about the ambiguity of inclusion on a structural level, Resonaari's unique and imaginative community of dedicated teachers foregrounds the emergence of expanded professionalism that I identified in my study as an *activist teacher disposition,* which comprises developing new ways of working inside and outside the school institution (Sachs 2003). The teachers and founders of Resonaari have created a thriving praxis in finding alternative pedagogical, ideological, and policy solutions. For example, they have built a different understanding of what *musical quality* means in this student context. The quality criteria are not only musical in the traditional sense— although they are not abandoned, either. Instead, the quality in this context also includes an understanding of each student's important role as part of a musical process—as understood and experienced not only by the teachers but by the students themselves. Furthermore, the teachers carry out their ethical commitment by guaranteeing the same opportunities for their students to perform, to construct their own musical agencies, and even strive to become professional musicians. This does not mean abandoning pedagogical ambition, but rather creating different ways to evaluate learning and musicianship. Opportunities are not predetermined by labels of being disabled. Resonaari's unique way of adapting existing musical school structures, but at the same time creating personal and unique learning possibilities, is realised through *internal* framing that eventually extends beyond the music school and gradually begins to point out *external* hegemonies. Hence, Resonaari is creating *slow change* that can be conducted through establishing and legitimizing the exception within the system. In other words, Resonaari's founders and teachers can be seen as long-term builders, constructing a secure place for a *democratic experiment* (Biesta 2014).

The activist teaching disposition in Resonaari indicates that the creation of inclusive learning environments is not simply the result of 'good teaching', but also a representation of a *flexible policy* that facilitates autonomy and develops leadership. In Resonaari, this manifests in the attempts to create its own responsible and inclusive images of musical quality, pedagogical interaction, and 'performativity' (Laes & Schmidt 2016). Policy concerns related to a socially just music education professionalism have been raised in earlier music education research, however mostly in the context of community music teachers (Myers 2017). Expanding these considerations among teachers in schools and music schools is important for establishing socially responsible professionalism within formal music education settings.

The significance of social innovations within the social system

I have argued here that teacher activism as a form of socially responsible professionalism requires slow growth: allowing practices to take root rather than merely shaking them up; and creating a secure environment for risk-taking among the teaching and learning community. However, going back to the case of Resonaari, we can ask—despite the steady development of Resonaari over the past 20 years and the praise and support it has received from the professional field of music education—why such social innovation has not

spread within the wider network of Finnish music schools, and why it has instead remained a separate 'island' for differently abled music learners? If we examine the music school network as a *social system*, we can understand this network as a complex system of structures and processes that regulates its functions and defines its own meaning in a particular social context (Luhmann 1995). The function of the system also defines its boundaries, in other words what belongs within the scope of the system and what does not. We can identify that the essential components of the social system of Finnish music schools are musical quality, assumed student talent or capability, and the assessment and qualification criteria, such as entrance exams and level exams (see Laes, Westerlund, Väkevä & Juntunen 2018). Teachers, in general, act according to the system despite their positive attitudes towards inclusion. However, social innovations such as Resonaari offer an entry point to bypass these stagnant limitations, focusing rather on an activist stance of teachers' institutional agency set against the systemic boundaries that are strongly mediated by 'what is' instead of 'what could be'. Through rigorous policy and pedagogical experimentation, these innovations will slowly expand the social system boundaries towards a more inclusive and accessible music education, paving the way for music teachers working with differently abled students to cultivate new views on what inclusion could, or should, look like. ∎

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Michaela Hahn & Sandra Stini

First European Music School Research Symposium

Future of Music Schools— today's challenges and tomorrow's solutions

The future missions of music schools in our changing societies and the measures and strategies to meet these challenges were the focal points of the First European Music School Symposium in Vienna. It took place from 6th to 7th October at the mdw—University of Music and Performing Arts in Vienna and was organized by the Department of Cultural Management and Gender Studies in cooperation with the European Music School Union and the Conference of Austrian Music School Associations.

More than 150 researchers, experts and practitioners from 25 countries participated in this event. The dialogue between researchers and practitioners as one central aim of the Symposium was supported through different formats during the event. For example, several European Music School Union board members acted as chairs who hosted the presentations and encouraged questions from scientists and practitioners. Another important contribution were posters from several European countries about their music school systems, including facts from the European Music School Union Statistics. The Austrian Music School Association organized a concert on the first evening, which gave an overview of the work of the Austrian Music Schools.

Presentations

The department invited Anne Bamford (England), Heidi Westerlund and Lauri Väkevä (Finland), Susanne Keuchel (Germany) and Herbert Altrichter (Austria) as keynote speakers. 43 researchers from 20 European countries presented research findings and case studies about issues such as equal access, social impact, diversity and specialization, collaboration with schools and the professional profile of teachers.

The important issue of equal access and inclusion was emphasized in several presentations chaired by Timo Klemettinen (European Music School Union). The presentations focused, amongst other topics, on leadership and inclusion, the training of future instrumental/vocal teachers, gender issues and inclusion in music education.

The diverse European music school landscape was demonstrated in several presentations chaired by Helena Maffli (European Music School Union). A joint Nordic Group presentation and various national presentations analyzed strategies to meet today's challenges and demands on publicly funded music school systems in Europe. A particular focus was on privately funded music schools.

Philippe Dalarun (European Music School Union) chaired presentations that dealt with the social and cultural impact of music schools on their surrounding environment and society. Several presentation also covered initiatives and projects of comparable institutions or projects (El Sistema movement, Artistic Season project and others).

Presentations on collaboration between schools and music schools were chaired by Friedrich-Koh Dolge (European Music School Union). The presentations on partnerships between extracurricular music education providers and compulsory schools from different countries partly gave insights into the various ways to share the responsibility for music education in different countries.

The professional profile of extracurricular music educators was the focus of the presentations chaired by Peter Röbke (University of Music and Performing Arts, Vienna): teacher training programs, the professional identities of music teachers and best practice from the field of collaboration between music schools and universities to adapt academic music teaching programs to today's challenges faced by music schools.

Several presentations focusing on extracurricular music education students were chaired by Aleksandar Duric (European Music School Union). They included, amongst others, special academic programs for highly talented young musicians in different countries, level-based music school systems and a conceptional framework to identify and operationalize the general concept of creativity in an artistic educational setting.

Conclusions

The future aims of music school research were discussed in the final panel with Helena Maffli and Timo Klemettinen (European Music School Union), Lauri Väkevä (Sibelius Academy Helsinki), Michaela Hahn and Franz-Otto Hofecker (University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna).

The necessity of exchange about music schools across Europe was emphasized, while being aware of the multiple challenges. European music school research must consider both the educational and cultural landscape of each country as they shape the missions and aims of music schools. Research projects shall focus on diverse phenomena, developments, strategies and measures of music schools, considering these framework conditions.

One conclusion in the final panel specified the embedding of European Music School research in cultural institutions studies.

Cultural institutions studies is both an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary methodology. In its field research, it encompasses and cooperates with a broad range of academic fields, beginning with arts-related sciences such as musicology, music history, music science, music education and extending to social sciences, political sciences, economics, and so on. At the same time, it is vital for cultural institutions studies to be relevant and be involved with immediately practical implementations. It has to prove its worth as an instrument for research and for model and project development. (Hofecker 2016, 19)

The future development of music school research in this context will be fostered, on the one hand, through the innovative discourse with other, partly far more consolidated disciplines and, on the other hand, through the creative, practical experience of music schools. The transfer capacity of music school research as a field of cultural institutions studies results in new approaches and perceptions, which can benefit other disciplines and start a dialogue on equal terms. It may also contribute to the further development of European music schools and music school systems to meet societal changes and the diverse challenges. ■

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Hanna Backer Johnsen, Hanna Kamensky & Tuulia Tuovinen

Elefantti olohuoneessa: Eurooppalainen musiikkioppilaitostutkimus tarkastelee oppilaitosten nykytilaa ja tulevaisuutta

R e p o r t s

Yhteiskunta on nopean muutoksen tilassa, ja musiikkialan instituutiot joutuvat ponnistelemaan uusien haasteiden ja vaatimusten edessä. Näihin haasteisiin pyrkivät vastaamaan myös musiikkikasvatuksen tutkijat. Kiinnostus musiikki-oppilaitoksiin kohdistuvaan tutkimukseen onkin lisääntynyt kansainvälisesti. Siitä osoituksena on lokakuussa järjestetty tohtoriopiskelijafoorumi Wienissä, Itävallassa.

Universität für Musik und Darstellende Kunst -yliopiston 19.–20. lokakuuta järjestämään tutkijafoorumiin oli kutsuttu yhdeksän tohtoriopiskelijaa, jotka tulivat Itävallasta, Irlannista, Venäjältä ja Suomesta. Seminaarin fasilitaattorina toimi Åbo Akademin musiikkikasvatuksen tutkija Cecilia Björk. Musiikkikasvatuksen professori Heidi Westerlund oli pyydetty seminaariin paitsi kommentoimaan jatko-opiskelijoiden töitä myös kertomaan Sibelius-Akatemian musiikkikasvatuksen tohtorikoulutuksen periaatteista.

