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Policy processes and discourses of inclusion of all children in Sweden's Art and Music Schools

Di Lorenzo Tillborg, Adriana

2021

Document Version:

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A. (2021). *Music Education and Democratisation: Policy processes and discourses of inclusion of all children in Sweden's Art and Music Schools*. [Doctoral Thesis (compilation), Malmö Academy of Music]. Malmö: Lund University, Malmö Academy of Music.

Total number of authors:

1

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Music Education and Democratisation

Policy processes and discourses of inclusion of all children in Sweden's Art and Music Schools

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FACULTY OF FINE AND PERFORMING ARTS | LUND UNIVERSITY



Music Education and Democratisation

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Policy processes and discourses of inclusion of all children
in Sweden's Art and Music Schools

Adriana Di Lorenzo Tillborg



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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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Lund University, Sweden.


To be defended at Malmö Academy of Music, on 23 April 2021 at 1 p.m.

Faculty opponent

Alexandra Kertz-Welzel, Professor and Chair of Music Education at Ludwig-
Maximilians-Universität (LMU)

Organization LUND UNIVERSITY, Faculty of Fine and Performing Arts, Malmö Academy of Music, Department of Research in Music Education, Box 8203, SE-200 41, Malmö, Sweden Author: Adriana Di Lorenzo Tillborg	Document name DOCTORAL DISSERTATION	
	Date of issue April 23, 2021	
	Sponsoring organization	
Title and subtitle Music Education and Democratisation: Policy processes and discourses of inclusion of all children in Sweden's Art and Music Schools.		
Abstract <p>The aim of this thesis is to critically investigate the discourses of Sweden's Art and Music Schools (<i>SAMS</i>, <i>kulturskolor</i> in Swedish) connected to policy processes for the democratisation of music education for all children and adolescents. A further aim is to contribute to knowledge on the development and enactment of policy processes for the democratisation of music education. The empirical material is based on focus group conversations with sixteen SAMS leaders and policy documents related to SAMS. The overall research questions are as follows: (1) What discourses of inclusion and exclusion constitute and are constituted by leadership positioning in relation to policy processes for the democratisation of music education? (2) How is the enactment of policies constituted within and through SAMS leaders' discursive practices? (3) How is the inclusion of all children constituted within and through SAMS leaders' discursive practices and within and through policy documents with relevance for SAMS?</p> <p>SAMS were originally developed as a loosely coupled system of locally shaped schools for learning musical instruments. Gradually, they have embraced other subjects like dance, drama and the visual arts, along with different forms of collaboration with the compulsory school system. The inclusion of all children and the training of professional musicians have been part of the rationale for the development of the system. However, the inclusive aim of SAMS has been problematised in policy and research, exposing an unfulfilled democratic potential.</p> <p>The theoretical framework of the thesis constitutes of discourse theories – Foucauldian discourse analysis and discursive psychology – and policy theories. Among the concepts applied are discourse, regime of truth, policy enactment and policy cycle.</p> <p>The results show that several discourses constituted by and constituting subjectivity are at play: multicentric inclusion discourse, normalisation discourse, specialisation discourse, market discourse, economic discourse and collaboration discourse. The results indicate that there is a need to raise awareness of discourses involved in SAMS activities. Finally, the study offers possible pathways towards the democratisation of music education through engagement in policy processes.</p>		
Key words: art and music schools, democracy, kulturskola, inclusion, leadership, music education		
Classification system and/or index terms (if any)		
Supplementary bibliographical information	Language: English	
ISSN 1404-6539 Studies in Music and Music Education	ISBN 978-91-88409-27-0	
Recipient's notes	Number of pages 136	Price
	Security classification	

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in Sweden's Art and Music Schools

Adriana Di Lorenzo Tillborg



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Faculty of Fine and Performing Arts

Department: Malmö Academy of Music

ISBN 978-91-88409-27-0

ISSN 1404-6539

Printed in Sweden by Media-Tryck, Lund University
Lund 2021



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To my beloved family

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Articles by the author included in the thesis

Article I

Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A. (2017a).¹ Tension fields between discourses: Sweden's Art and Music Schools as constituted within and through their leaders' discursive practices. *The Finnish Journal of Music Education*, 20(1), 59–76. https://issuu.com/sibelius-akatemia/docs/fjme_vol20_nro1_netiversio

Article II

Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A. (2019a). Disabilities within Sweden's Art and Music Schools: Discourses of inclusion, policy and practice. *Policy Futures in Education*, 18(3), 391–409. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1478210319855572>

Article III

Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A., & Ellefsen, L. W. (2021). *The inclusion of refugee children in Sweden's Art and Music Schools: Policy as practice* [Manuscript submitted for publication in the journal Music Education Research]. Malmö Academy of Music, Lund University.

Article IV

Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A., & Schmidt, P. (2021). *Multicentric policy practice: Collaboration as a form of policy enactment* [Manuscript submitted for publication in the book Music Schools as Masters of Collaboration: A European Kaleidoscope by editors M. Hahn, C. Björk, & H. Westerlund]. Malmö Academy of Music, Lund University.

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¹ A lowercase letter is assigned to multiple references that have an identical author (or authors) and publication year, even if they are listed in different sections in this thesis.

Statement of contributions to the co-authored articles

I co-authored Article III with Live Weider Ellefsen and Article IV with Patrick Schmidt. Live Weider Ellefsen was invited to be a co-author after she had served as an external discussant of my 25% project draft. Patrick Schmidt was invited to be a co-author after I had taken part in a course he taught at the Sibelius Academy of the University of the Arts Helsinki. As the first author in these two articles, I had primary responsibility for the collaborative writing process.

Additional published works by the author relevant to the thesis

Research publications

- Backer Johnsen, H., Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A., & Jeppsson, C. (2020). Living with differences: Learning tolerance? Reflections on the European Music School Symposium 2019: Music schools: Masters of collaboration? Creating interfaces in music education systems. *The Finnish Journal of Music Education*, 23(1-2), 156–159. https://issuu.com/sibelius-akatemia/docs/fjme_vol23_nro1_2_web__1_
- Björk, C., Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A., Heimonen, M., Holst, F., Jordhus-Lier, A., Rønningen, A., Aglen, G. S., & Laes, T. (2018). Music education policy in schools of music and performing arts in four Nordic countries: The potential of multi-actor processes. *The Finnish Journal of Music Education*, 21(2), 10–37. https://issuu.com/sibelius-akatemia/docs/fjme_vol21_nro2_b5netti-1
- Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A. (2017b). *Forskningsrapport om kulturskolors verksamhet för barn och unga i behov av särskilt stöd* [Research report on art and music schools' activities for children and adolescents in need of special support]. Malmö Academy of Music, Lund University. https://portal.research.lu.se/portal/files/29317008/2017_Di_Lorenzo_Tillborg_Forskningsrapport_om_kulturskolors_verksamhet_f_r_barn_och_unga_i_behov_av_s_rskilt_st_d.pdf
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- Rønningen, A., Jeppsson, C., Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A., Backer Johnsen, H., & Holst, F. (2019). *Kulturskolerelatert Forskning i Norden – En Oversikt* [Research on art and music schools in the Nordic countries: An overview]. Norsk kulturskoleråd & Kulturrådet i Sverige. https://www.kulturskoleradet.no/_extension/media/6344/orig/2019%20Forskningsoversikt%2025.4.pdf
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- Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A. (2018b, December 18). Är det bara medelklassbarn som ska ha rätt till kultur? [Is it only middle-class children who should have the right to culture?]. *Metro Debatt*, p. 20.
- Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A. (2019b). 'En inkluderande kulturskola' – för alla funktionsvariationer? ['An inclusive art and music school': For all mixed abilities?]. In M. Janson, (Ed.), *Barnnorm och kroppsform – om ideal och sexualitet i barnkulturen* [Children's norm and body's form: About ideal and sexuality in children's culture] (pp. 93-110). The Centre for the Studies of Children's Culture, Stockholm University.
- Jeppsson, C., & Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A. (2019). Rapportering ur ett forskarperspektiv från den nordiska konferensen Music and Art Schools in the Nordic Countries role in educational & cultural policy of the future i Reykjavik 24-25 okt 2019 [conference report]. <https://www.kulturradet.se/globalassets/start/kulturskolecentrum/samverkan/dokument-samverkan/rapport-fran-nordisk-kulturskolekonferens-2019.pdf>
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- Aglen, G. S., Jordhus-Lier, A., Rønningen, A., Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A., Björk, C., Heimonen, M., Kamensky, H., & Laes, T. (2017, October). *Nordic perspectives on the aims of schools of music and arts* [Group presentation]. European Music School Symposium, Vienna, Austria.
- Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A. (2016, June). *Kulturskolan i förändring. Kulturskolechefers positionering inför centraliseringsprocessen* [Sweden's Art and Music Schools in change: Sweden's Art and Music School leaders' positioning regarding the process of centralisation]. Musikforskning i dag 2016, Växjö, Sweden.
- Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A. (2017c, June). *Music and democracy: Leadership positioning in relation to policy enacting and inclusion of children and adolescents with (dis)abilities in Sweden's Art and Music Schools*. Musikforskning i dag 2017, Piteå, Sweden.
- Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A. (2017d, March). *Music and democracy leadership positioning in relation to inclusion of children and adolescents with disabilities in Sweden's music and art schools*. Conference of the Nordic Network for Research in Music Education (NNMPF), Gothenburg, Sweden.
- Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A. (2017e, October). *Leadership and inclusion: Challenges during the national policy process for Sweden's Art and Music Schools*. European Music School Symposium, Vienna, Austria.
- Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A. (2017f). *Sveriges kulturskolor i förändring* [Sweden's Art and Music Schools in change]. Kompetensdialog – Kulturskola, Kompetensförsörjning & Forskning, Stockholm, Sweden.
- Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A. (2018c, October). *"Inkluderande kulturskola" – för alla funktionsvariationer?* ["Inclusive art and music school": For all mixed abilities?] Musik och Samhälle, Lund, Sweden.
- Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A. (2018d, July). *Educational policy and discourse in inclusion research: A theoretical framework*. 19th International Seminar of the ISME Commission on Music Policy: Culture, Education, and Media, Munich, Germany.
- Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A. (2019c, October). *Sweden's Art and Music Schools: Inclusion through collaboration at a policy level*. European Music School Symposium, Vienna, Austria.
- Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A., & Ellefsen, L. W. (2019, February). *Including refugees in Sweden's Art and Music Schools: Practice and policy discourses*. Conference of the Nordic Network for Research in Music Education (NNMPF), Stockholm, Sweden.
- Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A. (moderator), Rønningen, A., Danielson, C., Boeskov, K., & Cedervall, S. (2019, October). *Kulturskolale in English? Challenges, possibilities and critical views* [Round table]. Cutting Edge Kulturskole 2019, Tromsø, Norway.

- Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A., Rønningen, A., Jeppsson, C., & Johnsen, H. B. (2019, October). *Research on art and music schools in Nordic countries: Who is doing research, about what, about whom, and who really cares?* [Round table]. European Music School Symposium, Vienna, Austria.
- Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A., & Schmidt, P. (2018, July). *Sweden's Art and Music Schools and compulsory schools: The collaboration discourse*. 33rd World Conference for Music Education, Baku, Azerbaijan.
- Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A. & Schmidt, P. (2019, May). *Sweden's Art and Music Schools and compulsory schools: Peripheral perspectives on policy and inclusion*. EAS Conference, Malmö, Sweden.
- Rønningen, A., Holst, F., Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A., & Jeppsson, C. (2019, October). *Forskning på og i kulturskolen. Hvem forsker, om hva, og hvem bryr seg egentlig?* [Research on art and music schools: Who is doing research, about what, and who really cares?] [Round table]. Cutting Edge Kulturskole 2019, Tromsø, Norway.
- Sæther, E., & Di Lorenzo Tillborg, A. (2018, July). *Advancing music education in Northern Europe: Authorship in a state-sponsored international network: Reflections on research collaborations: A call for Nordic research on music education, sustainability, and democracy*. 33rd World Conference for Music Education, Baku, Azerbaijan.

Acknowledgements

During the five and a half years writing this thesis, I have had the privilege of being supported by very special people. I am deeply grateful to every one of you who have contributed to this accomplishment, in direct or indirect ways, even though only a few of you are mentioned here.

Thanks to the research participants who accepted the invitation to discuss current issues in Sweden's Art and Music Schools. Your engagement is much needed. A special thanks to the gatekeeper in the third focus group conversation who kindly provided assistance in many ways.

My heartfelt thanks to my supervisors Eva Sæther and Sven Bjerstedt. You have showed me the greatest of trust and encouragement during this time. Our meetings have always been inspirational. Throughout my time as a doctoral student you have provided me with knowledge that always kept me motivated and kept pushing the thesis forward for clarity and cohesiveness.

Thanks to my co-authors Live Weider Ellefsen and Patrick Schmidt for great collaboration. It has been an honour and privilege to work with you.