Seminaariin osallistuneiden jatko-opiskelijoiden tutkimukset kohdistuivat kunkin maan musiikinopetuksen alueellisiin eroihin ja rahoituksen ehtoihin sekä lainsäädäntöön. Esimerkiksi työtään vasta aloittavan Dasha Serpukhovitinan väitöstutkimus tarkastelee Venäjän musiikkoulujärjestelmän suuria alueellisia eroja ja on ainutlaatuinen avaus Venäjän tämän päivän taidekasvatuksen ja sen haasteiden tarkasteluun. Tasa-arvon ja epätasa-arvon kysymykset olivat kuitenkin tutkimusten taustalla silloinkin, kun tutki-mukset kohdistuivat musiikkioppilaitosten toiminnan säätelyyn. Suomalaisista esitelmistä kaksi käsitteli Floora-hanketta ja yksi taiteen perusopetuksen oppilaslähtöisen opetus-suunnitelman pedagogisia mahdollisuuksia. Esitysten keskeisiä teoreetikkoja olivat Robert Putnam, Martha Nussbaum, Amartya Sen ja Etienne Wenger. Kaikki kolme tutkimusta ovat mukana Suomen Akatemian Strategisen Tutkimuksen Neuvoston rahoittamassa ArtsEqual-konsortiossa.

Useat esitykset nostivat esille sen, että musiikkioppilaitosten itseään perusteleva diskurssi on yleinen. Systeemin kehittäminen on kuitenkin haasteellista, mikäli juututaan puolustelevaan diskurssiin ja oikeutetaan olemassaoloa aiemmilla perusteilla. Sen sijaan, että muutoksen tila nähtäisiin mahdollisuutena, muutos koetaan helposti uhkana. Vaikka oppilaitostutkimukset ovat yleensä käytäntöpainotteisia, tutkimuksen teoria antaa mah-dollisuuden tarkastella ja jäsentää käytänteitä sekä ymmärtää todellisuutta monesta suun-nasta. Kahden mielenkiintoisen päivän aikana syntyi yhteinen ajatus siitä, että keskustele-va dialogi tulevaisuuden mahdollisuuksista kriittisistä ja moninaisista lähtökohdista on merkittävä osa luottamusta herättävässä tutkimuksenteossa.

Suomen kannalta erityisen kiinnostavaa oli tutkimusparadigmojen erot eri maista tulevien jatko-opiskelijoiden töissä. Itävallan tohtoriopiskelijoiden tutkimukset pyrkivät kartoittamaan oppilaitosten välisiä maantieteellisiä, taloudellisia ja instituutioiden organi-saatioon liittyviä eroja, kun taas suomalaisten tutkimuksissa lähestyttiin tasa-arvon ja yhdenvertaisuuden kysymyksiä tapausten ja sosiaalisten innovaatioiden kautta. Sisällölli-sesti mielenkiintoisen vastakohdan muodostivat Venäjän täysin ilmainen taidekasvatus-järjestelmä ja Irlannin kaupallistunut taidekasvatus, josta 80 % perustuu yksityiseen

palveluntarjontaan. Irlantilainen tohtorikoulutettava Dorothy Conaghanin mukaan instrumenttiopinnot ovat Irlannin yksityisillä markkinoilla keskiluokkaisten vanhempien projekti. Lasten musiikkikoulutus nähdään tulevaisuuden sijoituksena yliopistopaikkaa hakevan nuoren ansioluettelossa ja mahdollisuutena erottautua positiivisesti muista hakijoista. Tämä vaiettu asia on 'kuin elefantti olohuoneessa'. Koska markkinavoimille on annettu valta, vain keskiluokkaiset perheet pystyvät ostamaan koulutuksellisia erityismahdollisuuksia lapsilleen. Näin ollen mahdollisuuksien epätasa-arvoon ei päästä käsiksi. Conaghan korosti perheiden ja erityisesti äitien merkitystä musiikkiharrastuksen mahdollistajina ja lasten tulevaisuuteen investoijina. Yhdistävänä tekijänä eri maiden, Suomi mukaan luettuna, musiikkioppilaitosjärjestelmien välillä tuli esille muun muassa se, että ne näyttävät toimivan rahoituksen ja resurssien osalta samoilla tavoilla sekä isoissa että pienissä kaupungeissa.

Jatkossa on mielenkiintoista nähdä, millaista ymmärrystä musiikkioppilaitosjärjestelmistä parhaillaan verkostoituva musiikkiopistotutkimus tuottaa. Tulevaisuuden suunnitelmissa on järjestää tohtorifoorumeita sekä Helsinkiin että Wieniin. Laajempi tutkimuksellinen kohtaaminen tapahtuu järjestyksessään toisessa kansainvälisessä musiikkioppilaitostutkimuksen konferenssissa lokakuussa 2019 Wienissä. ∎

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Ajankohtaista | Actual

Eija Kauppinen

Musiikin taiteen perusopetuksen uudet opetussuunnitelmat

Musiikkioppilaitokset ottivat elokuussa 2018 käyttöön uudet opetussuunnitelmat, jotka koulutuksen järjestäjät ovat laatineet taiteen perusopetuksen uusien opetussuunnitelman perusteiden pohjalta. Artikkeli taustoittaa näiden vuonna 2017 annettujen opetussuunnitelman perusteiden linjauksia. Tarkoitus on, että artikkeli osaltaan auttaisi ymmärtämään uudistuksen tavoitteita ja tavoiteltua muutosta.

Taiteen perusopetus on oma koulutusmuotonsa ja osa suomalaista yleissivistävää koulutusta. Se on perusopetuksen ja lukiokoulutuksen ulkopuolella tapahtuvaa tavoitteellista ja tasolta toiselle etenevää tietyn taiteenalan opetusta. Esimerkiksi perinteinen musiikkiopistoissa annettu instrumentti-, musiikin perusteiden ja yhteissoiton opetus on ollut yleensä taiteen perusopetusta.

Yleissivistävän koulutuksen ohella taiteen perusopetuksella on paikkansa suomalaisessa taidekasvatuksen kokonaisuudessa (ks. kuva1). Taidekasvatus kuuluu opintoihin myös muissa koulutusmuodoissa, kuten esimerkiksi perusopetuksessa ja lukiokoulutuksessa. Lisäksi esimerkiksi kunnat ja lasten kulttuurikeskukset tarjoavat muuta taide- ja kulttuurikasvatusta lapsille ja nuorille. Taiteen perusopetuksen erottaa muusta tarjottavasta taidekasvatuksesta sen pitkäkestoisuus ja tavoitteellisuus. Tasolta toiselle etenevä tavoitteellinen taiteenalan opetus palvelee erityisesti niitä oppilaita, joilla on erityistä kiinnostusta tai osaamista tietyn taiteenalan opiskeluun.
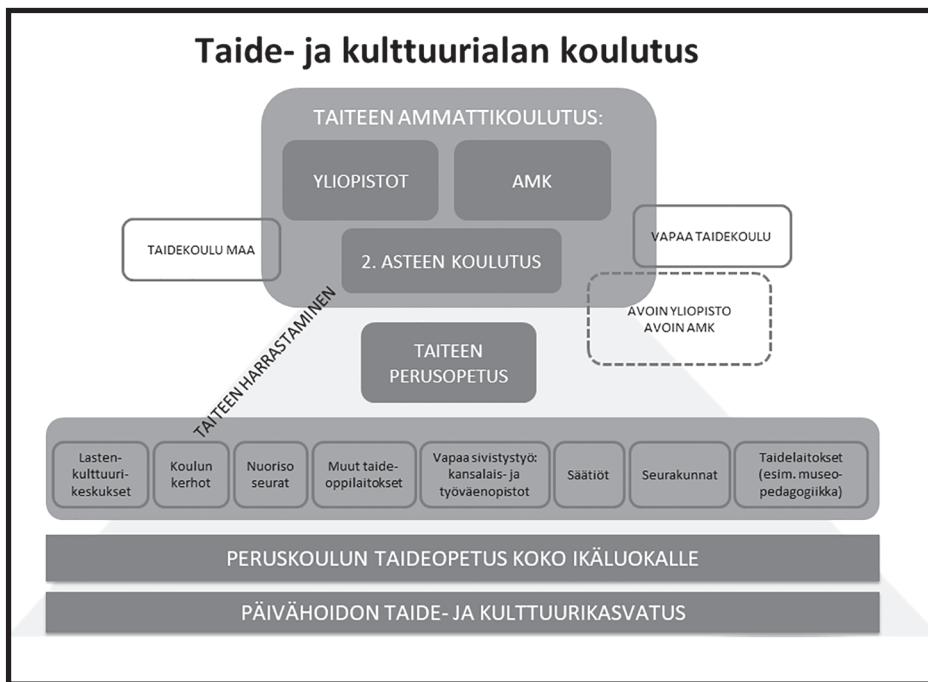
Kuva 1. Taide- ja kulttuurialan koulutus Suomessa.