Thanks to the researchers who discussed the manuscript at earlier stages: Live Weider Ellefsen, Sidsel Karlsen, and Monica Lindgren. You have all contributed with significant and generous input.

Thanks to teachers and peers at the Sibelius Academy and at the Gothenburg University.

Thanks to all of you who have contributed with insightful feedback on conferences and other meetings.

Thanks to David Johnson for proofreading Article I.

Thanks to the research department at Malmö Academy of Music; researchers, PhD students, guest teachers, lecturers and administrators for reading, reviewing, and discussing the content of the thesis.

Thanks to Åse Lugnér for helping me find some of the sources that proved to be hard to locate.

To my family and friends: Your love and support pulled me through these years and I want to give you my heartfelt thanks for always being by my side.

Lund, March 11, 2021

Preface

When I was seven or eight years old back in Brazil, my mother took me to a concert of the local symphony orchestra. I don't remember ever having listened to symphonic music before, and I was astonished by the sounds that a whole orchestra could produce together. My mother has told me about how I sat on my chair, never touching it with my back, with my eyes wide open and fixed on the orchestra. I remember how I really loved it. When the concert was over, she asked me if I would like to play an instrument and, if so, which one. Unsure about what the instrument was called, I pointed at the violinists leaving the scene.

From my very first contact with my instrument until today, I have experienced many more moments like that, including being part of producing the magnificent sound of a symphony orchestra. That child who was so fascinated by the violins became a violinist and violin teacher in Sweden's Art and Music Schools (SAMS). The journey has not always taken a straight line; there have been some barriers to overcome. One was learning the Swedish language and social codes as a seventeen-year-old non-European immigrant. When we had just moved to Sweden, my family and I had very little understanding of what SAMS were or whom they were for, so I never even realised that I could have continued my musical training in the local art and music school. I applied to a course for exchange students at the Malmö Academy of Music, which put me in contact with teachers who would help me prepare for further music education. A year later, I was a student in the music programme at a Folk High School, and after two years I became a student at the Malmö Academy of Music. These experiences made me understand that most (if not all) of my peers had been SAMS pupils.

As a teacher in SAMS, I have realised that they fill an important function for many individuals and families. So many children and adolescents get such a happy look in their eyes when they have just learnt something new or when they played music with others for the first time. In conversations with colleagues, leaders, pupils and parents, the potential of SAMS became a recurring subject. Sometimes we would discuss artistic and pedagogical content; at others, we would discuss political decisions; and at still others, we would discuss why a certain kind of pupil would come to us while others would not.

For my master's thesis in music education, I conducted a survey with a broad range of questions, so broad that only part of the questions with their answers could be included in the thesis. There was so much to be investigated in schools with ideological freedom, no legal framework, and an apparent tension between cultural heritage(s) and the aesthetics of the market.

Today, writing this text, I am a PhD student researching inclusion and policy in SAMS within an epistemological foundation that focuses on the social dimensions of

language. I can now clearly see how the connections between my earlier life experiences – as a child with a passion to play a musical instrument, as an adolescent striving to learn new social codes and language, as a music teacher moved by my pupils' accomplishments and as a curious master's student – give direction to this project.

1. Introduction

This PhD thesis focuses on the discourses that emerge when Sweden's Art and Music School (SAMS) leaders² talk about practice and policy regarding the inclusion of all children. One reason for choosing art and music school leaders as participants is that they are responsible for leading their institutions according to current policies and local practices. Another reason is the scarcity of research, as far as I can see, on those perspectives in music education research in general and particularly in research on SAMS. In addition to the issue of leaders' perspectives, the thesis also focuses on policy documents in accordance with current policies for SAMS.

This chapter presents (1) the positioning of the study and the researcher, (2) the aim and research questions, (3) the structure of the thesis and (4) an overview of the four articles.

My study emerges from a powerful engagement with groups of children and adolescents who have historically been excluded from SAMS. This kind of personal connection is also part of the rationale for the work of the two main scholars upon which the theoretical framework of the thesis is built: Michel Foucault and Stephen J. Ball. Foucault had a strong political engagement with those marginalised in and by society, while Ball is deeply engaged with issues of social class equalities.

SAMS have a history marked by the absence of formal policies, as detailed in section 2.2. Nevertheless, as publicly funded schools, they have the potential to fulfil several overarching policies: the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2021), which became legally binding in Sweden in 2020; the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (United Nations, 2021a); the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (UNHCR, 2021); the 2030 Agenda (United Nations, 2021b); Swedish cultural policies (Myndigheten för kulturanalys, 2021; Regeringskansliet, 2020); and Swedish educational policies (OECD, 2017). These policies ensure the rights of children and adolescents, notably including their cultural and educational rights. According to all the above policies, SAMS must work for the inclusion of all children and adolescents

² The terms "art and music school leader" and "SAMS leader" include all the titles the participants use to describe their positions. They are all in leading roles at art and music schools.

and thus contribute to the democratisation of arts education, specifically music education.

The inclusion of all children in SAMS is part of the process of democratising music education. In the Nordic countries, a growing body of research is exploring the relations between democracy and inclusion of all children and publicly funded art and music schools (Rønningen et al., 2019). *Democracy* is a concept from ancient Greek that means “rule of the citizens” or “ruled by the citizens”, even though ancient Greek democracy excluded women and slaves (Scott, 2014/2015). In modern democracies all citizens have civil rights, but “democracy continues to be the focus of intense public and academic debate” (Scott, 2014/2015) since its meaning can be interpreted and enacted in various ways. The vague and ambiguous meaning of the concept of democracy has been discussed within the music education research field, as pointed out by Woodford (2005), who has reflected on the relevance of linking democracy and music education. He argues that the concept of democracy can be compared to other major concepts such as love, equality and religion: these kinds of concepts are complex and can have different meanings shaped in each society. Drawing on Woodford (2005), scholars can argue that the complexity of a concept is no reason for avoiding it. On the contrary, there is reason to apply the concept and explore it in research. Apple’s (2015) approach to democracy and scholarship explores the responsibility of “critically democratic scholars/activists” (p. 12) in engaging to change educational and social inequalities.

The definition of democracy applied by Woodford (2005) connects it to “equal opportunity for each to develop freely to his fullest capacity in a cooperative community” (*Webster’s Third New International Dictionary*, cited in Woodford, 2005, p. 1). Recently, music education researchers such as Georgii-Hemming and Kvarnhall (2015), Laes and Kallio (2015) and Vestad (2015), among others, have repeatedly returned to that aspect of democracy; each child should have an equal opportunity to participate in music education and to develop their musical skills as part of the local society. Drawing on such views, music education needs to be democratised, and the music education research field needs to pay careful attention to aspects of that democratisation. There are also several philosophical works on music education that focus on its role in promoting democracy, as noted by Karlsen and Väkevä (2012). The relations between democracy and music education hence can be and have been approached from two main perspectives: the democratisation of music education and the role of music education in promoting democratic societies. As noted above, there is a growing body of research that explores the relationships between democracy and publicly funded art and music schools in Nordic countries (Rønningen et al., 2019).

This thesis concerns processes of the democratisation of music education, with SAMS serving as the specific case. In this document, the concept of democracy is

applied as connected to the right of every individual to fully participate in society, which includes the democratic right to music education. Therefore, the thesis aligns not only with music education research with a focus on the democratisation of music education but also on music education research with a focus on its role in promoting democracy, since SAMS have the potential to contribute to every child's right to participate in society's artistic and cultural life. In addition to democracy and democratisation, three other concepts are central to understanding the aim of this thesis: *inclusion*, *discourse* and *policy*.

The concept of inclusion is applied to all children and adolescents who live in Sweden and can therefore be considered potential SAMS pupils. The concept of inclusion has been problematised by scholars (Bunar, 2018; Dei, 1996; Hess, 2015; Laes, 2017), who have criticised common views of inclusion as othering; certain group(s) of individuals are treated as constituting the dominant centre into which all others should be welcomed. Aligning with these scholars' efforts to counteract such monocentric views, I have, therefore, suggested a *multicentric* outlook on inclusion and inclusion practices and policies (Dei, 1996; Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019a). This concept is explained further and problematised in relation to previous research in chapter 2.

Discourse can, for the purposes of this thesis, be defined as conditions, rules, regulations and unspoken "truths" that both constitute and are constituted by people's positionings, statements and actions. Discourse constitutes subjects but is also constituted by subjects. The approach is in line with Foucault's latest works (Foucault, 1976/2002, 1999), where he sees subjects as both constituted by and constituting discourses. Chapter 3 problematises this concept further.

Policy is a concept that, in this thesis, applies to political processes, spoken ideas, political decisions and specific documents with relevance for SAMS. Hence, the concept of policy is connected to a political dimension, as explained by Weible (2014). The political dimension is central in an institution that is publicly financed and is organised by the municipal government. Ball and colleagues (Ball, 1993; Braun et al., 2010) point out that the line between process and decision is often blurred, with actors in different contexts influencing other contexts and the process itself. The concept of policy is explained further in chapter 3.

In April 2015, the Swedish government commissioned an investigation regarding a national strategy for SAMS (Kulturskolerådet, 2021; SOU 2016:69).³ Given the current process for elaborating and implementing documents on a national level, which I have defined as a national policy process (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a), it is both highly relevant and stimulating to undertake a research project on SAMS. In a study

³ SOU is the abbreviation for *Statens offentliga utredningar*, which can be translated to: The Swedish government official inquiries.

that focuses on the democratisation of music education during a national policy process, leadership positioning becomes crucial, as leaders play an important role in policy processes (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a) and bear significant responsibility for directing the enactment of policies. This is a reason for turning to how the leaders talk about inclusion of all children and about policy.

Policy implementation can be challenging, as has been noted in organisational research (Schwartz, 1994) and music education research (Tivenius, 2008), especially in the present case, where a nationwide policy threatens to replace local traditions. For that reason, the first article in this thesis (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a) focuses on the tension fields that emerged early in the policy process, during the initial government commissioned inquiry (SOU 2016:69).

The second article (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019a) focuses on inclusion of children and adolescents with disabilities in SAMS. That article follows up a research report written in 2016 and revised in 2017 (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017b), which reveals that there are SAMS in which pupils in need of special support are excluded. That report served as a contribution to the national evaluation (SOU 2016:69) by presenting relevant quantitative data about inclusion of children and adolescents in need of special support.

The third article (Di Lorenzo Tillborg & Ellefsen, 2021) deals with how the inclusion of refugee children in SAMS emerges as a theme in focus group conversations with the leaders and in policy documents. The analyses expose problematisation processes around the inclusion of these children.

Analyses of the collected data led to the development of the fourth article (Di Lorenzo & Schmidt, 2021), which focuses on collaboration with Sweden's compulsory schools⁴ as crucial for including different groups of pupils, particularly in the sparsely populated regions of Sweden, based on conversations with SAMS leaders.

All four articles rely on qualitative data. The participants are SAMS leaders chosen from a database used in previously published studies (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2015, 2017b). Policy documents with relevance for SAMS are part of the data in Article III. The main analytical concepts applied come from discourse theories and educational policy theories.

⁴ The Swedish school system includes ten years of compulsory school attendance for all children from the year they turn six years old (Skolverket, 2021).

1.1 Positioning the study and the researcher

Music education is an interdisciplinary field that is represented by a variety of applied theories and methods from fields like sociology, musicology, philosophy, psychology, education and artistic research, among others (Dyndahl, 2013; Hargreaves et al., 2003; Jorgensen, 1997). The music education scholar Folkestad (1997) defines music education research as a field that focuses on all forms of musical learning and experiencing and on the frameworks and conditions that control and affect these forms. What connects the studies within the field is that music education practice constitutes the study object; both the data and the implications concern the music education practice field (Folkestad, 1997). This thesis can be categorised as a music education research study since it focuses on how inclusion policies and practices control and affect the musical learning of children and adolescents in SAMS, a categorisation that is in line with the second part of Folkestad's (1997) definition of the music education research field.

As a study within that field, the thesis focuses on music education, even though both leaders and policy documents represent all the subjects taught at SAMS. Dance, drama, visual arts, and other subjects are thus included in the perspectives of the leaders and in the policy documents, but the results are discussed mainly in relation to previous research within the music education research field.

The theoretical framework of the present study is built on theories originally developed in sociology and political science: discourse theories and (educational) policy theories, respectively. In addition, a concept from organisational theory is applied in Article I (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a), and concepts from disability studies are applied in Article II (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019a). The implications for and contributions to the music education practice field are discussed in chapter 6. The interdisciplinary approach of the present study is also reflected in the different journals in which its constituent articles have been published or submitted for publication. Music education journals are the publication channels for the first (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a) and third articles (Di Lorenzo Tillborg & Ellefsen, 2021): *The Finnish Journal of Music Education* and *Music Education Research*, respectively. For the second article (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019a), an educational policy journal has been chosen for publication: *Policy Futures in Education* (special issue on "Arts and culture in education: Questioning and reimagining current policies and practices"). The fourth article (Di Lorenzo Tillborg & Schmidt, 2021) will be included in *Music Schools as Masters of Collaboration: A European Kaleidoscope*, a book with a focus on music education.