Taiteen perusopetuksella on oma lakinsa (633/1998) ja asetuksensa (813/1998) ja myös opetussuunnitelman perusteet, joiden pohjalta koulutuksen järjestäjä laatii opetussuunnitelman ja järjestää opetuksen. Opetushallitus on toteuttanut taiteen perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteiden uudistuksen vuosina 2016 – 2017. Uudet opetussuunnitelman perusteet annettiin kaikille taiteenaloille syyskuussa 2017 sekä laajalle oppimäärälle (TPO laaja 2017) että yleiselle oppimäärälle (TPO yleinen 2017). Edeltävät opetussuunnitelman perusteet olivat olleet käytössä joko 12 tai 15 vuotta taiteenalasta ja oppimäärästä riippuen.

Opetussuunnitelman perusteissa taiteenaloja on tällä hetkellä kaiken kaikkiaan yhdeksän: arkkitehtuuri, kuvataide, käsityö, mediataiteet, musiikki, sanataide, sirkustaide, tanssi ja teatteritaide. Oppilasmäärältään musiikki on suurin taiteenala.

Opetussuunnitelmauudistuksen yhtenä tehtävänä oli selkiyttää kahden oppimäärän eroa. Keskeisin ero oppimäärien välillä on opintojen laajuus. Laajan oppimäärän laajuus on edelleen 1300 tuntia ja yleisen oppimäärän laajuus 500 tuntia (ks. kuva 2). Molempiin oppimääriin sisältyy kaksi opintotasoa. Uudistuksen yhteydessä oppimäärien välistä eroa pyrittiin selkiyttämään muun muassa kasvattamalla laajan oppimäärän perusopintojen laajuus 800 tuntiin, joka mahdollistaa koko yleistä oppimäärää selvästi pidempikestoiset opinnot jo laajan oppimäärän perusopintojen aikana.

Musiikin opetussuunnitelman perusteiden työryhmä pyrki selventämään kahden oppimäärän eroa muun muassa tavoitteiden kuvauksissa. Musiikin laajan ja yleisen oppimäärän tavoitealueet nimettiin toisistaan poiketen. Vain kuuntelemisen ja musiikin hahmottamisen tavoitealueen nimi on sama molemmissa oppimäärissä. Lisäksi opetuksen tavoitteet määriteltiin ottaen huomioon oppimäärien laskennallinen laajuus.

Uudistuksen yhteydessä yleisen oppimäärän perusteet pyrittiin kirjoittamaan tavalla, joka mahdollistaa monenlaiset paikalliset ratkaisut opetussuunnitelmaa laadittaessa. Musiikin yleisen oppimäärän opetusta järjestävät tavallisesti muut kuin opetustuntikohtaisen valtionosuuden piirissä olevat musiikkioppilaitokset, kuten kansalais- ja työväenopistot ja sellaiset yksityiset musiikkikoulut, joilta kunta on hankkinut musiikin taiteen perusopetusta. Paikalliset tarpeet ja edellytykset järjestämiseen ovat moninaiset ja vaihtelevat oppilaitoksesta toiseen.
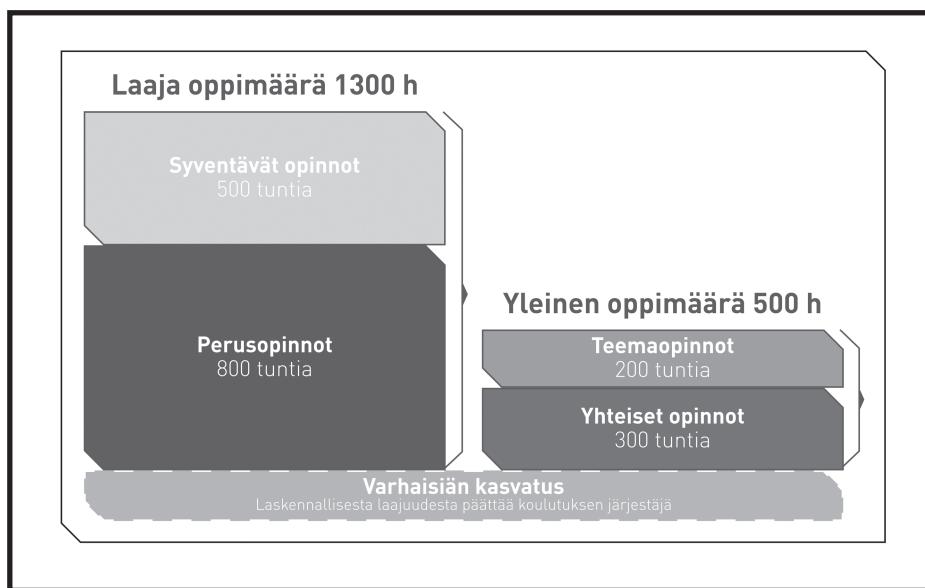
Kuva 2. Taiteen perusopetuksen kaksi oppimäärää.

Taiteen perusopetuksen järjestämisen ja toiminnan vakiintuneisuus vaihtelee eri oppimäärien ja oppilaitosten kesken. Tämän vuoksi taiteen perusopetuksen järjestelmän ja pedagogiikan kehittämisen kannalta on tärkeää, että oppilaitokset tekevät yhteistyötä yli oppimäärä- ja oppilaitosrajojen. Lisäksi perusteuudistus toi taiteidenvälisyyden aikaisempaa vahvemmin perusteisiin kaikilla taiteenaloilla ja siksi kehittämistyötä tehdään jatkossa toivottavasti myös eri taiteenalojen kesken.

Uudistuksen taustaa

Opetussuunnitelman perusteiden uudistaminen käynnistettiin keväällä 2016. Sitä ennen Opetushallitus keräsi tietoa uudistuksen pohjaksi yhteistyössä opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriön ja Taiteen perusopetusliitto TPO ry:n kanssa. Yksi tärkeä uudistusta edeltävä hanke oli taiteen perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteiden ja pedagogiikan toimivuuden arviointi *(Koulutuksen arviointineuvosto 2012).* Sen raportissa esitettiin taiteen perusopetukselle kymmenen kehittämiskohdetta, joista osa liittyi valtakunnallisen tason ja perusteiden kehittämiseen. Näitä opetussuunnitelman perusteiden uudistamiseen liittyviä tavoitteita olivat muun muassa:

- Taiteen perusopetuksen kahden oppimäärän järjestelmää tulee kehittää.
- Taiteen perusopetuksen oppilaitosten omaehtoista kehittämiskulttuuria tulee vahvistaa.
- Oppilaan arviointia tulee kehittää oppilaan kehittymistä ja opiskelun tavoitteiden asettamista tukevaan suuntaan.
- Taiteen perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteisiin tarvitaan nykyistä tarkemmat fyysisiä oppimisympäristöjä koskevat suositukset.
- Taiteenalojen yhteiset ja erityiset piirteet tulee nykyistä enemmän ottaa huomioon kehitettäessä taiteen perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteita.

Opetussuunnitelman perusteiden uudistustyö pyrkii vastaamaan kaikkiin näihin tavoitteisiin. Tämän lisäksi uudistuksen taustalla vaikutti ennen esi- ja perusopetuksen uudistusta toteutettu tiedonkeruu, jossa kartoitettiin toimintaympäristön muutoksesta aiheutuvia osaamistarpeita. Kartoituksen mukaan toimintaympäristön murros on muuttanut ja muuttaa edelleen tulevaisuudessa tarvittavia taitoja, käsitystä oppimisesta ja tiedosta sekä myös ymmärrystä oppilaan roolista (Perusopetus 2020; ks. myös Linturi & Rubin 2011; Kujala et. al 2012). Nämä asiat näkyvät myös taiteen perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteiden eri osuuksissa.

Esi- ja perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteiden uudistamisprosessissa vuosina 2012–2014 luotiin perusta muun muassa arvopohjaa, oppimiskäsitystä, oppimisympäristöjä ja työtapoja sekä toimintakulttuuria koskeville linjauksille. Työssä oli mukana merkittävä määrä tutkijoita, jotka toivat laadintatyöhön tutkimuksen näkökulman täydentämään opettajien ja opetuksen järjestäjien käytännön osaamista.

Taiteen perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteissa arvopohjaa, oppimiskäsitystä, oppimisympäristöjä ja työtapoja sekä toimintakulttuurin kehittämistä koskevat osuudet laadittiin samaa tietoperustaa hyödyntäen kuitenkin tiedostaen, että taiteenalalla on merkitystä esimerkiksi oppimisprosessin luonteen, oppimisympäristöjen kehittämisen ja työtapojen valinnan kannalta.

Yleisen osan linjaukset

Taiteen perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteiden kaikkien kuvausten lähtökohtana on laki taiteen perusopetuksesta (633/1998), jonka mukaan taiteen perusopetus

on tavoitteellista ja tasolta toiselle etenevää. Opetussuunnitelman perusteissa todetaan, että taiteen perusopetuksen tehtävänä on tarjota oppilaille mahdollisuuksia opiskella taidetta pitkäjänteisesti, päämäärätietoisesti ja omien kiinnostuksen kohteiden suuntaisesti. Tarkoitus on, että taiteen perusopetus edistää taidesuhteen kehittymistä ja elinikäistä taiteen harrastamista. Taiteen perusopetuksessa oppilas voi kehittää osaamistaan ja valmiuksiaan valitsemallaan taiteenalalla siten, että hän voi hakeutua asianomaisen taiteenalan ammatilliseen ja korkea-asteen koulutukseen. (TPO laaja 2017 & TPO yleinen 2017.)