The specific focus on SAMS places the study at the intersection between education and culture. I argue that these schools are an example of what cultural policy scholar Mulcahy (2017) describes as "a natural affinity between education and culture" (p. xv);

SAMS take on the responsibility for contributing to the artistic education of children and adolescents and to local cultural life.

Previous Swedish PhD dissertations with a focus on art and music schools have been conducted in the field of music education research, but there are also recent dissertations in educational science (Jeppsson, 2020) and drama (Cedervall, 2020). The researchers have often been former teachers at art and music schools who have also been pupils in such schools. In my case, I have taught at SAMS, but I was not a pupil since I did not grow up in Sweden. My experiences as an outsider trying to understand, adapt to and contribute to the system have certainly shaped my interest in undertaking a research project on it.

1.2 Aim and research questions

The aim of the thesis is to critically investigate SAMS discourses connected to policy processes for the democratisation of music education for all children and adolescents. A further aim is to contribute to knowledge on the development and enactment of policy processes for the democratisation of music education. The overall research questions are as follows: (1) What discourses of inclusion and exclusion constitute and are constituted by leadership positioning in relation to policy processes for the democratisation of music education? (2) How is the enactment of policies constituted within and through SAMS leaders' discursive practices? (3) How is the inclusion of all children constituted within and through SAMS leaders' discursive practices and within and through policy documents with relevance for SAMS? Each article has its own research question(s), which together give direction to addressing the overall aim and research questions of this thesis, as presented in section 1.4.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

This article-based thesis is a compilation consisting of an introductory chapter (chapter 1), a chapter about history, policy and previous research (chapter 2), a presentation of the theoretical framework applied in the articles (chapter 3), methodological considerations (chapter 4), a summary of the articles (chapter 5), a discussion of the results and conclusions from the articles (chapter 6) and the four articles themselves (appended as Articles I–IV). Article I (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a) has been published in *The Finnish Journal of Music Education*. Article II (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019a) has been published in the special issue “Arts and culture in education: Questioning and

reimagining current policies and practices” in the journal *Policy Futures in Education* (UK). Article III (Di Lorenzo Tillborg & Ellefsen, 2021) is under peer-review for publication in *Music Education Research*, while Article IV (Di Lorenzo Tillborg & Schmidt, 2021) will appear in the forthcoming book *Music Schools as Masters of Collaboration: A European Kaleidoscope*.

Articles I and II were written by me as a single author. Article III is co-authored with the Norwegian music education researcher, Første Amanuensis Live Weider Ellefsen. Article IV is co-authored with the Canadian-based music education policy researcher, Associate Professor Patrick Schmidt. Co-writing with both of them has been an open, equal and collaborative process. As first author, I of course had the primary responsibility for carrying out each project.

1.4 Overview of the articles

Article I

Tension fields between discourses: Sweden's Art and Music Schools as constituted within and through their leaders' discursive practices. The Finnish Journal of Music Education (*Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a*).

Aim and research question

This article focuses on Sweden's Art and Music School leadership perspectives on the current national policy process and on the tension fields that emerge when leaders talk about art and music schools. The research question is: What are the tension fields that emerge when art and music school leaders talk about art and music schools while discussing the national policy process?

Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework consists of discursive psychology, Foucauldian discourse analysis, concepts from educational policy theories and organisational theory.

Method

The method is qualitative, and the empirical material consists of data from two focus group conversations with a total of nine SAMS leaders.

The function of the article in relation to the overall aim of the thesis

Article I concentrates on how the leaders talk about their schools and the national policy process. This focus contributes to achieving the overall aim of the thesis, which is to critically investigate SAMS discourses connected to policy processes for the democratisation of music education. The article contributes to achieving the further aim of the thesis by examining the enactment of policy processes for that democratisation. Article I contributes to answering the second overall research question by investigating how the enactment of policies is constituted within and through SAMS leaders' discursive practices.

Article II

Disabilities within Sweden's Art and Music Schools: Discourses of inclusion, policy and practice. Policy Futures in Education (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019a).

Aim and research question

The aim of this article is to investigate the discourses that emerge when SAMS leaders talk about the inclusion of pupils with disabilities in relation to policy. The research question is: How are art and music school practice, policy and inclusion of pupils with disabilities connected within and through leaders' discursive practices?

Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework consists of discursive psychology, Foucauldian discourse analysis, concepts from educational policy theories and disability studies. In addition, the concept of multicentric inclusion is introduced and applied in the analysis.

Method

The method is qualitative, and the empirical material consists of data from three focus group conversations with a total of sixteen SAMS leaders.

The function of the article in relation to the overall aim of the thesis

Article II has a narrower approach than Article I, turning the focus to inclusion of a specific group of individuals, namely children with disabilities. The article focuses on how the leaders talk about inclusion of children with disabilities in relation to policies. By doing so, it contributes to a critical investigation of SAMS discourses connected to policy processes for the democratisation of music education, which corresponds to the overall aim of the thesis. The article contributes to achieving the further aim of the thesis since it examines the enactment of policies for the inclusion of children with disabilities in SAMS. Article II helps answer the overall research questions regarding discourses of inclusion and exclusion (specifically related to children with disabilities) and how the enactment of policies and the inclusion of all children are constituted within and through SAMS leaders' discursive practices.

Article III

The inclusion of refugee children in Sweden's Art and Music Schools: Policy as practice. (Di Lorenzo Tillborg & Ellefsen, 2021).

Aim and research questions

In this article, we investigate how the inclusion of refugee children in SAMS is introduced as a theme by SAMS leaders when discussing national policy and local practices. The emerging theme, in turn, has called for tracing how the inclusion of refugee children is constructed and addressed as a topic in a selection of policy documents related to the national policy process for SAMS.

Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework consists of Foucauldian discourse analysis and educational policy theories

Method

The method is qualitative. The empirical material consists of data from three focus group conversations with a total of sixteen SAMS leaders and policy documents related to the national policy process for SAMS.

The function of the article in relation to the overall aim of the thesis

Article III focuses on how the inclusion of refugee children becomes a “problem” in discursive practices and policy documents. The article has the same kind of narrow approach as Article II, limiting the study to inclusion of a specific group of individuals, in this case refugee children. It thus contributes to a critical investigation of SAMS discourses connected to policy processes for the democratisation of music education, which corresponds to the overall aim of the thesis. The article contributes to achieving the further aim of the thesis, which is to contribute to knowledge on the development and enactment of policy processes for the democratisation of music education. Article III helps answer the overall research questions regarding discourses of inclusion and exclusion, the enactment of policies as constituted within and through SAMS leaders’ discursive practices, and the inclusion of all children as constituted within and through SAMS leaders’ discursive practices and within and through policy documents with relevance for SAMS.

Article IV

Multicentric Policy Practice: Collaboration as a form of policy enactment. (Di Lorenzo Tillborg & Schmidt, 2021).

Aim and research question

Article IV focuses on collaboration between SAMS and compulsory schools, as discussed by SAMS leaders. The following research question guides and informs the analyses: How do SAMS leaders talk about collaboration processes with compulsory schools as a response to regional needs and national policies for inclusion of all children?

Theoretical framework

The theoretical and analytical framework is constituted by concepts from educational policy theories.

Method

The method is qualitative. The empirical material consists of data from three focus group conversations with a total of sixteen SAMS leaders.

The function of the article in relation to the overall aim of the thesis

Article IV focuses on collaboration processes in relation to regional needs and national policies for inclusion. The article does not have a focus on a specific group of pupils but rather on the role of collaboration in the enactment of policy processes for the democratisation of music education. The focus of Article IV contributes to achieving the overall aim of the thesis, which is to critically investigate SAMS discourses connected to policy processes for the democratisation of music education for all children and adolescents, and to its further aim, which is to contribute to knowledge on the development and enactment of policy processes for the democratisation of music education. The specific focus of the article on collaboration for inclusion helps answer the second overall research question of the thesis regarding the enactment of policies and the third research question regarding the inclusion of all children.

2. Sweden's Art and Music Schools: History, policy and research

Every educational system is a political means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the powers it carries with it.
(Foucault, 1969/1972, p. 227)

Foucault's critique of educational systems builds on the idea that such systems have the role of teaching what is considered the right knowledge and to discipline children to become functional citizens in a particular society. In Sweden, the municipally funded art and music schools are not part of the official compulsory educational system, but they are nevertheless educational and cultural systems that are politically regulated. From a Foucauldian perspective, the SAMS system can be regarded as having potential to maintain or modify the appropriation of discourse.

This chapter provides a contextualisation of municipally funded art and music schools in Swedish society. The contextualisation is based on different kinds of texts: scholarly work, policy documents and texts from within the practice field. One reason for combining different kinds of texts is that I consider research, policy and practice to be interconnected and interdependent, a standpoint in line with many policy scholars (Ball, 1994; Braun et al., 2010; Kertz-Welzel, 2018; Schmidt, 2012, 2017). Texts produced in these different contexts – research, policy and practice – have contributed to determining, describing, developing and disseminating the work that SAMS historically have carried out. Texts from other countries, especially from other Nordic countries, will also be part of the chapter since they contribute to the understanding of SAMS in an international context. The chapter is intended to expose some of the major discursive formations related to SAMS. Both the philosophical historian Michel Foucault and Stephen J. Ball, a scholar in the sociology of education with a focus on policy processes, have undertaken large-scale studies to expose discursive formations. For example, Foucault's large-scale empirical study in his research on mental institutions (Foucault, 1961/2010) consists of critical historical analyses of the demarcations of the limits of normality. Among Ball's (2016) efforts of this kind is a large-scale network ethnography based on educational reform in India.

The sections in the chapter focus on (1) a historical overview, (2) translations of the original Swedish term *kulturskola*, (3) SAMS policies, (4) previous research on SAMS and (5) previous music education research on democracy, inclusion, disabilities and migration.

The search for research literature has been carried out in several national and international databases, including SwePub, LUBSearch, Libris, Google Scholar, Uppsök, ERIC and EBSCO, as well as in specific journals. I identified some studies as central to SAMS, such as PhD theses with a focus on SAMS; the reference lists in these items have been used to search for more literature. The overall aim of the thesis, combined with the specific focus of each article, guided the search. Some of the concepts used when searching for literature were refugees, migration, disabilities, inclusion, integration, art and music schools, culture schools, arts education, collaboration, compulsory school, regular school, leadership, policy, political process, politics, cultural policy and educational policy. Both English terms and the corresponding Swedish terms were used in the singular and plural. Various combinations were applied to limit the findings to studies with relevance for this thesis and the articles. Many of the literature search efforts were connected to the work I undertook as part of a Nordic collaboration assembling an overview of research studies and master theses (Rønningen et al., 2019) explicitly related to art and music schools in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. Other networks, such as conferences in several countries, have also contributed to finding relevant literature.

In order to find policy documents and texts of historical interest outside the research field, I also searched for literature on media websites, Swedish government websites and various websites related to SAMS, such as my main sources: the websites of the Swedish Arts Schools Councils (Kulturskolerådet, 2021) and the Swedish Arts Council (Kulturrådet, 2021).

2.1 Sweden's Art and Music Schools

SAMS are the focus institutions of the present research project. In Swedish, they are called *kulturskolor*. In an international context, SAMS can be compared to schools such as music schools, dance schools and drama schools. Many European countries have publicly financed music school systems. Norway's is probably most similar to the Swedish approach, even when it comes to terminology: *kulturskolor* are called *kulturskoler* there. In Norway there is a legal framework for publicly funded art and music schools; each municipality, "...alone or in collaboration with other municipalities, shall provide courses in music and other cultural activities for children

and young people, organised in association with the school system and local cultural life” (Norwegian Education Act, 1998, section 13-6). In Denmark, there is a system of music schools with established collaboration with compulsory schools; almost every music school collaborates with compulsory schools in some way (Holst, 2013).

The Swedish term *kulturskolor* can be traced to the 1980s, when music schools in Sweden started to incorporate subjects such as dance, the visual arts and theatre/drama within the same structures as music (SOU 2016:69). The first definition of the term appears in a report written by the former representative for the Swedish Arts School Council, Sandh (1994) in an inquiry on culture commissioned by the national government (SOU 1995:84): *Kulturskolor* are presented as organisations where at least three of music, visual arts, theatre/drama, dance and film are regularly offered as voluntary activities after the school day (Sandh, 1994). Sandh’s definition has, according to the national inquiry on SAMS (SOU 2016:69), become widely used. The government-built centre to support the institutions, *Kulturskolecentrum*, which is part of the Swedish Arts Council (Kulturrådet, 2019), defines the system of what they call *kommunala musikskolor* and *kulturskolor* as schools where

children and youth are offered opportunities to learn, create and practice cultural and artistic ways of expression. The teacher has relevant education or long practical experience of a certain cultural expression. They are totally or partially financed by the municipality. (Kulturrådet, 2019, p. 8, my translation)

This thesis aligns with this definition. When it comes to teacher education, it is notable that relevant education can mean different things. As described elsewhere (Sæther & Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019), Swedish higher educational institutions have several different kinds of teacher training programmes with music as a subject; some but not all lead to a university degree in education.