Opetussuunnitelman laatiminen edellyttää, että koulutuksen järjestäjät perehtyvät opetussuunnitelman perusteiden yleiseen osaan ja oman taiteenalansa osuuteen. Myös jokaisen taiteen perusopetuksessa opettavan opettajan on hyvä perehtyä perusteiden linjauksiin, sillä perusteiden yleisessä osassa on kuvattu opetuksen järjestämisen pedagogiset tavoitteet (ks. kuva 3).
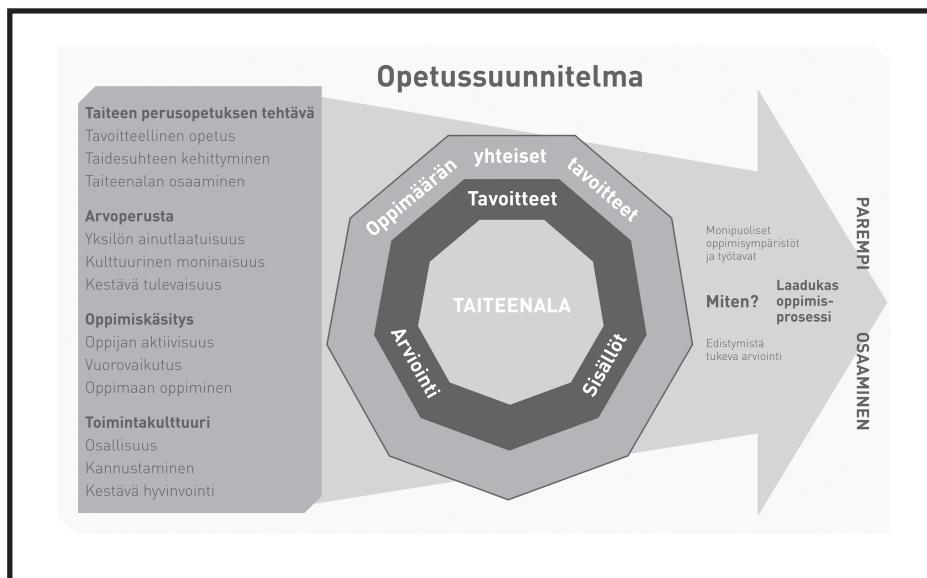
Kuva 3. Taiteen perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman osa-alueet.

Koulutuksen järjestäjien ja opettajien on tärkeää tiedostaa työn arvoperusta ja reflektoida jatkuvasti omia ajattelu- ja toimintatapojaan. Taiteen perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteiden arvoperustan mukaan taiteen perusopetus rakentuu ihmisoikeuksien, tasa-arvon, yhdenvertaisuuden ja kulttuurien moninaisuuden kunnioitukselle. Jokainen ihminen on ainulaatuinen ja arvokas yksilönä ja yhteisön jäsenenä. Näin ollen ajatuksena on, että koulutuksen järjestäjät ja opettajat kohtaavat jokaisen oppilaan ottaen huomioon hänen lähtökohtansa ja ajattelunsa. Jokaisella oppilaalla tulisi olla mahdollisuus kasvaa ihmisenä ajattelun taitojen ja luovuuden kehittymisen myötä riippumatta esimerkiksi sukupuolesta tai kulttuurisesta taustastaan. Tavoitteeksi arvoperustan kuvauksessa asetetaan pohjan luominen sosiaalisesti ja kulttuurisesti kestävälle tulevaisuudelle.

Arvoperustan hengessä oppimiskäsityksen kuvauksessa todetaan, että oppilas on aktiivinen toimija. Opettajan ohjauksessa oppilas oppii vähitellen asettamaan osatavoitteita oppimiselleen ja toimimaan siten, että hänen on mahdollista saavuttaa tavoitteet. Myös vuorovaikutuksessa toimiminen on olennaista oppimisen kannalta. Siksi perusteiden oppimiskäsityksen kuvauksessa oppiminen nähdään kaikilla taiteenaloilla kokonaisvaltaisena ja vuorovaikutteisena prosessina.

Oppimiskäsityksessä on uudella tavalla nostettu esiin oppimisen kokonaisvaltaisuus: kehollisuus, aistisuus ja emootiot ovat olennainen osa oppimista. Perusteiden mukaan *"Myönteiset tunnekokemukset, oppimisen ilo ja uutta luova toiminta edistävät oppimista ja innostavat kehittämään omaa osaamista. Kokemukset ja vuorovaikutus ympäristön kanssa samoin kuin eri aistien käyttö ja kehollisuus ovat oppimisen kannalta olennaisia".* Tavoitteeksi asetetaan, että oppilaita ohjataan ymmärtämään kokemuksiaan ja myös oppimisen tapojaan. Tämä edellyttää kuitenkin ohjausta. Siksi perusteissa nostetaan esiin rohkaisevan ja kannustavan ohjauksen ja palautteen merkitys. Monipuolinen, myönteinen ja samaan aikaan kuitenkin realistinen palaute asetetaan oppimiskäsityksen kuvauksessa innostumisen ja oppimisen kannalta merkitykselliseksi.

Koska oppiminen nähdään aikaan ja paikkaan kytkeytyvänä prosessina (esim. Wiggins 2009; Alexander et. al 2009; de Corte 2010; de Corte 2011/2012), on opetussuunnitelman perusteissa kuvattu tavoitteet oppimisympäristöjen ja toimintakulttuurin kehittämiselle.

Oppimisympäristöjen kuvauksessa painotetaan oppimisympäristöjen turvallisuutta ja tavoitteeksi asetetaan, että taiteen perusopetuksessa oppimisympäristöt ovat fyysisesti, sosiaalisesti ja psyykkisesti turvallisia. Avoin ja myönteinen ilmapiiri rohkaisee ja innostaa oppilaita osaamisensa kehittämiseen. On luonnollista, että myös oppimisympäristöjen fyysisillä ja materiaalisilla tekijöillä on merkitystä oppimiselle. (TPO laaja 2017 & TPO yleinen 2017.)

Jo aikaisemmat opetussuunnitelman perusteet ovat sisältäneet arvoperustan ja oppimiskäsityksen kuvaukset. Uusi asia vuoden 2017 opetussuunnitelman perusteissa on toimintakulttuurin kehittäminen (TPO laaja 2017 & TPO yleinen 2017). Perusteiden mukaan toimintakulttuurilla tarkoitetaan oppilaitoksen toimintatapoja ja käytäntöjä, jotka syntyvät normeista tehdyistä tulkinnoista, perinteistä ja yhteisön jäsenten ajattelu- ja toimintatavoista (vrt. Kunnari 2008). Tavoitteena on, että oppilaitoksen toimintakulttuuri edistää yhteisön jokaisen jäsenen oppimista ja hyvinvointia, mikä puolestaan edellyttää välittävää kohtaamista ja mahdollisuutta osallisuuden kokemukseen. Avoimessa toimintakulttuurissa kaikki otetaan mukaan ja kaikkia kannustetaan oppimaan. Johtamisella on suuri merkitys toimintakulttuurin muotoutumisessa ja kehittämisessä, sillä oppilaitoksen arjessa toimintakulttuuri realisoituu opetuksen suunnittelun, toteutuksen ja arvioinnin järjestämisen tavoissa.

Musiikin taiteen perusopetuksen tehtävät

Opetussuunnitelman perusteiden yleiset linjaukset toimivat kivijalkana taiteenalakohtaisten opetussuunnitelman perusteiden laadinnalle. Oppimäärän rakennetta koskevissa luvuissa määritellään oppimäärien rakenteet ja opintotasojen tarkoitus.

- *Laajan oppimäärän perusopintojen tarkoituksena on taiteenalalle keskeisten taitojen tavoitteellinen harjoittelu ja pitkäjänteinen kehittäminen. Syventävien opintojen tarkoituksena on opintomahdollisuuksien laajentaminen tai painottaminen.*

- *Yleisen oppimäärän yhteisten opintojen tarkoituksena on taiteenalan perustaitojen hankkiminen. Teemaopintojen tarkoituksena on yhteisissä opinnoissa hankittujen taitojen laajentaminen. Koulutuksen järjestäjä voi tarjota keskenään vaihtoehtoisia teemaopintojen opintokokonaisuuksia.*

Oppimäärien ja opintotasojen luonnehdinnat olivat yhtenä lähtökohtana, kun musiikin työryhmä aloitti musiikin laajan ja yleisen oppimäärän perusteiden laadinnan. Koska musiikin laajaa oppimäärää järjestävät jo pitkään toimineet musiikkioppilaitokset,

olen keskittynyt artikkelissa laajan oppimäärän linjausten avaamiseen ja käsittelen vain lyhyesti yleistä oppimäärää.

Musiikin laajan oppimäärän taiteen perusopetuksen tehtävänä on luoda edellytykset hyvän musiikkisuhteen syntymiselle. Keskeisenä tavoitteena on musiikillisten taitojen kehittäminen ja oppimisen ilo.

Taiteen perusopetuksesta annetun lain mukaisesti musiikkiopinnot antavat valmiuksia musiikin itsenäiseen harrastamiseen ja oppilaan tavoitteiden mukaiseen musiikkiopintojen jatkamiseen muilla koulutusasteilla. Lisäksi oppilasta ohjataan musiikkiopinnoissa esteettiseen kokemiseen, luovaan ajatteluun ja tuottamiseen sekä uusien ratkaisujen etsimiseen. On tärkeää, että oppilas oppii musiikkia opiskellessaan tunnistamaan omat vahvuutensa ja että hän löytää omat musiikilliset ilmaisutapansa. Samalla oppilas oppii ymmärtämään musiikkia ja harrastustaan osana kulttuuria, musiikkikulttuuria ja koko taiteen kenttää.

Musiikin laajan oppimäärän tavoitteet

Musiikin laajan oppimäärän perusopintojen ja syventävien tavoitteet on kuvattu opetuksen tavoitteina siten, että ne ohjaisivat ymmärtämään oppimiskäsityksen mukaista pedagogiikkaa ja samaan aikaan taitoja, joita oppilaan tulisi oppia. Kirjoitustapa voi tuntua monimutkaiselta. Tavoitteiden hahmottamista ehkä kuitenkin auttaa, jos ymmärtää tavoitteiden kirjoittamisen tavan. Tavoitteen alussa oleva verbi kuvaa opettajan toimintaa ja sitä seuraa oppilaan tavoitellun toiminnan tai osaamisen kuvaus. Opetussuunnitelman perusteiden tavoitteissa opettaja muun muassa ohjaa, opastaa, harjaannuttaa, auttaa, kannustaa, rohkaisee ja innostaa. Opettaja on siis fasilitaattori, edellytysten luoja, jonka tehtävänä oppimisprosessin alkuun saattaminen ja oppimisen tukeminen läpi prosessin. Oppilas on se, joka työskentelee aktiivisesti oppiakseen uusia taitoja.

Avatakseni tarkemmin tavoitteiden kirjoittamistapaa otan esimerkiksi yhden musiikin laajan oppimäärän perusopintojen tavoitteen: "*Opetuksen tavoitteena on ohjata oppilasta oppimaan instrumentti- ja yhteismusisointitaitoja päämääränään soittimen itsenäinen hallinta ja omaehtoinen ilmaisu.*" Tavoite sisältyy *Oppimaan oppiminen ja harjoittelu* -nimiseen tavoitealueeseen. Tavoitteen on ajateltu sisältävän ensinnäkin oppimiskäsityksen mukaisen ajatuksen siitä, että oppilas on oppimisen subjekti ja aktiivinen toimija oppimisessaan. Toiseksi tavoitteeseen sisältyy ajatus, että oppilas voi oppia harjoittelemaan ja kehittämään omia instrumentti- ja yhteismusisointitaitojaan, kun hän saa opetusta ja ohjausta näiden taitojen kehittämiseksi. Tämäkin ajatus linkittyy oppimiskäsityksen kuvaukseen, jonka mukaan oppilaita ohjataan ymmärtämään kokemuksiaan, tiedostamaan omat tapansa oppia ja käyttämään tätä tietoa oman oppimisensa edistämiseen. Kyse on oppimaan oppimiseen ohjaamisesta. Opettajan tehtävä on ohjata oppilasta tässä prosessissa. Toiseksi tavoite sisältää ajatuksen opiskelun päämäärästä, mikä on instrumentin itsenäinen hallinta ja ilmaisu.

Kaiken kaikkiaan opetussuunnitelman perusteissa asetetaan musiikin laajan oppimäärän perusopinnoille seitsemäntoista tavoitetta, jotka jakautuvat neljään tavoitealueeseen: *1. Esittäminen ja ilmaiseminen 2. Oppimaan oppiminen ja harjoittelu 3. Kuunteleminen ja musiikin hahmottaminen sekä 4. Säveltäminen ja improvisointi.* Tavoitealueet muotoutuivat musiikin työryhmän työskentelyn myötä. Niiden taustalla ovat musiikkioppilaitosten opetuksen traditiot ja nykykäytännöt ja myös esimerkiksi musiikin oppimisen sekä musiikkikasvatuksen teorioista ja filosofiasta ammennetut ainekset (ks. Wiggins 2009; Elliott 1995; Sloboda 2005; Swanwick 1994).

Laajan oppimäärän syventävissä opinnoissa on niin ikään samat neljä tavoitealuetta kuin perusopinnoissa. Oppilas kehittää osaamistaan niin esittämisessä ja ilmaisuissa kuin kaikilla kolmella muullakin tavoitealueella. Näihin neljään tavoitealueeseen sisältyy

yhteensä neljätoista tavoitetta. Syventävien opintojen aikana oppilas suunnittelee ja toteuttaa musiikillista osaamista osoittavan laajan oppimäärän lopputyön. Musiikissa lopputyön on ajateltu olevan prosessi sen sijaan, että se olisi opintojen päätteeksi suoritettava, yhteen hetkeen sidottu näyttö. Perusteiden mukaan oppilas asettaa lopputyön tavoitteet ja päättää sen toteutustavan yhteistyössä opettajiensa kanssa, mikä tarkoittaa, että oppilas tarvitsee opetusta ja ohjausta lopputyön tekemisessä.

Uutena asiana laajan oppimäärän perusteisiin sisältyy nyt omana tavoitealueena säveltäminen ja improvisointi. Asiana se ei välttämättä ole uusi taiteen perusopetuksen oppilaitoksissa, mutta opetussuunnitelman perusteissa se on nyt sanoitettuna aiempaa vahvemmin. Uusissa perusteissa on päädytty käyttämään sanaa säveltäminen, vaikka edeltävissä perusteissa on puhuttu esimerkiksi musiikillisesta keksinnästä tai luovan toiminnan edistämisestä. Musiikkikasvatuksesta esitetyissä teorioissa tai malleissa on yleensä mukana ulottuvuus, josta käytetään englannin kielisissä esityksissä käsitettä composing (ks. esim. Wiggins 2009; Swanwick 1994). Suomalaisessa keskustelussa säveltämisellä on ollut kuitenkin toisenlainen merkitys. Sen on ehkä jopa katsottu tarkoittavan jotain niin vaativaa toimintaa, että sitä voivat harjoittaa vain ammattilaiset.

Taiteen perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelmassa säveltämisellä viitataan sekä prosessiin että musiikkiteoksiin (ks. Ojala & Väkevä 2013). Tavoitteet sisältävät ajatuksen kokeilemisesta ja soivien elementtien sommittelusta silloin, kun tekstissä puhutaan omien musiikillisten ideoiden ja ratkaisujen tuottamisesta. Ajatus teosten säveltämisestä on kuitenkin mukana kuvauksissa, sillä esimerkiksi ilmaisun "säveltämään omaa musiikkia" voi katsoa viittaavan musiikkiteosten tekemiseen.

Oppimisen arviointi musiikin taiteen perusopetuksessa

Oppilasarvioinnin lähtökohdat tulevat taiteen perusopetuksesta annetusta laista (633/1998). Lain mukaan arvioinnin tehtävänä on ohjata oppilaan oppimista, tukea hänen edistymistään opinnoissa ja kehittää hänen edellytyksiään itsearviointiin. Lisäksi laissa sanotaan, että oppilaan työskentelyä tulee arvioida monipuolisesti. Arvioinnin tarkemman ohjauksen laki jättää Opetushallituksen linjattavaksi opetussuunnitelman perusteissa.

Arviointiosuuksista vastannut työryhmä päätyi käyttämään ilmaisua *oppimisen arviointi* oppilasarvioinnin sijaan. Sama ratkaisu oli tehty myös perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteissa. Näin haluttiin korostaa, että arvioinnin tulisi kohdistua ainoastaan työskentelyyn ja tavoitellun osaamisen karttumiseen, ei oppilaan persoonaan, temperamenttiin tai ominaisuuksiin (Vitikka & Kauppinen 2017; ks. Mullola et. al 2011).

Iso muutos laajan oppimäärän perusteiden arviointilinjauksissa on numeroarvioinnista luopuminen. Samalla musiikin osuudesta poistui viittaus Suomen musiikkioppilaitosten liiton tasosuorituksiin. Tasosuoritukset ovat olleet yksi keskeinen arvioinnin ja arvosanan antamisen lähtökohta musiikkioppilaitoksissa. Uusissa opetussuunnitelman perusteissa viittauksesta luovuttiin samalla, kun koulutuksen järjestäjälle annettiin mahdollisuus tarjota oppilaille vaihtoehtoisia opintokokonaisuuksia ja siten erilaisia opintopolkuja. Uusien perusteiden mukaan koulutuksen järjestäjän on kuvattava opetussuunnitelmassaan päättöarviointia varten kriteerit, joita käyttäen oppilaan edistymistä ja osaamista voidaan arvioida. Oppilas saa perusopintojen todistukseen ja päättötodistukseen laajan oppimäärän opinnoista sanallisen arvion siten, että sanallisessa arviossa painotetaan oppilaan oppimisen ja osaamisen vahvuuksia.

Taiteen perusopetus on taiteenalan opiskelua

Taiteen perusopetuksessa on nimensä mukaisesti kyse taiteenalan opetuksesta, joissa oppilaalla on mahdollisuus harjoitella ja kehittää osaamistaan valitsemallaan taiteenalalla.