There are many English translations of the term *kulturskola* in the contexts of practice, research and policy. One example of the various translations in the context of practice can be found in the open Facebook group for SAMS leaders (Kulturskolerådet grupp, 2021), where the following translations are listed: *after school music programme, after school arts programme, public music and arts schools, art and music School, public arts education, basic arts education, school(s) of the arts, schools of art(s), school(s) of music, public school of arts, community school of arts, local music and arts school, art and music education, education of music and arts, municipal school of the arts, community school of arts, municipal school of the arts, municipal schools for music and performing arts, culture schools, municipal school of the arts and school of music and the fine arts*. These many different translations are listed here without capitalisation and with British spelling, but in the Facebook group, capitalisation practices and spellings vary.

In policy and research texts, there are also several different English translations of the term, such as *Swedish music and culture school*, applied in Hofvander Trulsson's (2010) dissertation about parents with an immigrant background and their perspective on extra-curricular music education; *municipal culture school*, applied by the national inquiry report (SOU 2016:69); and *community school of music and arts*, applied by Bergman and Lindgren (2014), Holmberg (2010) and Jeppsson and Lindgren (2018). Yet another alternative is not to translate but to use the Swedish term *kulturskola* and enforce a Nordic discourse, which is the alternative that Rønningen has argued for in a round table discussion (Di Lorenzo Tillborg et al., 2019) at the Cutting Edge Kulturskole conference in Norway in 2019 and which is also Jeppsson's (2020) choice in the English summary of her thesis.

The complexity of translating the Nordic concept is illustrated by an article about SAMS (Björk et al., 2018) written by a group of eight Nordic scholars, of which I was one. Within that single article, several translations are used, which led to a section about terminology and translation and to several terminologies being at play simultaneously but linked to different contexts. Different translations represent and enforce different discourses. Each choice is likely to represent a certain standpoint that might be part of a larger discourse; it may also have consequences for how the research community will understand the term and thus the research. For instance, *after school arts programme* emphasises what is offered after the school day while courses and activities during the school day, often in collaboration, are left out.

A literal translation of *kulturskolor* would be *culture schools*. Arguments for applying that translation have been made by fellow scholars in conferences and publications, as expressed by Kuuse (2018) in a recent thesis about these institutions. The culture schools translation points to what Kuuse (2018) has identified as the ambiguous mission of such institutions as both educational and cultural. Another argument is that the Swedish term *kulturskola*, which corresponds with *kulturskole* in Norwegian and Danish, is a very specific term for a very particular context. Even if music still is the main subject in such schools (and it is chosen by over 70% of the pupils),⁵ the word music is not explicit in the Swedish terminology. The choice of term points to a paradigm shift, where culture, and not music and other arts, stands for what such institutions can provide to children and adolescents. *Culture schools* is also a term that points to the cultural political mission assigned to such schools by local and national governments. One notable sign of that mission is that the *Kulturskolecentrum* was established as part of the national culture department and not as part of the school or education departments. However, the official English translation of the name of the culture department, *Kulturrådet*, is *Arts Council* (Kulturrådet, 2021), even though the

⁵ According to current statistics from Kulturrådet (2018).

literal translation would be Culture Council. Despite Kuuse's (2018) convincing arguments for the literal translation of culture schools, the term has not been established as the most common translation in research, policy or practice. It is more abstract than the translations that point to specific activities and subjects such as arts or music. The term is not internationally easy to understand, in contrast to other translations that are closer to the internationally recognisable terms *music school* or *art school*. Yet another argument for the difficulties with the literal translation is that, in a Foucauldian view (1969/1972), it might enforce a political discourse where the system is responsible for maintaining and transmitting the "right" culture.

There are also other dimensions of translation when referring to the Swedish term *kulturskolor*. When music schools were established in Sweden in the 1940s, they were often referred to as *kommunal(a) musikskolor*. When the new terminology was introduced in the 1980s, the word *kommunal(a)* (municipal) was dropped by the Swedish Arts School Council (Kulturskolerådet, 2021), and the new Swedish concept *kulturskola* has been used since then. There are, however, policy documents (Kulturrådet, 2019; SOU 2016:69) and researchers that still apply *kommunal(a)* or an English translation when referring to *kulturskola*. The term *kommunal(a)* has been translated as *municipal* by some scholars (Brändström & Wiklund, 1995; Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a) and as *community* by others (Bergman & Lindgren, 2014; Holmberg, 2010; Jeppsson & Lindgren, 2018; Kuuse, 2018).

Kuuse (2018) problematises terminologies and translations in focusing on the translation of *kommunal(a)*. She argues for using *community* in order to point to the mission of such schools: to be schools for everyone, for the whole community. This translation might have a transformative power as a way of discursively positioning culture schools more closely to the field of *community music*. It is an approach that might push the development of such institutions towards community culture, where local communities are given more power over decisions regarding how to develop and be part of such institutions. However, the Swedish term *kommun* refers to a political division of the country into municipalities. The schools in focus for this thesis are part of a political system. The existence of these schools is dependent on political decisions on the municipal level; every municipality can choose whether or not to finance a SAMS. There are also extra-curricular schools in Sweden that are not part of the political system but initiated and led by individuals or organisations in the community. In order to emphasise the specificity of the politically governed institutions in focus for this thesis, the translation *municipal* is more accurate than *community*. Having explained that choice, I use the shorter term SAMS, with the schools' municipal nature implicitly understood.

With the exception of Kuuse's (2018) work, there is a lack of reflection and problematisation regarding how different translations of the Swedish term *kulturskola*

can influence the discourses around the institutions and how they are influenced by these discourses. The present section is intended to contribute to some much-needed reflection and problematisation.

In this thesis, the translation applied is *art and music schools*. There are several reasons for this. One is that *music school(s)* is a well-established concept in countries across Europe and beyond; because the notion of art and music schools includes that well-established concept, research can be understandable and searchable even outside the Swedish or Nordic context. Second, which is another perspective on the same argument, the translation *culture school* is not a well-established concept outside the Swedish or Nordic context, which makes it difficult to understand for “outsiders”. A third reason is that *art and music schools* has been used by the Nordic Council of Art and Music Schools (European Music School Union, 2017b), which may make the translation acceptable within the practice field. Fourth, the translation *art and music schools* focuses squarely on the activities offered by such schools.

Translations will always involve possibilities and challenges, and not translating could also imply possibilities and challenges in international communication. By exploring the original Swedish term *kulturskola* and different English translations, I hope to contribute to greater knowledge about this particular system of publicly funded schools, which are financed by almost all Swedish municipalities, and about how language influences and is influenced by currently and historically dominant discourses.

2.2 Historical overview

There are several historical overviews of the origin and expansion of publicly funded SAMS. Some are part of policy documents with relevance for education or culture. Others are part of scholarly work with a focus on such schools or related subjects, often within the field of music education. The present historical overview makes use of references from different fields (research, policy and practice) to trace discursive formations through the historical development of SAMS. The approach is inspired by Foucault’s genealogies, but while his large-scaled genealogies mapped discursive formations across several hundred years, this brief overview maps discursive formations across a period of less than 90 years. As Ellefsen (2014) explains, Foucault’s genealogies investigate “specific discourses by analysing their historical development across documents, practices and subject positions chosen for how they instantiate, exemplify or articulate the topic at hand” (p. 77). This historical overview contributes to the analyses of SAMS discourses by describing their historical development across policy documents, research studies and reports from the practice field. Tracing and making

use of this history in the discussions of the results (in chapter 6) helps expose what has been taken for granted and the role(s) and function(s) of power relations in discourses on SAMS. However, it is important to note that this overview is not intended to be a thorough genealogical analysis, since such an effort would require a detailed examination of the history of SAMS using documents and other historical sources as empirical material.

The Swedish idea of music schools for all can, according to the research (Olsson, 1994), be traced to the 1930s. During this period, “the Swedish welfare system began to take shape. Reforms were implemented in the whole range of social policy areas: housing, health, family and childcare and, from the 1940s on, education” (Ball & Larsson, 1989, p. 5). The policy scholars Ball and Larsson (1989) have described how the political and economic changes during this period had direct consequences for what would become the modern Swedish education system, an analysis that is most likely to be applicable for the development of SAMS. The music education scholars Lilliedahl and Georgii-Hemming (2009) have also described how Sweden during the period between the two world wars was marked by ideas of democratisation and the end of “class society” (p. 258). These ideas had implications for the first SAMS, which were to help democratise Western classical music and make it accessible to all groups in society.

According to a document published by the Swedish organisation for municipalities and regions (Svenska kommunförbundet, 1984), the first publicly funded music schools were established in the 1930s. The municipalities created these music schools as a complement to the piano teaching that was already available in many places, but only for those who could afford it (Svenska kommunförbundet, 1984). Since then, music schools have been established in many municipalities, a development that has followed the ups and downs of the country’s economic and political situation. During periods such as the Second World War and the 1990s economic crisis, the establishment of music schools in new municipalities ceased, while during periods of political stability and economic growth such as the 1960s and 1970s, municipal music schools continued to be established in new municipalities (Svenska kommunförbundet, 1984).

The music education scholars Brändström and Wiklund (1995) and Stålhammar (1995) also regard the 1930s as the origin of municipal music schools in Sweden, even though Brändström and Wiklund (1995) state that the first music school leader was Lennart Lundén in 1944 in Katrineholm. The establishment of music schools has been connected with the idea of music schools for all children, regardless of economic background (Brändström & Wiklund, 1995). Contrasting with the aim of providing music education for all children, the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR; *Sveriges kommuner och landsting* [SKL] in Swedish) has stated that

the main aim for music schools was to support the musical life of municipalities by training new musicians for local bands and orchestras (Svenska kommunförbundet, 1984). Everyone's right to music education and each municipality's need for local musicians can then be described as the two main arguments constituting the rationale for financing music schools at a municipal level.

The music school system developed independently from the compulsory school system, as previous studies have detailed (Gustafsson, 2000; Heimonen, 2002, 2003a; Tivenius, 2008). However, collaborations with the compulsory school system have historically been central to SAMS. By the 1990s, collaboration between the two systems had become increasingly common (Stålhammar, 1995, 1997). In documents from the national policy process for SAMS (see section 2.3), collaboration with the compulsory school system has, on the one hand, been pointed out as not a core part of SAMS activities (SOU 2016:69) and, on the other, as still important for SAMS in terms of accessibility to all children and adolescents (SOU 2016:69; Prop. 2017/18:164). Collaboration between the two systems in Sweden and other Nordic countries has been encouraged by scholars who have emphasised that such collaboration can be a way to include more pupils and work for children's democratic rights to culture (Bladh & Heimonen, 2007), to increase flexibility and pupils' agency (Stålhammar, 1995, 1997) and to improve pupils' motivation (Holst, 2018).

The 1970s witnessed two important changes in Sweden's music education landscape: the government commissioned an investigation and approved a reform of music teacher education. One argument for reform was to change and modernise the education of instrumental teacher education in order to strengthen the focus on children and their needs (Olsson, 1994). Even then, one problem to be addressed regarded the participation of all children. By the end of the 1970s, SAMS had been established in almost every municipality in Sweden (T. Persson, 2001).

During the 1980s, a shift in perspective was noticeable in the municipalities and regions joint policy document (Svenska kommunförbundet, 1984): there was a clear child-centred perspective when compared to the earlier versions of corresponding documents from the municipalities and regions, as the recent national inquiry noted (SOU 2016:69). This period has been referred to as "the glory days" of SAMS (SOU 2016:69, p. 58, my translation) and was also characterised by the expansion of subjects from music to several subjects in the arts. The main purpose of that expansion was to develop more inclusive schools where different artistic subjects could attract new groups of pupils (SOU 2016:69). A similar expansion from music schools to schools with several different cultural expressions also happened in Norway, where the corresponding system of art and music schools also advocates the inclusion of all children and adolescents (Norwegian Council for Schools of Music and Performing Arts, 2016).

The 1990s economic crisis threatened SAMS, but most survived the crisis, which may be due to advocacy by parents, leaders and politicians through the media (SOU 2016:69). Current statistics from the Swedish Arts Council (Kulturrådet, 2019) show that most SAMS today have several art subjects and that 287 of 290⁶ of Sweden's municipalities finance such a school. A large majority of SAMS have some kind of collaboration with the compulsory school system (Kulturrådet, 2020;⁷ SKL, 2016⁸).