Sen ohella tarkoituksena on, että opetus vahvistaa oppilaan omaehtoisen ilmaisun, tulkinnan ja arvottamisen taitoja ja että opinnot tukevat oppilaiden luovan ajattelun ja osallisuuden kehittymistä.

Seppo Kimanen (2011) on taannoin todennut, ettei kiireisessä ajassamme ja tehokkuuden tavoittelussa jää välttämättä enää aikaa aistinvaraiselle hitaalle kypsymiselle ja persoonallisuuden kokonaisvaltaiselle kehittymiselle. Luovuuden tutkija Keith Sawyer (2018) on puolestaan todennut, että taiteen tekemisessä ja luovuudessa on ennen kaikkea kyse prosessista, joka vaatii aikaa ja jonka yksityiskohdista syntyvät luovat ratkaisut. On tärkeää, että taiteen tekijä ja opiskelija saa aikaa etsimiseen, kokeilemiseen ja oman äänen löytämiseen. Taiteen perusopetuksessa tälle kypsymiselle ja luovalle prosessille on mahdollista antaa aikaa. ■

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Pirjo Nenonen

"Laulu syömmet aukaisee". Kokonaisvaltainen laulunopetus musiikkiliikunnan avulla

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Arvoisa kustos, kunnioitettu vastaväittäjä, hyvä yleisö.

Kokonaisvaltainen laulunopetustapa musiikkiliikunnan avulla -työtavan ja tutkimuksen pohjana on monipuolinen koulutukseni ja työkokemukseni. Olen laaja-alainen musiikin ammattilainen: laulunopettaja, laulaja, musiikin- ja musiikkiliikunnan opettaja. Lisäksi olen opiskellut musiikkiterapiaa, sekä erilaisia kehon-hallinnan menetelmiä. Omassa opetuksessani olen mielelläni yhdistänyt musiikkiliikun-nan musiikin- ja laulunopetukseen eri yhteyksissä ja eri opetustilanteissa. Kaikkien edellä mainittujen koulutusten ja työkokemusten pohjalta on vuosien saatossa syntynyt paljon ideoita laulunopetukseen. Tämä laulunopetustapa musiikkiliikunnan avulla on syntynyt luonnostaan työn ohessa auttamaan laulunopiskelijoita niin kehollisesti kun myös äänellisesti. Tarkoituksena on ollut opettaa opiskelijoita tuntemaan ja aistimaan omaa kehoaan paremmin laulusuorituksen aikana ja ennen kaikkea laulusuorituksen parantaminen ja äänen kehittäminen.

Tutkimuksen taustateoriat

Laulaminen ja liikunta ovat kautta ihmiskunnan historian liittyneet luonnollisesti yhteen kaikkialla maailmassa. Yhtymäkohtia ja samankaltaisuutta löytyy eri tahoilta. Jo Platon ymmärsi fyysisen ja muusisen kasvatuksen yhdistämisen. Kansanmusiikissa yhdistyy luonnollisesti liikkuminen ja laulaminen erilaisissa laulutansseissa sekä lasten laululei-keissä, erilaisissa uskonnollisissa juhlamenoissa ja perinteissä. Eri kulttuurien työlauluissa ympäri maailmaa liike ja laulu tapahtuvat samassa rytmissä työrytmin kanssa. Keski- ja Etelä-Afrikassa musiikissa ei eroa liikkumista ja laulamista tosistaan, vaan ne kuuluvat luontaisesti yhteen. Erilaisissa urheilutapahtumissa meistä jokainen laulaa luontevasti, resitoivasti heijaten itseään laulun mukana. Tässä muutamia esimerkkejä mainitakseni.

Musiikkipedagogeista erityisesti Emilé Jaques-Dalcroze, mutta myös Carl Orff sekä Zoltán Kodály painottivat ihmisten kokonaisvaltaista kasvattamista, koko persoonan kehittämistä sekä luontaista liikkumista (esim. Juntunen 2010; Landis & Garder 1972). Myös Maria Montessori ja Shinizi Suzuki painottivat ihmisen kasvattamista kokonais-valtaisesti musiikin avulla (esim. Keltti-Laine 1991; Suzuki 1973).

Tanssipedagogi Rudolf von Laban tutki ihmistä kokonaisuutena, analysoi ihmisten liikkumista ja liikkeen, liikkumisen vaikutusta ihmisen, koko persoonan kehitykseen. Hänen mukaansa liikkeen laatu luonnehtii ihmisen persoonallisuutta ja senhetkistä mielentilaa. Myös hän korosti luonnollista liikkumista. (Laban 1948/1975; 1950/1980/ 2011.)

Koko tutkimukseni laulunopetustapa perustuu klassiseen laulunopetukseen, *bel canto -*menetelmään, johonka olen yhdistänyt musiikkiliikunnan (esim. Fagnan 2010; Lamberti 1905; Pilotti 2009).

Edesmenneen musiikkiliikunnan lehtori Inkeri Simola-Isakssonin pedagogiset ajatukset musiikkiliikunnasta ja laulamisesta ovat tutkimukseni tausta-aineistoa. Simola-Isaksson korosti, että laulaminen kuuluu kaikille ja keneltäkään ei saa koskaan kieltää laulamista, sillä jokaisella on oikeus laulaa. Laulaminen aukaisee sydämet, ei vaan oman sydämen, vaan myös yhteyden muiden ihmisten kanssa. Laulaminen ja kehonliikkeet kuuluvat hänen mukaansa luontevasti yhteen ja jokainen voi laulaa oman kehonsa avulla ja kehonsa kautta, hän kehotti usein "anna käsien laulaa". Simola-Isakssonin sanoin liikunta virittää laulamista ja laulaminen virittää liikuntaa. Hän korosti myös, että laulamiselle on aina luotava positiiviset olosuhteet kaikenlaisissa laulutilanteissa ja laulamista on tuettava kaikin tavoin. (Simola-Isaksson 2010; 2006; 2004.)

Tutkimuksen tarkoitus

Tämän tutkimuksen tehtävänä oli kehittää laulunopetusta musiikkiliikunnan avulla sekä tutkia, kuinka musiikkiliikunta voi tukea kokonaisvaltaista laulunopetusta.

Tutkimuksessa sovellettiin lisäksi Simola-Isakssonin pedagogisia ajatuksia laulunopetukseen. Tutkimuksen keskeisenä tehtävänä oli saada syvempää ymmärrystä tutkittavasta ilmiöstä, sillä musiikkiliikunnan ja laulun yhdistäminen ei ole täysin uusi idea, mutta varsinaisena yksinlaulunopetuksen opetusvälineenä musiikkiliikunnan käyttö on uusi opetustapa. Kyseisessä opetustavassa "laulu on isäntä ja liike renki", lainatakseni Inkeri Simola-Isakssonin ilmausta kääntäen.

Tämä tutkimuksen kohteena oleva laulunopetustapa on kokonaisvaltaista toimintaa. Keskeisinä käsitteinä tässä tutkimuksessa ovat kehollisuus, ja kehollinen oppiminen, jonka avulla laulamista opitaan (Anttila 2011; 2013). Kehollisen toiminnan avulla ihminen aktivoituu kokonaisvaltaisesti aistimusten, tuntemusten, tunteiden, mielikuvien, kielen ja ajatusten tasoilla. Oppiminen tapahtuu monien eri kanavien kautta: kinesteettisesti, visuaalisesti, auditiivisesti sekä myös kognitiivisesti. Työtapa hyödyntää ihmisen luonnollisia liikkeitä ja eleitä, ennen kaikkea jokaisen laulunopiskelijan omaa kehonkieltä ja omia liikkeitä.

Tutkimuksen toteuttaminen ja tutkimusaineisto

Tutkimus toteutettiin kahdessa vaiheessa, ja kahdella eri tasolla. Ensimmäinen vaihe tapahtui Oulun yliopistossa lukuvuonna 2005–2006, jossa tutkimuksen kohteena oli laulunopetus musiikinopettajaopiskelijoille musiikkiliikuntaa hyödyntäen. Musiikkiliikunta oli tässä vaiheessa laulunopetuksen tukena, mutta ei vielä ollut varsinaisesti laulunopetuksen opetusvälineenä.

Toinen vaihe tutkimuksessa käsittää laulunopetuksen musiikkiliikunnan avulla Wienin Johann Sebastian Bach -musiikkikoulussa lukuvuosina 2007–2013, jossa laulunopiskelijat toimivat tutkimuksen informantteina. Tässä vaiheessa musiikkiliikunta oli jo laulunopetuksen opetusvälineenä.

Tutkimusaineisto käsittää laulunopiskelijoiden haastattelut, sekä heidän omat päiväkirjamerkintänsä sekä opettajan reflektoinnin.