The 1930s idea of music schools for all (Olsson, 1994) remains strong in the rhetorical strategies of SAMS. In recent years, the Swedish Arts Schools Council (Kulturskolerådet, 2020) has initiated several projects to promote the inclusion of all children and adolescents. The projects "An art and music school for all" (*En kulturskola för alla*) and "Art and music schools make a difference: Unaccompanied refugee children and newly arrived citizens in contact with art and music schools" (*Kulturskolan gör skillnad – ensamkommande och nyanlända möter Kulturskolan*) are examples of that kind of work (Kulturskolerådet, 2020). However, an earlier research report (Elofsson, 2009) exposed how participation in SAMS has been strongly connected to socio-economic background, even in the mid-1980s, which has been confirmed in the national inquiry report (SOU 2016:69) and more recent research (Jeppsson, 2020; Jeppsson & Lindgren, 2018). These problematisations of the picture of inclusive SAMS for all expose the unfulfilled democratic potential of SAMS.

2.3 Art and music school policy

As previously described, the history of SAMS can be characterised by voluntariness; each municipality in Sweden is free to choose whether to finance such a school. Nordic researchers (Heimonen, 2002, 2003a, 2003b; Lilliedahl & Georgii-Hemming, 2009) have pointed out how SAMS have historically been organised according to local norms and policies, with no national legal framework to follow. The ideological freedom that SAMS have enjoyed because of the lack of that framework may actually posed a problem for their continued existence, as several Swedish scholars have explained (Holmberg, 2010; Lilliedahl & Georgii-Hemming, 2009):

⁶ The three municipalities with no SAMS are Grums, Surahammar and Vilhelmina (Kulturrådet, 2019).

⁷ According to current statistics, approximately 86% of SAMS leaders and 74% of compulsory school principals have reported collaboration between the two school systems (Kulturrådet, 2020).

⁸ In a 2015 survey, 95% of SAMS leaders stated that they collaborate with compulsory schools, high schools, pre-schools and/or leisure-time centres (Sveriges kommuner och landsting [SKL], 2016).

In this freedom lies the heart of the problem. It gives the schools enviable flexibility and considerable opportunities, but at the same time it threatens their continued existence: schools design their operations from local, specific needs, and establish their own goals and traditions, beyond a doubt; yet at the same time, it is possible to view their activities as dispensable, as “icing on the cake”. (Lilliedahl & Georgii-Hemming, 2009, p. 269)

Because of the lack of a national legal framework for SAMS, municipalities are free to decide that they do not need to finance this kind of institution, and that has happened over the years, especially in times of financial crisis. This is one of the reasons for the advocacy work for a national policy for SAMS that the Swedish Arts Schools Council began under their former president, Håkan Sandh (2012), several years before the national government officially took up the issue. Today, the Swedish Arts School Council goes even further; their current president, Jalle Lorensen (2020), advocates for a national legal framework that would make it mandatory for all municipalities to finance SAMS.

Even though SAMS have worked without an official national policy, even in the 1970s and 1980s SALAR had published guiding principles for music schools (Svenska kommunförbundet, 1975, 1976, 1984). These principles, although not mandatory, can be regarded as the earliest SAMS-specific policies on a level broader than the local or regional context. One of the SALAR guiding principles was the position that SAMS should follow the school law by supporting pupils’ development into peaceful and responsible citizens (Svenska kommunförbundet, 1975, 1976, 1984). Even in its first publication (Svenska kommunförbundet, 1975), there was a clear statement regarding the relation between SAMS and primary and secondary general education: a close connection was emphasised as desirable. According to previous research (Olsson, 1994), most municipalities follow SALAR’s recommendations, even though each municipality is free to decide how to organise its own art and music school.

As noted above, in 2015 the Swedish government commissioned an inquiry (SOU 2016:69) to prepare for a national strategy. New cultural policies have the potential to promote and protect or prohibit cultural practices and values. In this case, the focus was on promoting and protecting SAMS as cultural and educational institutions and ensuring that they are available to everyone.

According to the national inquiry (SOU 2016:69), the goals that the Swedish government stated for the investigation were:

- To map SAMS with special attention paid to restrictions on or obstacles to availability and strategies for increasing availability,
- To suggest measures to ensure future access to formally educated teachers,

- To suggest a national strategy, exposing both positive and negative possible consequences of such a strategy.

The work of the investigators was based on reports, other investigations, research, and meetings with different stakeholders. The government launched a temporary website to facilitate anyone interested in the process to share their views with the investigators. With this broad approach, the investigators considered the perspectives of policy makers within government, along with SAMS leaders, SAMS teachers, representatives of the national orchestras, the Swedish Arts Schools Council, the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions, representatives from higher education, politicians on the local and regional levels and schoolchildren (SOU 2016:69).

The results of the inquiry were presented in October 2016 in *An inclusive art and music school on its own terms* (in Swedish, *En inkluderande skola på egen grund*) (SOU 2016:69). The choice of the word “inclusion” points to the importance of involvement of all children as a central element of SAMS. The second part highlights the specificity of this kind of school as a unique agent with its own legitimacy within Swedish society. The outcomes from the inquiry point to the need for several things: national aims, a national centre for SAMS, funding for municipal cooperation at the regional level, strengthened teacher education and investments in research and funding for a variety of purposes. According to the inquiry (SOU 2016:69), legal documents on a national level are possible but not viable at the moment, though they might become viable in the future.

The national inquiry report (SOU 2016:69) was followed by referral responses (Remiss SOU 2016:69) from various educational institutions, municipalities, political interest organisations, networks and individuals with a special interest in SAMS. The subsequent government proposal (Prop. 2017/18:164) presents guiding principles and refers to regional cultural policies. Two substantial consequences of the process are the development of new higher education programs in pedagogy for performers in a variety of art forms and the establishment of a centre to support SAMS and SAMS research (Prop. 2017/18:164).

The policy documents connected to the national policy process for SAMS – the inquiry, the proposition and the referral responses – reinforce what policy scholars Ball and Larsson (1989) have called a common imperative for educational policy in Sweden and other countries: a concern for the “underprivileged and socially disadvantaged groups in societies” (p. 5). Ball and Larsson (1989) mention groups such as individuals with disabilities and immigrants in the context of Swedish educational policy. These groups are also referred to in the SAMS policy documents (Prop. 2017/18:164; Remiss SOU 2016:69; SOU 2016:69).

2.4 Art and music school research

Music school research is a diverse field that has explored a wide range of aspects of music schools in different countries. This section provides a few examples from recent music school research in various countries and several examples from research on the SAMS system.

In Greece, the role of music schools in the formation of cultural identities has been emphasised (Theologos & Katsadoros, 2019), while new music schools in India have worked at recognising pupils' agency while maintaining the ideologies of the old institutions, where great importance was attached to the teacher (guru) (Krishna, 2020). The account is similar to what Bergman (2009) has found regarding the recognition of pupils' agency in Sweden, which contrasts with earlier interpretations by Rostvall and West (2001). In Finland, scholars have problematised the role of music schools, arguing that such schools need to build on "human flourishing" (Björk & Heimonen, 2019, p. 36) and on ethical responsibility (Westerlund et al., 2019). In Norway, both the expectations of pupils and the frames for teaching have been connected to the question of which discourse is more dominant in a given music school: a school discourse or a leisure discourse (Jordhus-Lier, 2018). Furthermore, in Norwegian art and music schools, the Breadth programme and the Core programme are viewed as of lower and higher cultural value, respectively, which might influence how pupils in each programme are valued (Ellefsen & Karlsen, 2020).

Collaboration has become a leading concern in music school research, as is illustrated by the theme of the Second European Music School Symposium in 2019, "Masters of collaboration", at which scholars and practitioners from 22 countries shared their ideas and projects (Backer Johnsen et al., 2020, p. 156). Scholars from Sweden (Jeppsson & Lindgren, 2018), Ireland (Deloughry, 2019) and Finland (Westerlund et al., 2019) have problematised how participation in music schools remains closely connected to social background.

Previous SAMS research with a focus on policy is limited. Rostvall and West (2001), Lilliedahl (2007) and Holmberg (2010) have discussed the absence of national policy documents. According to these scholars, SAMS possess ideological freedom to a great extent because, unlike compulsory schools, they do not have national curricula or indeed any governing policies on a national level. SAMS are formed locally and shaped by local structures and traditions in each municipality. Holmberg (2010) has emphasised the importance of developing national strategies for the future. Holmberg's two main arguments for such a strategy are to enable politicians and school leaders to define content and to support teachers in exercising the power that should be theirs, developing lessons according to their competence.

In Tivenius's (2008) description of the historical development of SAMS, he reflects on the fact that they have historically maintained a certain distance from the compulsory school system, which is regulated by policies on a national level. Music teachers in former music schools have generally resisted policy documents, while 70% of Sweden's music school leaders would embrace a legal framework on a national level (Tivenius, 2008). Another interesting discrepancy between leaders' and teachers' perspectives regards the discourse of innovation in art and music schools in Norway and Sweden. While Rønningen (2019) and Jeppsson (2020) have pointed out strong tendencies to innovation in leadership perspectives in art and music schools in Norway and Sweden, respectively, teachers have been reported to be less engaged in innovation (Holmberg, 2010; Jordhus-Lier, 2018). Norwegian scholars (Emstad & Angelo, 2017, 2019; Waagen, 2015) have emphasised another aspect of leadership; namely, art and music schools and compulsory schools can benefit from collaboration on the leadership level to develop learning for pupils.

Rostvall and West (2001), Lilliedahl (2007), Tivenius (2008), Holmberg (2010), Hellgren (2011) and several master's theses such as Immonen and Nordström (1997) and Graneheim (1994) have described the historical development that most municipal music schools experienced through embracing subjects other than music and becoming SAMS. Two master's theses focus on leadership perspectives: Graneheim (1994), who also adopts a policy perspective, and Ohlsson-Blendulf (1990).

SAMS policy and leadership perspectives have recently been the focus of a PhD thesis in educational sciences (Jeppsson, 2020). One of the results reported there is that political and economic fields influence the work of SAMS leaders. Leadership perspectives are important since leadership may determine the kinds of activities a given school will offer and thus which pupils it will attract and discourage. Therefore, it is both relevant and important to examine art and music school leadership. The results from an encounter with SAMS leaders from across Sweden (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2015) stressed the need for a national strategy and the worry some leaders felt about a future with more regulations. These results point to the need to go more deeply into the school leaders' positioning in relation to both policy and the democratisation of music education, such as the inclusion of pupils with disabilities and refugees.

Except for Jeppsson (2020), who makes use of policy theories and analyses SAMS policies, policy is not a central concept in the previous SAMS studies discussed above. Furthermore, when policies *are* mentioned by SAMS scholars, the reference generally takes a top-down perspective, with policy conceptualised as rules imposed by authorities. The present study takes another stance and situates scholars and practitioners in the policy process since there is a need for more contemporary approaches to policy, where actors in different contexts contribute to the processes.

These approaches are described further in section 3.2 (Educational policy theories) and the discussions in chapter 6.

2.5 Research about music education and democratisation

Many researchers have pointed to how a focus on democracy in music education may pave the way towards the inclusion of all children. Some even claim that music teachers and researchers have a responsibility to focus on the marginalised (Dyndahl, 2006; Vestad, 2015). As I interpret the following quotation from Vestad, democratic music education and inclusion of all children are two sides of the same coin: every individual's right to participation can only be achieved when every individual is included.

Democratic music education can be described as a form of music education in which everyone's voice is heard, and inclusion is understood as a process that counteracts the marginalisation processes, and contributes to children's participation in and sense of belonging to the social group. (Vestad, 2015, p. 171)

This argument implies that participation in arts education can lead to social improvement and is often used as a rationale for inclusion policies and practices in music education. One counterpoint to this claim of causality between participation in arts education and social improvement is that it is not easy to prove. This critique, according to the policy scholar Galloway (2009), might be valid, but it is not unique to participation in arts education; rather, the same difficulty in ascertaining a causal relation is a problem in various policy areas. As Galloway puts it, "definitive proof of causality is elusive" (Galloway, 2009, p. 17). Furthermore, Galloway encourages researchers to avoid a simplistic approach to causality and to consider the contextual complexities of the impact of participation in arts education.

The relation between participation in arts education and social impact has been investigated by a group of eight scholars (Sloboda et al., 2020) in a report on the initial phase of a research project. They have focused on musical projects with social impact as the main goal in the following countries: Belgium, Colombia, Finland and the UK. For example, they examined an opera project in the UK in which homeless people perform with professional artists. Their results show a growing field of activities with a strong emphasis on access to culture, social inclusion and activism. Interestingly, Sloboda et al.'s results expose a common characteristic in all four countries: a "very high dependence on public funding, which is in turn dictated by government policy" (p.