Tutkimusmenetelmät

Tutkimusmenetelmänä oli toimintatutkimusta, jossa kehitin uutta laulunopetustapaa musiikkiliikunnan avulla. Tutkimuksen osana oli uuden teorian luominen. (Eskola & Suoranta 2001; Jyrkämä 1999; Linnansaari 2004.) Tutkijana toimin sekä laulunopettajana että laulunopetustavan kehittäjänä. Lisäksi toimintatutkimuksen sisällä oli kokemuksen tutkimus, jossa opiskelijoiden kokemuksia uudesta laulunopetustavasta musiikkiliikunnan

avulla tutkittiin. Tutkimuksen kuluessa rakensin uuden laulunopetustavan tavoitteet ja analysoin tutkimusaineiston näiden uusien tavoitteiden pohjalta.

Tutkimuksen teoreettinen viitekehys

Tutkimuksen teoreettisena viitekehyksenä on Lauri Rauhalan holistinen ihmiskäsitys, joka käsittää ihmisen kokonaisuutena, kehon ja mielen, mutta myös situaation, maailman ja ympäristön, jossa kehollinen ja mielellinen olento elää. Kaikki nämä kolme, kehollisuus, tajunnallisuus, ja situationaalisuus ovat ihmisen olemassaolon edellytyksiä (esim. Rauhala 1992; 2005; Kosonen 2001).

Tutkimustulokset

Musiikkiliikunnan käyttö laulunopetuksen välineenä on parantanut opiskelijoiden laulusuoritusta ja helpottanut laulamista ja lisäksi kehittänyt heidän kehontuntemustaan. Opiskelijat ovat oivaltaneet liikkeen ja laulun yhteyden: musiikkiliikunta avaa koko ihmistä, kehoa, mieltä ja ääntä. Tämä laulunopetuksen tapa on vahvistanut laulunopiskelijoiden kokonaisvaltaista ihmiseksi kasvamista.

Tutkimustulokset osoittivat, että opiskelijat ovat saavuttaneet ennen kaikkea persoonallis-sosiaalisia ja psykomotorisia tavoitteita enemmän kuin musiikillisia, laulun laatuun ja lauluteknisiin asioihin perustuvia tavoitteita.

Musiikilliset tavoitteet

Laulaminen virtaa vapaasti ja musiikillisesti musiikkiliikunnan avulla. Musiikillisista tavoitteista on saavutettu rytmitajun kehittyminen, oikean sävelkorkeuden saavuttaminen ja sen pitäminen puhtaana musiikkiliikunnan avulla. Äänenvoimakkuus on kasvanut ja samoin *legato* ja *staccato* laulaminen ovat kehittyneet. Pitkien, sitkeiden laulufraasien laulaminen on kehittynyt sekä ääniala laajentunut, ja myös kuuntelukyky on kehittynyt musiikkiliikunnan avulla. Improvisointia on tapahtunut, kun opiskelijat ovat ideoineet omia liikkeitä ja eleitä ääniharjoitusten ja laulujen avuksi. Sitä kautta on opiskelijoiden oma luovuus kehittynyt.

Persoonallis-sosiaaliset tavoitteet

Musiikkiliikunnan avulla opiskelijat ovat saavuttaneet enemmän rohkeutta laulaa, he ovat vapautuneet ja sen myötä ovat itsevarmuus ja itsetunto vahvistuneet. Laulunopetus musiikkiliikunnan avulla on lisännyt opiskelijoiden varmuutta laulajana, mutta myös ihmisenä. Musiikkiliikunta on avannut heitä ihmisinä, kehollisesti ja myös äänellisesti sekä tuonut iloa, onnellisuutta, virkistymistä ja ennen kaikkea onnistumisen elämyksiä.

Psykomotoriset tavoitteet

Opiskelijat ovat oppineet tuntemaan paremmin oman ääneensä ja kehonsa sekä oppineet terveen äänenkäytön ja hengitystekniikan. Musiikkiliikunnan avulla opiskelijat ovat saavuttaneet paremman kehonkannattelun, ei vain laulamisen aikana vaan myös jokapäiväisessä elämässä (parempi seisoma- ja istuma-asento). Opiskelijat kiinnittävät omaan kehonasentoonsa entistä enemmän huomiota ja ymmärtävät paremmin koko kehon ja tuen merkityksen äänentuotossa ja sen, kuinka kokonaisvaltaista laulaminen on. Musiikkiliikunta johtaa ajatukset pois liiallisesta laulutekniikan korostamisesta. Siksi ääni soi vapaammin: mitä vähemmän äänen tuottamista ajattelee, sitä vapaammin ääni soi.

Esteettiset tavoitteet (ovat osittain musiikillisia tavoitteita)

Kaiken kaikkiaan laulun laatu on kehittynyt. Opiskelijat laulavat kauniilla, hyvällä ja terveellä äänellä. Lisäksi äänen sointi ja äänenväri ovat kehittyneet; ääneen on tullut

voimaa, kauneutta, syvyyttä, pyöreyttä. Kaiken kaikkiaan laulun tunnelman mukaan laulaminen on kehittynyt sitä tukevien plastisten, sulavien, luonnollisten liikkeiden avulla – "liike virtaa, laulu virtaa".

Kognitiiviset tavoitteet

Opiskelijat ovat ymmärtäneet, kuinka tärkeä koko keho on äänentuotossa. Opittua sovellettiin lauluteknisiin asioihin mm. uuden laulun oppimisessa sekä myös äänellisten ongelmien ratkaisemisessa. Opiskelijoille kehittyi vahva tuntemus siitä, mitkä liikkeet auttavat laulusuoritusta ja ääntä parhaiten. Myös opiskelijoiden arviointikyky sekä musiikillisten asioiden oppiminen ja tiedostaminen kehittyivät.

Tutkimuksen aikana heräsi myös muutama kysymys: Onko olemassa laulunopetus-menetelmiä, joihin tällainen musiikkiliikunnan käyttö ei kuulu? Mitkä liikkeet ovat oikeita tukemaan laulunopetusta?

Yhteenveto ja pohdinta

Tutkimustulosten mukaan voidaan todeta, että musiikkiliikunta tukee hyvin kokonais-valtaista laulunopetusta. Laulunopetus musiikkiliikunnan avulla on ihmiseksi kasvamista ja ihmiseksi kasvattamista, tätä en osannut tutkimusta aloittaessani odottaa. Opiskelijat kokivat iloa ja vapautumista sekä kaikinpuolista hyvinvointia musiikkiliikunnan avulla ja kaiken kaikkiaan laulusuoritus parani.

Tämän tutkimuksen antia voidaan soveltaa laajemmin laulunopetukseen ja kaikille laulunopetuksen aloille. Tämä työtapa soveltuu kaikkiin musiikin genreihin, sillä se ei sulje mitään tyyliä pois. Laulunopetustapa musiikkiliikunnan avulla rakentaa kokonais-valtaisen pohjan kaikenlaiseen laulamiseen. Tämä laulunopetustapa ei ole muita laulun-opetusmenetelmiä poissulkeva opetustapa, vaan osana ja tukena muille laulunopetus-menetelmille. Kokonaisvaltainen laulunopetustapa musiikkiliikunnan avulla ei ole tiukka eikä järjestelmällisesti etenevä opetustapa, vaan avoin idea, joka elää ja kehittyy jokaisen opettajan ja opiskelijan yhteistyössä

Tämä laulunopetustapa soveltuu myös musiikkiterapian osaksi sekä eri tavalla vammai-sille kuin myös erilaisia ongelmia omaavien avuksi, sillä tulosten mukaan laulunopetustapa musiikkiliikunnan avulla on vahvistanut kaikkien haastateltavien itsetuntoa ja tuonut heille rohkeutta sekä poistanut estoja ja pelkoja.

Kokonaisvaltainen laulunopetus musiikkiliikunnan avulla on toimiva opetustapa kaiken ikäisten laulajien parissa. Työtapa hyödyntää ihmisen luonnollisia liikkeitä sekä eleitä ja ennen kaikkea jokaisen omaa kehonkieltä, ja antaa näin jokaiselle mahdollisuuden osallistua laulamiseen omien tietojensa ja taitojensa mukaan omalla kehollaan. Jokainen voi nauttia ja hyötyä siitä.

Laulunopetustapa musiikkiliikunnan avulla ei sovi kaikille ihmisille, sillä kaikki eivät ole avoimia ja vastaanottavaisia sitä kokeilemaan. Monelle ihmiselle "oma minä" ja ennakkoasenne rajoittavat oppimista ja heittäytymistä. Tärkeää opettajana ja kasvattajana on pystyä luomaan heittäytymiselle suotuisa, positiiviset ja turvalliset olosuhteet. Opiskelijalle täytyy syntyä tunne "tää on mun juttu" Inkeri Simola-Isakssonia siteeraten.

Uskon tämän laulunopetuksen työtavan soveltuvan myös teatteripuolelle, kuin myös ooppera- ja musikaalilaulajien koulutukseen tukemaan laulunopetusta kokonaisvaltaisesti. Tämä lauluopetustapa on ihmisen kokonaisvaltaista kasvattamista ja kasvamista, mutta myös ihmisen eheyttämistä ja avaamista tuoden iloa ja virkistystä. Uskon työtavan soveltuvan kaiken ikäisten ihmisten harrastustoimintaan, myös vanhempien ihmisten yhteislauluhetkiin tuoden heille iloa, toimien apukeinona ihmisten hyvinvoinnin ja virkistyksen lisäämiseksi, osana kulttuurista pääomaa, terveyspääomaa parantaen näin elämänlaatua.