135), which might indicate that politics and public policy have had a high level of influence on the growth in art projects with social impact as their main aim.

A connection between politics and music education practice has also been addressed by Kertz-Welzel (2020). Her take on the democratisation of music education encourages an approach that raises “awareness for the political dimensions of our work as music educators, globally and nationally” (p. 40). Kertz-Welzel’s arguments build on the notion that politics can influence cultural diversity in music education, which is one reason for engaging in political discourses about culture, music and education.

In the Nordic countries, participation in arts education is often connected to democratic rights to be included in society as a whole and in artistic and cultural activities in particular. Several different aspects of the democratisation of music education and inclusion of all children have recently been the focus of music education scholars in those countries. For example, Karlsen and Westerlund (2010), Hofvander Trulsson (2010) and Sæther (2014, 2016) have focused on cultural diversity, Bergman (2009), Björck (2011), Borgström-Källén (2014) and Kvarnhall (2015) on gender, Nilsson (2014) and Laes and Schmidt (2016) on disability, while Hofvander Trulsson et al. (2015) have turned to the digital revolution and Jordhus-Lier et. al (2021) have exposed included and marginalised music genres. Karlsen (2017) has noted that the field of music education practice is becoming more connected to equality policies. In a research review of the Nordic research field on art and music schools, Rønningen and colleagues (2019) have noted that the body of research about such schools with a focus on democracy and inclusion of all children has been increasing in recent years. Even outside the Nordic countries, inclusion of all children in music activities has been a topic for scholars such as Benedict et. al (2015), Hess (2015, 2019) and Schmidt and Colwell (2017).

Many researchers would probably agree with Georgii-Hemming and Kvarnhall (2015) that *equality* “concerns awareness of respect for different groups and cultures” (p. 28). However, Hess (2014) problematises the concept of equality since it does not take into consideration different conditions for individuals or groups of individuals when purportedly giving the same opportunities to everyone. A better concept, according to her, is *equity*, which considers such differences in a way that leads to working for compensation when necessary (Hess, 2014).

The Finnish researchers Laes and Kallio have made a statement that I consider a summary of how music education, democracy and the inclusion of all children can and should be related:

The aim of inclusion cannot be to “accommodate”, “tolerate”, or “transform” difference with the idea to reproduce harmony or consensus. Difference, and the equality of individuals – not in spite of, but *because* of – their differences, should be welcomed – regardless of whether or not the combination of these individual melodies, rhythms, meters, and timbres are always pleasing to the ear. (Laes & Kallio, 2015, p. 80)

In their approach, the idea of a harmony where all differences are adapted to fit in is not the aim of inclusion. On the contrary, inclusion is to welcome all individuals *and* their differences. Building on Laes and Kallio’s (2015) approach, welcoming and including all individuals and their differences might be a productive way to democratise music education.

A democratic foundation consisting of equality is fundamental to music education, according to Georgii-Hemming and Kvarnhall (2015), and they it can be achieved by facilitating meetings between all kinds of people. According to the European Music School Union (2017a), Sweden already has this kind of democratic approach to music education to an even higher degree than the other Nordic countries. As an indication of that approach, the European Music School Union (2017a) points to the fact that 14 per cent of Sweden’s population under the age of 25 take music classes, leading the Nordic countries and surpassed in Europe only by Liechtenstein. I see a need to question which groups of pupils are included in those 14 per cent, and consequently to expose which groups of pupils are excluded. Another indication of that approach is the principle that every pupil’s musical development is stressed in the music curriculum for compulsory schools (Skolverket, 2011). As to SAMS, parents expect that system to be open to all because of the fact that the schools are publicly funded (Lilliedahl & Georgii-Hemming, 2009). Both the goals and outcomes of the government-commissioned inquiry described in section 2.3 highlight the inclusion of all children and adolescents (SOU 2016:69). However, the inquiry takes a critical stance and problematises the democratic foundation of SAMS, pointing to the exclusion of certain groups of children and adolescents.

Recent research on the Swedish compulsory school context (Ahmed et al., 2020) has shown that potential pupils with an ADHD diagnosis are discriminated against by schools when parents apply for a place. The present study does not do a corresponding experimental study to evaluate whether this kind of discrimination is tangible at SAMS, but it has a similar focus when analysing the inclusion of certain groups of children and adolescents in SAMS through the perspectives of leaders and policy documents.

In order to counteract marginalisation and promote democracy, there is, in Foucault’s terms (1971/1993), a need to expose the repressed and excluded discourses. However, this is not to say that counteracting marginalisation and promoting democracy will be easy to accomplish. When current discourses are challenged, the

positions of empowered groups are also challenged. Resistance, most probably from the empowered groups, is thus to be expected (Burr, 2015). Beyond the expected resistance, there is also always a risk that those actively working to counteract marginalisation and promote democracy contribute instead to “hierarchization, cultural appropriation, exoticization, stereotyping, and trauma”, as expressed by Hess (2019, p. 154). The approach that Hess encourages is useful when engaging with activism within music education: it is important to remain aware of these possible risks, and “how we address those ‘slips’ with students matters greatly” (p. 154). Inspired by what A. Persson (2003) has advocated sociologists to do, perhaps music education scholars should take a stand for the marginalised by working for their right to free themselves.

The several examples offered in this section have pointed to a growing field of research with a focus on the democratisation of music education. Across studies from different countries, it is possible to discern discursive formations around the ideas of inclusion of all children in arts and music education as a way to promote what has been stated in Article 31 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2021): children’s democratic rights to participate in society’s cultural and artistic life.

3. Discourse and policy theories in music education

The challenge is not to agree with Foucault but to be disconcerted by him, to be made to think in new spaces and to consider new possibilities for thought. (Ball, 2013, pp. 4–5)

The epigraph of this chapter on reading Foucault can be considered an invitation to a critical approach concerning not only the research object but also the researchers themselves. As a response to this invitation, the theoretical framework for the thesis is intended to contribute to critical analyses that challenge my previous understandings of SAMS. As the previous chapters have shown, SAMS can be considered an important arena for the musical and artistic education of many children and adolescents in Sweden. Inspired by Foucault, one could question such a statement and ask whether SAMS can also be understood in other ways. In what he has called “a hyper- and pessimistic activism”, Foucault (1983, p. 232) has explained that there are always things to do, not because everything is bad or wrong but because “everything is dangerous” (pp. 231). Somewhat contradictorily, Foucault (1991) has also considered his investigations “to rest on a postulate of absolute optimism” (p. 174) for the same reason: there are always things to be done. Following Foucault, an optimistic activism regarding SAMS and SAMS research can be embraced, which would imply that all individuals involved are invited to act.

SAMS policies and their leaders’ policy practices are central to the present study. As tools to understand and analyse the research object, concepts from discourse theories (specifically Foucauldian discourse analysis and discursive psychology) and educational policy theories are applied. As noted above, such theories were originally developed in the fields of sociology and political science, respectively, but they have been applied in music education research (see Ellefsen, 2014; Holmberg, 2010; Karlsen, 2017; Lindgren, 2006; Schmidt, 2017), in line with the interdisciplinary nature of that field. Educational policy theories connect directly to my focus on policy and policy practice, with specific attention to the national policy process for SAMS. Discourse theories connect to my emphasis on the constructions and problematisations made in and through the leaders’ talk in three focus group conversations and in the policy

documents. From this perspective, the leaders' talk could be regarded as representations of *discursive practices*. They are a way of discursively putting policy into practice, or *policy practice*, within a policy theoretical framework. Discourse theories make a connection between language and social change (Burr, 2015), a connection that is relevant since research on inclusion issues explores the (im)possibilities of social change. Policy theories are also directed to social change, but while discourse theories expose discourses that can be connected to social action, policy theories can be applied to propose specific actions and recommendations.

Both discourse theories and the educational policy theories chosen can be categorised as part of a critical social constructionist framework, a framework that considers knowledge and subjectivity to be socially constructed. Drawing on this framework, scientific studies are then considered to be constructions rather than mirrors of reality; a study is always a product of theory and data (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). This chapter outlines the theoretical framework of the thesis, starting with discourse theories (3.1) and moving on to policy theories (3.2).

3.1 Discourse theories

In this section, different approaches within discourse theories are described, discussed and connected to the study of policies. Specifically, Foucauldian discourse analysis, discursive psychology and a view of the subject as constituted by and constituting discourses are presented as crucial parts of the theoretical framework of the thesis.

Discourse theories, sometimes called *discourse theory*, is an umbrella term to describe social constructionist approaches in which discourse analysis is applied to examine social concepts, structures and institutions. A social constructionist approach implies, as Burr (2015) explains, accepting one or more of Gergen's (1985) key assumptions:

- a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge;
- historical and cultural specificity;
- knowledge as sustained by social processes; and
- knowledge and social action as interdependent.

A social constructionist approach does not deny the existence of reality, as Gergen explains:

The important point is that whenever people define reality – that death is real, or the body, the sun, and the chair on which they are sitting – they are speaking from a particular standpoint. To be sure, something happens, but in describing it you will inevitably rely on some tradition of sense making. (Gergen, 2015, p. 5)

Gergen's (2015) explanation is useful for understanding the complex relations between individuals and reality; real things do exist, but when speaking of real things, individuals do so from a certain positioning, which is not necessarily the same positioning for every person or even for the same person in different situations. The epistemological foundation of this thesis is based on the idea that language and the social world are connected in a reciprocal relationship, as described by Potter and Wetherell (2004); language is used by individuals "to construct versions of the social world" (p. 199). Then again, the language used in conversations reflects what is "culturally, historically and ideologically available" (Billig, 2004, p. 217). Another important idea is that "variation in accounts is expected since there are different ways of describing or interpreting the same experience" (Potter & Wetherell, 2004, p. 200). Discourse analysis is a specific kind of constructionist approach which focuses on language and practice (Wetherell et al., 2001, 2004).

Discourse theories are built on the idea that power relations are always being exerted (Lindgren, 2006). Power produces knowledge, actions and subjects (Foucault, 1974/2004, 1976/2002), and discourses always benefit some while disadvantaging others. The power relations at play in the focus group conversations and policy documents examined in this thesis produce knowledge, actions and subjects, which is discussed further in chapter 6. Language is of central importance to discourse theories; it is regarded as constituting the world since it shapes people's actions. Language is also influenced by those actions. This view of language is often referred to as "the turn towards a social view of language" (Kress, 2004, p. 29), a view that pays little attention to language structures and has much more interest in historical, social and institutional structures.

Thus far in this text, discourse theories have been applied as an umbrella term for a field with several different analytical traditions, depending on the scholar(s). I briefly describe three categorisations of the field to contextualise the approaches to analytical traditions applied in the present study.

According to Widdicombe and Wooffitt (1995), a categorisation in two analytical traditions makes a division based on the relation between subject and discourse when it comes to the subject's agency. The first analytical tradition emphasises the agency of the subject in making use of discourses and is represented by Potter and Wetherell (1987). This approach corresponds to what other categorisations label *discursive psychology*. The other analytical tradition, which is more political and is applied in

Foucauldian analyses, emphasises instead how discourses constitute the subject. Söderman (2007) aligns with such a categorisation in two analytical traditions but adds a third one, namely *critical discursive psychology*, an approach that accepts that discourses constitute the subject while still recognising that the subject can also make use of discourses.

Drawing on Potter and Wetherell (1990) and Burr (1995), Bacchi (2005) offers another categorisation in two central analytical traditions, namely *discourse analysis* and *analysis of discourses*. The first tradition has a “social psychological focus on patterns of speech” (Bacchi, 2005, p. 199), and the second one has a political theoretical focus. This categorisation into two traditions corresponds to Widdicombe and Wooffitt’s (1995) classification, even though they do not apply the same terminology as Bacchi (2005). A combination of Bacchi’s (2005) descriptions of discourse analysis and analysis of discourses corresponds to what has been applied in some Swedish music education studies, such as Ericsson and Lindgren (2011) and Articles I and II in this thesis (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a, 2019a).

A third categorisation (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2010) divides the discourse field into the following three approaches: *discursive psychology*; *discourse theory*, which is not equivalent in meaning to the umbrella term discourse theory or theories; and *critical discourse analysis* (CDA). In this categorisation, there are also important distinctions between the approaches regarding the agency of the subject in relation to discourse. In discursive psychology, the subject constitutes discourse by making use of rhetorical strategies. In discourse theory, discourse is regarded as constituting reality and the subject, while in CDA the subject both constitutes and is constituted by discourse. In the categorisation by Widdicombe and Wooffitt (1995), discourse theory would fit into the second analytical tradition, while discursive psychology would belong to the first analytical tradition. CDA would correspond to the third analytical tradition added by Söderman (2007) to Widdicombe and Wooffitt (1995); namely, critical discursive psychology.

Table 1 illustrates the three categorisations of the discourse field. The categorisations by Widdicombe and Wooffitt (1995) and Bacchi (2005) are divided into two analytical traditions but, as stated above, Söderman (2007) has added a third analytical tradition. The categorisation by Winther Jørgensen and Phillips (2010) is divided into three analytical traditions.

As the table shows, the third analytical tradition in two of the categorisations does not deny the other analytical traditions; rather, it accepts both. A combination of what can be categorised as the first and second analytical traditions in the three categorisations has been applied in Articles I and II in this thesis (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a, 2019a), where attention is paid to rhetorical strategies and patterns of speech combined with a political theoretical focus in a Foucauldian sense. The combination

of the two analytical traditions is in line with Foucault's later works regarding the reciprocal relationship between discourse and the subject. Foucault's view on subjectivity is discussed further in section 3.1.2.

Table 1: Mapping the use of discourse as a concept in different analytical traditions

Categorisation 1 (Widdicombe & Wooffitt, 1995)	Analytical tradition 1 The subject makes use of discourses. The analytical tradition is represented by Potter and Wetherell (1987).	Analytical tradition 2 Discourses constitute the subject. The analytical tradition corresponds to Foucauldian analyses.	Analytical tradition 3 Söderman (2007) adds the analytical tradition of critical discursive psychology. Discourses constitute the subject, but the subject can also make use of discourses.
Categorisation 2 (Bacchi, 2005)	Analytical tradition 1 Discourse analysis. The analytical tradition has a focus on social psychological focus on patterns of speech.	Analytical tradition 2 Analysis of discourses. The analytical tradition has a political theoretical focus.	–
Categorisation 3 (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2010)	Analytical tradition 1 Discursive psychology. The subject constitutes discourse by making use of rhetorical strategies.	Analytical tradition 2 Discourse theory. Discourses constitute reality and the subject.	Analytical tradition 3 Critical discourse analysis. The subject constitutes and is constituted by discourse.

As scholars such as Ellefsen (2014) have pointed out, Foucault's "research designs tend to be grand, his 'genealogies' (of madness, of sexuality, of punishment) mapping foundations of discourse across several hundred years, researchers wanting to apply his tools for close-up empirical inquiry may need to downscale considerably" (p. 47). In the present study, instead of applying genealogy as a method, tools from discourse analysis and policy analysis are applied to trace discursive formations of SAMS, as observed in focus group conversations with leaders and policy documents.

3.1.1 Discursive psychology and Foucauldian discourse analysis

In this thesis, Foucauldian discourse analysis is applied Articles I, II and III. Article I and II combine that approach with discursive psychology, as represented by Potter and Wetherell (2004).

Discourse is a central concept for the thesis. Most discourse approaches apply Foucault's definition of that concept as what constitutes the objects and subjects of which it speaks (Foucault 1971/1993) or, in other words, discourse as constituting objects and subjects. Lindgren (2006) has, drawing on a social constructionist

approach, applied the following definition of discourse for the purpose of her thesis on discursive positioning in discussions with teachers and leaders: discourse regards “the problematisation of constructions of meaning” (p. 42, my translation). Her further refinement of the definition holds that discourse concerns “the conditions that control people’s opinions, thoughts, actions and statements” (p. 42, my translation). Ball (2013), also inspired by Foucault, has stated that “discourse is that which constrains or *enables*, writing, speaking and thinking” (p. 19) when applying Foucault’s ideas to the analysis of power and education. Discourse defines what knowledge is valid. Knowledge, in turn, is always embedded in power relations. Foucault (1976/2002, 1980) emphasises the relation between knowledge and power by combining the two concepts in the construction *power/knowledge*, which is described further in this chapter.

Within discursive psychology, the core of discourse is the situated use of language (Burr, 2015), with a focus on discourses as constituting and constituted by objects and subjects. Discursive psychology takes a micro perspective and concentrates on discourse and rhetoric (Billig, 2004; Burr, 2015; Potter & Wetherell, 2004; Puchta & Potter, 2004). Foucault (1969/2011, 1971/1993) holds that discourse may refer not only to utterances or texts but also to unwritten rules and structures: in other words, to social practice.

The concept of discourse may, according to Foucault (1969/2011), be applied when analysing both the micro and macro levels of interaction, but Foucauldian analysis often takes a macro perspective, analysing social structures, power issues, ideologies and institutionalised practices (Burr, 2015; Foucault, 1969/2011, 1971/1993; Zimmerman Nilsson & Ericsson, 2012). As Burr (2015) states in line with Foucault’s late works, discourses frame the lives of human agents, but human agents are capable of resisting them in order to achieve change. The concept of discourse may therefore be applied to analysing both how discourses frame and constitute subjects and how subjects frame and constitute the discourses.

Puchta and Potter (2004) have explained that attitudes are *performed* in interaction in discursive practices rather than *preformed* as simply existing inside an individual. On the other hand, Taylor (2013) has argued that discourses are always partly rehearsed and not exclusively performed in interaction. In the present study, discourses are considered partly rehearsed even as performances in discursive practices shape the discourses. The concept of *discursive practice* has been presented in connection with the leaders’ talk in the focus group conversations. A discursive practice is defined by Foucault (1969/1972) as “a body of anonymous, historical rules, always determined in the time and space that have defined a given period, and for a given social, economic, geographical, or linguistic area, the conditions of operation of the enunciative function” (p. 117). In other words, it could be said that discursive practices are shaped historically

and contextually through interactions and actions. Power, or Foucault's power/knowledge (1976/2002; 1980), is always present in the discursive practices, shaping subjects and objects. In this thesis, the focus group conversations with the leaders are treated as discursive practices since their talk is shaped through the history of SAMS and by the context of the local and regional particularities of each art and music school. The discursive practices of SAMS leaders have been shaped in regional and national meetings and in their documents, web page, communication with politicians and social media forums. The focus group conversations represent these discursive practices, which continue outside of the frame of the conversations. As Ball puts it,

the operation of discursive practices is to make it virtually impossible to think outside of them; to be outside of them is, by definition, to be mad, to be beyond comprehension and therefore reason. The discursive rules that produce and define reason are linked to the exercise of power. (Ball, 2013, pp. 20–21)

Ball's explanation points to how a discursive practice is ruled by the exercise of power, which makes it impossible to think differently from what is accepted within that particular discursive practice.

When combining discursive psychology and Foucauldian analysis in Articles I and II (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a, 2019a), I applied the concept of discourse to focus on rhetoric and action and examined discourse in relation to power and institutionalised practices. The concept of discourse is, therefore, "a social practice where objects and subjects are created through interaction and action by way of specific power techniques" (Lindgren, 2006, p. 189). Since the main study object in those articles is the talk of SAMS leaders, the Foucauldian analysis is primarily applied on the institutional level of discourse rather than the larger social level. The analysis is largely carried out on a meso level – Foucauldian analysis on an institutional level – but is sometimes combined with analysis on the micro level of discursive psychology. These two levels of analysis are explained further in section 4.5.

Foucault (1969/2011, 1971/1993) contends that discourses are always connected to issues of power and resistance. Power is not regarded as something a person possesses but as a productive effect of discourse. By drawing on a certain discourse, a person can empower himself or herself or a particular group in society. In this thesis, there are not only power relations among SAMS leaders but also between them and the pupils and potential pupils of whom the leaders speak. There are also power relations between leaders and decision makers on a national level and between those decision makers and pupils. The research project itself is embedded in power relations of which I am part, a topic I return to in chapters 4 and 6. A *regime of truth*, as Foucault (1971/1993) explain, is created and enforced when trying to make a discourse the only valid one, repressing

and excluding other possible discourses. The regime of truth is a central concept for the analysis in Article I.

By conducting research with this epistemological foundation, I problematise how participants talk and expose the social structures that might affect them since this foundation supports the idea that social structures and individual participants shape one another. As Herzog explains when referring to Foucault,

when individuals engage in practices, whether practices of discourse production (e.g. speaking) or practices produced by discourses (e.g. taking up cycling as the result of a discourse on health and well-being), they are frequently unaware of the normative implications of their practices. (Herzog, 2016, p. 286)

Foucauldian discourse analysis is also applied in Article III.

As Hall (2008) notes, a major critique of Foucault's work is that the focus on discourse can lead to analyses that "neglect the influence of the material, economic and structural factors in the operation of power/knowledge" (p. 78). The analysis often stays on the level of critiquing institutions and processes (Ingram et al., 2016). One way of dealing with this concern is to complement the analysis with approaches that focus more on material, economic and structural aspects and where the analysis itself might lead to recommendations. Policy theories can be applied in this regard. Policy scholars such as Ball (1993, 2008, 2013) have followed Foucault's concepts and ideas in combination with analyses that also examine such aspects. Foucault's work can, as Ball (2013) puts it, contribute to putting "the 'excluded', the educational 'other' – racism and disability – at the centre of history of education policy" (p. 19). I apply this approach in this thesis when I expose how certain groups of (potential) pupils are placed within policies and leaders' policy practices. The discursive and policy theoretical framework can contribute to exposing power relations, what knowledge is accepted as the right one, and the normative effects of discourses and policies.

Discourses are ruled by power relationships, which makes them socially and politically relevant, as Sune Sunesson states in the preface of the Swedish edition [*Vansinnets historia under den klassiska epoken*] of Foucault's *Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique* (1961/2010). Sunesson adds that knowledge is a particular discourse that can be so hegemonic as to silence other voices. A discourse can also have "the power to say something other than it actually says, and thus to embrace a plurality of meanings" (Foucault, 1969/1972, p. 118). The analyses in this thesis build on the Foucauldian idea that discourses are ruled by power relationships and that a statement never exists in a vacuum but – as Lindgren (2006) puts it – exists within institutions, rituals and practices, where it becomes part of discursive formations. A critical stance is central to this kind of analysis, viewing critique as a way to reveal the "taken-for-granted exercises of power" (Ball, 2013, p. 38, 145).

3.1.2 Subjectivity

In this section, I discuss how subject positioning is relevant to this thesis. Discourses make certain positions available to any subject. At the same time, the subject produces discourses and is also capable of actively resisting the current discourses and making new positions available (Burr, 2015). The same subject may position itself differently and even contradictorily within different discourses (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2010). Ball has referred to “the idea of subjectivity as what we do, rather than who we are, as an active *process of becoming*, as the work of ‘*the care of the self*’” (2013, p. 125). I apply the concepts of subjectivity and subject positioning rather than subject position in order to emphasise the dynamic role that the subject plays when producing discourses, becoming and positioning itself.

As described above, different discourse approaches imply different views on the relation between subject and discourse when it comes to subject positioning and agency. The different views regard whether the subject and discourse constitute each other or if one constitutes the other. According to Nilsson (2008), the approach to the subject in relation to discourse goes through different phases in Foucault’s work. At the beginning of the 1960s, Foucault (1961/2010) describes the subject as mainly autonomous and constituting discourses. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the subject is described as constituted by discourses, which is in line with structuralist theories (Foucault, 1969/2011, 1971/1993). From the late 1970s, the subjectification processes in Foucault’s (1976/2002) writings are described by Nilsson (2008) as more multifaceted and contradictory; the subject can both constitute discourses and be constituted by them. At the end of his life, Foucault (1999) became, according to Nilsson (2008), gradually more interested in subjects as constituting themselves.

The reciprocal relationship between discourse and subjectivity has been explained in terms of how people and discourse use each other (Potter & Wetherell, 1990) and in terms of how discourses have the power to construct possibilities for thought at the same time as power relations between individuals within the discourses can have an effect on meaning and on the discourses (Ball, 1990).

In this thesis, the notion of discourse and subject as constituting each other is applied. The subject can take various positionings that are constructed by and available through discourse, but the subject can also exert power and resistance, shaping discourses and contributing to the emergence of new subject positionings. The subject positionings that emerge through this thesis, which also concern my role as a researcher, are discussed in chapter 6. As expressed by Foucault (1991) and confirmed by Ball (2013), the writing process itself can be a way to be challenged to think in new ways and thus change the self.

3.1.3. The concept of power/knowledge

From a Foucauldian perspective, power is not something that someone possesses but an effect of discourse (Foucault, 1971/1993). Power is not only oppressive but can be productive, as it constitutes discourses, knowledge and subjectivities. Power can be understood as circulating in everyday practices, constantly influencing individuals. The power relations within a school, or in this thesis within SAMS, can produce definitions and demarcations of normality. This effect of power relations can lead to normality discourses, where certain individuals are considered to be normal while others are considered to deviate from that standard. From this perspective, power has consequences for individuals and for groups of individuals. The consequences of power relations are not necessarily negative, but power relations can provide opportunities “to be successful, fulfilled or loved” (Ball, 2013, p. 30).