Tutkimus on ajankohtainen, sillä Suomen musiikkioppilaitoksissa otettiin käyttöön 1.8.2018 uudet Taiteen perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelmien perusteet. Niiden mukaan opetus on kokonaisvaltaista ja kehittää oppilaan tietoja ja taitoja monipuolisesti. Opetussuunnitelmien perusteiden oppimiskäsitys sisältää myönteiset tunnekokemukset. Ja oppimisen ilo ja uutta luova toiminta edistävät oppimista ja kehittävät omaa osaamista. Eri aistien käyttö ja kehollisuus ovat oppimisen kannalta olennaista. Ne tukevat yksilön ihmisenä kasvua ja yhteisön hyvän elämän rakentamista. (Taiteen perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteet 2017.)

Toivon, että tutkimukseni avaa uusia näkökulmia perinteiseen laulunopetukseen, yksinlaulunopetukseen kuin myös koulumusiikinopetukseen.

Olen kylvänyt siemenen ja se kasvaa ja kukoistaa, kun olosuhteet ovat kasvamiselle suotuisat! Kiitos! ■

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Contact information

Postal addresses, e-mail addresses and telephone numbers of the contributors should be enclosed.

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Kirjoittajat | Contributors

Gry Sagmo Aglen
PhD candidate in Music Education • Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences
gry.aglen@inn.no

Hanna Backer Johnsen
DMus candidate in Music Education • Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki
hanna.backer.johnsen@uniarts.fi

Cecilia Björk
PhD, University Teacher (Music Education) • Åbo Akademi, Faculty of Education and Welfare Studies
cecilia.bjork@abo.fi

Adriana Di Lorenzo Tillborg
PhD candidate in Music Education • Malmö Academy of Music, Lund University
adriana.di_lorenzo_tillborg@mhm.lu.se

Martin Paul Stanislas Galmiche
Dr, Musician in schools • Conservatoire à Rayonnement Régional de Lyon
martin.galmiche@conservatoire-lyon.fr

Michaela Hahn
Dr, Univ. Prof. Mag. • University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna
hahn-m@mdw.ac.at

Johanna Hasu
FT, Pianonsoiton lehtori • Pohjois-Kymen musiikkiopisto
johannahasu1@gmail.com

Marja Heimonen
DMus, University Lecturer • Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki
marja.heimonen@uniarts.fi

Finn Holst
PhD, Ekstern Lektor • DPU, Danmarks Institut for Pædagogik og Uddannelse
Aarhus Universitet, Campus Emdrup
fh@edu.au.dk

Cecilia Jeppsson
PhD candidate • Academy of Music and Drama, University of Gothenburg
cecilia.jeppsson@hsm.gu.se

Anne Jordhus-Lier
Associate Professor • Norwegian Academy of Music
anne.jordhus-lier@nmh.no

Marja-Leena Juntunen
Professor • Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki
marja-leena.juntunen@uniarts.fi

Hanna Kamensky
DMus candidate in Music Education • Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki
hanna.kamensky@uniarts.fi

Sidsel Karlsen
Professor • Norwegian Academy of Music
sidsel.karlsen@nmh.no

Eija Kauppinen
PhD, Counsellor of Education • Finnish National Agency for Education
eija.kauppinen@oph.fi

Tuulikki Laes
DMus, Lecturer • Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki
tuulikki.laes@uniarts.fi

Pirjo Nenonen
Dr, Music Teacher • GRG7 Gymnasium and Realgymnasium Kandlgasse 7, Vienna
Singing Teacher • Music School Johann Sebastian Bach, Vienna
pirjo.nenonen@gmx.at

Anders Rønningen
Associate Professor • University of South-Eastern Norway
aron@usn.no

Eva Sæther
Professor in Music Education • Malmö Academy of Music, Lund University
eva.saether@mhm.lu.se

Sara Sintonen
Docent, Senior Lecturer • Faculty of Educational Sciences, University of Helsinki
sara.sintonen@helsinki.fi

Sandra Stini
Univ. Ass. Mag. • University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna
stini@mdw.ac.at

Tuulia Tuovinen
DMus candidate in Music Education • Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki
tuulia.tuovinen@uniarts.fi

Heidi Westerlund
Professor • Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki
heidi.westerlund@uniarts.fi

Info

Lenita Hietanen
Lapin yliopisto

Airi Hirvonen
Haaga-Helia ammattikorkeakoulu

Laura Huhtinen-Hildén
Metropolia ammattikorkeakoulu |
Helsinki Metropolia University of Applied Sciences

Matti Huttunen
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Eeva Kaisa Hyry
Oulun yliopisto | University of Oulu

Leena Hyvönen
Oulun yliopisto | University of Oulu

Eero Hämeenniemi
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Lotta Ilomäki
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Satu-Mari Jansson
Helsingin yliopisto | University of Helsinki

Geir Johansen
Norges Musikkhogskole

Tanja Johansson
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Marja-Leena Juntunen
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Pirkko Juntunen
Helsingin yliopisto | University of Helsinki

Antti Juvonen
Itä-Suomen yliopisto | University of Eastern Finland

Päivi Järviö
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Alexis Kallio
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Panos Kanellopoulus
University of Athens, Greece

Olli-Taavetti Kankkunen
Tampereen yliopisto | University of Tampere

Sidsel Karlsen
Norwegian Academy of Music, Oslo

Sari Karttunen
Cupore. Kulttuuripolitiikan tutkimuksen
edistämissäätiö | Society for Cultural
Research in Finland

Eija Kauppinen
Opetushallitus | National Board of Education

Alexandra Kertz-Welzel
Institut für Musikpädagogik an der
Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München |
Munich, Germany

Mikko Ketovuori
Turun yliopisto | University of Turku

Nuppu Koivisto
Helsingin yliopisto | University of Helsinki

Erja Kosonen
Jyväskylän yliopisto | University of Jyväskylä

Kari Kurkela
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Vesa Kurkela
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Tuire Kuusi
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Tuulikki Laes
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Info

Roberta Lamb
Queen's University School of Music, Canada

Don Lebler
Queensland Conservatorium Griffith University,
Australia

Kai Lehikoinen
Taideyliopiston Teatterikorkeakoulu |
University of the Arts Helsinki, Theatre Academy

Kimmo Lehtonen
Turun yliopisto | University of Turku

Taru Leppänen
Turun yliopisto | University of Turku

Monica Lindgren
University of Gothenburg

Guadalupe López-Íñiguez
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Jukka Louhivuori
Jyväskylän yliopisto | University of Jyväskylä

Otso Lähdeoja
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto | Sibelius Acade-
my, University of the Arts Helsinki

Jan-Erik Mansikka
Helsingin yliopisto | University of Helsinki

Markus Mantere
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto | Sibelius Acade-
my, University of the Arts Helsinki

Marie McCarthy
University of Michigan, U.S.A.

Susanna Mesiä
Metropolia AMK & Sibelius-Akatemia,
Taideyliopisto | Sibelius Academy,
University of the Arts Helsinki

Laura Miettinen
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Yannis Miralis
European University Cyprus

Sari Muhonen
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Minna Muukkonen
Itä-Suomen yliopisto | University of Eastern Finland

Pentti Määttänen
Helsingin yliopisto | University of Helsinki

Hanna Nikkanen
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Ava Numminen
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto | Sibelius Acade-
my, University of the Arts Helsinki

Albi Odendaal
School of Music, North-West University
Potchefstroom, South Africa

Juha Ojala
Oulun yliopisto | University of Oulu

Pirkko Paananen
Jyväskylän yliopisto | University of Jyväskylä

Reijo Pajamo
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Heidi Partti
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Aija Puurtinen
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Leena Pääkkönen
Oulun yliopisto | University of Oulu

Thomas A. Regelski
Helsingin yliopisto | University of Helsinki

Info

Inga Rikandi
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Michael Rogers
University of Oregon, USA

Guillermo Rosabal-Coto
University of Costa Rica

Heikki Ruismäki
Helsingin yliopisto | University of Helsinki

Inkeri Ruokonen
Helsingin yliopisto | University of Helsinki

Marja-Liisa Saarilammi
Korkeakoulujen arviointineuvosto |
Higher Education Evaluation Council

Eva Saether
Lund University, Malmö Academy of Music, Sweden

Miikka Salavuo
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Patrick Schmidt
The University of Western Ontario, Canada

Tiina Selke
University of Tallinn

Eeva Siljamäki
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Marissa Silverman
John C. Cali School of Music Montclair
State University

Henna Suomi
Jyväskylän yliopisto | University of Jyväskylä

Johan Söderman
Malmö University, Sweden

Ketil Thorgersen
Stockholm University and University College of
Music Education in Stockholm, SMI, Sweden

Juha Torvinen
Turun yliopisto | University of Turku

Serja Turunen
Itä-Suomen yliopisto | University of Eastern Finland

Lauri Väkevä
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Susanna Välimäki
Turun yliopisto | University of Turku

Heidi Westerlund
Sibelius-Akatemia, Taideyliopisto |
Sibelius Academy, University of the Arts Helsinki

Ruth Wright
Western University, Canada

Info

Toimitus | Editorial office

Info