With the concept of power/knowledge, Foucault (1976/2002, 1980) emphasises how power and knowledge are inherently related. All knowledge claims can be understood as ways of creating and reinforcing *truths* or *regimes of truth*. Foucault applied this approach when critically investigating institutions and science, and it can also be applied to SAMS and research on SAMS. Connected to all dominant discourses that enforce a regime of truth there are discourses that have been silenced. It would be valuable in the analyses in this thesis to try to reveal discourses that have been silenced “at the expense of other possible discourses”, which is the main focus of a study by Zimmerman and Ericsson (2012, p. 70).

Ellefsen (2014) has explained that the Foucauldian concept of power/knowledge (Foucault, 1976/2002, 1980) “underscores how truth, value and knowledge, rather than being objectives and universals, are inseparable from the social practices that empower them as objects of truth and as universal values, and that simultaneously empower themselves as objective, universal practices” (pp. 12–13). The concept undermines the idea of objective or universal knowledge and emphasises instead how knowledge is always connected to social practices, to history and to context. All knowledge has an empowering effect. Applying the Foucauldian notion of power/knowledge (Foucault, 1976/2002, 1980) can make it possible to expose and analyse how power relations can be unequally distributed (Ball & Tamboukou, 2003). This notion can be useful in the context of SAMS, where power/knowledge is likely to be enacted and negotiated between participants and possibly not always equally distributed.

3.2 Educational policy theories

In this section, the development of several concepts within educational policy theories, such as *policy enactment*, *policy cycle* and *contemporary approach to policy making* is described, discussed and connected to discourse analysis as part of the theoretical framework developed for the present research project.

This thesis focuses on policy processes rather than on possible policy outcomes. Analysing policy processes can add a needed dimension to future analyses of outcomes. As policies are enacted by leaders even before official implementation (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a), some possible consequences of the national policy process for SAMS can be exposed.

The concept of *policy* can be described as encompassing principles, ideas and organisation (Hylland & Bjurström, 2018). More specifically, “public policy involves the decisions (including both actions and nonactions) of a government or an equivalent authority” (Weible, 2014, p. 4). In the present text, the concept of (public) policy applies to processes, decisions and specific documents with relevance for SAMS. The line between process and decision is often blurred, with actors in different contexts influencing other contexts and the process itself (Ball, 1993; Braun et al., 2010). The engagement of music teachers and of music education researchers is potentially relevant in this context: “Policy and research construct objects of knowledge and subjects of intervention. They create possibilities for *who we are and might be*, both in public policy discourse and institutional practices” (Ball, 2013, p. 98).

In the field of music education, it has been argued that teachers avoid engaging in policy processes instead of acknowledging their own role as actors in these processes (Kertz-Welzel, 2018; Schmidt, 2012, 2015). Schmidt (2012) reminds music teachers that “the etymological origin of the word policy is directly connected to citizenship” (p. 58), a meaning that might give music teachers a reason to engage in policy.

Works by the policy researcher Ball and colleagues, where the concepts of *policy enactment theory* (Braun et al., 2010) and *policy cycle* are developed (Ball, 1994), and the work of the music education policy researcher Schmidt, where the concept of a *contemporary approach to policy making* is developed (Schmidt, 2012, 2017), constitute the foundation of the policy theoretical framework in this thesis. Policy is not considered a static, top-down object but rather cyclical processes influenced by actors in different contexts. This view of policy opens possibilities for teachers, leaders and researchers to get involved in policy processes. A contemporary approach to policy making, where policies are influenced by actors in different contexts, aligns with Foucault’s writings from the late 1970s, in which subjects are constituted by and constitute discourses.

Due to the decentralised nature of the SAMS system, I have applied the concept of *loosely coupled system* from organisational theory (Weick, 1976) to describe these institutions (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a). Loosely coupled systems tend to resist adapting to structural reforms and might risk losing their capacity for flexibility, adaptation and innovation if subjected to such reforms (Schwartz, 1994). For instance, SAMS have the flexibility to choose which activities they might offer. Furthermore, each municipality in Sweden currently has the right to choose whether or not to finance such a school, a flexibility that might be challenged by a national policy. These conditions could lead to resistance to reform.

3.2.1 Policy as discourse

When defining policy, Ball (1993) describes it *as text* and *as discourse*, highlighting that policies are also processes and series of outcomes. Policies as texts are the documents themselves, “textual interventions into practice” (p. 12). Policies as discourses are, in line with Foucault’s writings from the late 1960s and early 1970s, practices constituting object and subject positions. Again inspired by Foucault, Ball (2008) has defined policies as “very specific and practical regimes of truth and value” (p. 5).

Drawing on Ball’s approach to policy, the music education policy researcher Schmidt (2017) aligns with a contemporary policy view, stating that policy is “as much legislation as it is a set of practices, as much analysis as it is a disposition, as much a process as a set of outcomes” (p. 12). Schmidt (2012) supports a shift of focus from product to process in educational policy, emphasising the importance of engaging music educators in policy processes.

My approach in this research project focuses on discursive processes and practices, or, in Ball’s words, on policy as discourse, exploring policy texts as part of discourses and *discursive practices* of SAMS leaders during the policy-making process. I apply the concept of discursive practice in a Foucauldian sense (Foucault, 1969/2011) as a way to delimit an area for analysis or a piece of a larger discourse; a discursive practice is limited to a certain time period, to a certain place and to a limited number of individuals. At the same time, the discursive practices are considered practices in which subjects can constitute discourses, in line with Foucault’s writings from the late 1970s. The discursive practices for this research project are represented by focus group conversations with art and music school leaders from northern, central and southern Sweden.

When analysing policy as discourse, the focus can turn to how policies as discursive formations constitute an institution (Ball, 2013), here represented by SAMS.

3.2.2 Policy enactment theory

Educational policy studies investigate how political decisions are carried out in educational institutions. Policy analyses are complex studies that can deal with the macro (society), meso (institution) or micro (individual) levels or with combinations thereof. It is thus important to apply a theoretical framework that is in accordance with the intended level(s) of analysis. For the present study, the analyses are largely on the meso level due to the study's focus on SAMS as institutions, though there points at which the micro level is added to the analysis.

The British policy scholars Braun et al. (2010) have developed a *policy enactment theory*; inspired by post-structuralist concepts, it examines how policies are *enacted* rather than *implemented*. Applying policy enactment rather than policy implementation is a way to emphasise the “creative process of interpretation and recontextualisation” (Braun et al., 2010, p. 549) involved when policy is put into practice. These scholars add that the complex relation between policy and practice needs to be approached by considering the discursive processes connected to policy texts. In studying the discursive practices of SAMS leaders connected to the national policy process and applying the concept of enactment, my research project aligns with the policy enactment theory formulated by Braun et al. (2010), specifically in reference to the art and music school leaders' ways of interpreting the policy-making process in relation to their own practices. In line with Foucault's writing from the late 1970s and later, the leaders contribute to constituting discursive formations around the policies, while the discursive formations in those policies contribute to constituting the subject positionings of the leaders.

3.2.3 Theories of the policy cycle

Ball and colleagues (Ball, 1994; Ball et al., 1992) have developed a view of policy as neither top-down nor bottom-up but as a process where policy is made and remade while circulating in different contexts. This way of conceptualising policy as a cycle has also been applied by other policy scholars, including Lingard et al. (2005). Ball's view on policies as processes that take place in contextualised relations between individuals implies that these relations are power relations in a Foucauldian sense, since power is exerted in reciprocal and contextualised relations between individuals (Foucault, 1974/2004, 1976/2002). The concept of the policy cycle is useful when undertaking research on policy processes for and about SAMS since it facilitates an analytical focus on the multiple contexts in which policy is conceptualised rather than focusing solely on the text development context.

Theories of the policy cycle had been developed before Ball's contribution., including the efforts of Lasswell (1956), Anderson (1975), Jenkins (1978), May and Wildavsky (1978), and Brewer and deLeon (1983), as summarised by Jann and Wegrich (2007). These theories are more managerial and structuralist; the policy process is described as a chronological process with specific stages. The most conventional way of describing policy processes based on these earlier conceptions of the policy cycle is to describe them as processes consisting of the following stages: agenda-setting, policy formulation, decision making, implementation and evaluation (Jann & Wegrich, 2007).

The conception of the policy cycle developed by Ball and colleagues (Ball, 1994; Ball et al., 1992), by contrast, does not describe processes as consisting of specific stages. Their conception is more critical and challenges vertical notions of policy. Ball and colleagues (Ball, 1994; Ball et al., 1992) hold that different policy actors might initiate policy processes in their respective contexts. The nearly deterministic differentiation between the various stages made by earlier scholars is not taken up by Ball. His conception is more of cycles that are constantly rearranged as discourse "travels" to different contexts. As Lopes puts it, "the Foucaultian decentered concept of power (Ball, 1990, 2013) was incorporated to the policy cycle approach (Ball, Bowe & Gold, 1992; Ball, 1994), questioning the deterministic analyses" (2016, p. 3). Ball's cyclical approach to policy implies that power is not exerted as a top-down process; it sees power as decentred and exerted between individuals.

In the case of SAMS, (policy) actors from several contexts have, in a cyclical way in line with Ball's (1993) concept, engaged in the national policy process with different attempts to influence policy. Some of key contexts are as follows: (1) practice, with actors such as leaders, teachers, pupils and parents; (2) research, with actors such as researchers and PhD students; and (3) the official context of policy, with the national government and local politicians as actors. One example of policy engagement in the context of practice is the championing of a national strategy, which the Swedish Arts Schools Council proposed nearly a decade ago (Sandh, 2012). In the context of research, Holmberg (2010) has also argued for national policy in order to ensure teachers' legitimacy. In the official context of policy, in 2015 the national government commissioned an investigation to propose a national strategy for SAMS. In Ball's (1993) model, there is no context of research but a context of influence in which research can be included. This context could be added to the present model, with interest organisations, journalists and various individuals exerting influence through the media. Even with that addition, I would still have research as a separate context, in line with Zezerson and Welch (2017), as a way of enforcing the need for a strong connection between research, practice and policy: "Where those stronger connections exist, change is more sustainable and outcomes are better" (Zezerson & Welch, 2017, p. 65).

Ball's view of policy as cyclical is compatible with the emergence of new policy actors and policy networks. Policy is now "produced through multiple agencies and multiple sites of discourse generation" (Ball & Exley, 2010, p. 151); policy production has shifted focus from government towards governance. In the case of SAMS, some of the sites of discourse generation are official networks, such as the Council of Art and Music School leaders (*Kulturskolerådet*), and emerging unofficial networks that consist of individuals who get together with a common critique of the national investigation report (SOU 2016:69). Examples of such unofficial networks are mobilisations of teachers who, in response to SOU 2016:69, sent joint referral responses (Remiss SOU 2016:69) to the government.

The media can also be regarded as a site of discourse generation and is used by actors in different contexts with attempts to influence the cycles of policy. As Lingard and Rawolle (2004) argue, the media can contribute to influencing "both policy processes and texts" (p. 361). Even in the 1990s, there was an intense debate in the Swedish media about whether to regulate SAMS, as a reaction to cuts in financial support imposed by several municipalities (Heimonen, 2002). It is possible that the debate in the media is now equally intense, as exemplified by opera singer Malena Ernman's (2017) statement that SAMS need to become a national monopoly. Individuals and groups have expressed their opinions on policies through social media, which harmonises with Ball and Exley's (2010) statement about different actors using their own blogs and online discussion forums to play a role in policy processes. The network of SAMS leaders has its own (public) Facebook group, an online discussion forum in which the policy process is discussed openly.

3.2.4 Policy and inclusion

This research project focuses on policy processes rather than on outcomes after a specific policy implementation and is an attempt to contribute to the exposition of both dominant and excluded discourses through a theoretical framework constituted by educational policy theories and discourse theories. Ball (2013) has described "policy studies as a history of exclusions" (p. 36). This description points to how policy studies can be used to analyse the mechanisms and technologies used to classify individuals and legitimise the exclusion of those who are "not educable" (Ball, 2013, p. 48). Hence, by exposing exclusion, policy studies have the potential to promote inclusion.

Despite the inclusive potential of policy studies, there appears to be a gap between the stated policies of promoting inclusion and how such policies are enacted, as Vlachou (2004) illustrates through several examples. In order to bridge that gap, Vlachou suggests that policy research on inclusion should take into consideration that policy must be based on existing exclusionary practices, an approach that is in line with Ball's

(2013) position on policy and exclusion. In Vlachou's (2004) view, policy research on inclusion needs to suggest strategies for changing exclusionary practices and creating inclusive practices. Furthermore, policy making needs to approach inclusion by shifting focus from the individual to the institutional, attitudinal, material and ideological "disabling barriers" (Vlachou, 2004, p. 6). Power and representation are also important issues in policy processes. Even though Vlachou's (2004) study has a specific focus on the inclusion of children with disabilities, I consider her statements, conclusions and suggestions to be applicable to inclusion policies and inclusion policy research in general.

Scholars like Vlachou (2004) encourage us to "begin to consider the pathologies of schools that enable or disable students" (p. 7). Furthermore, Vlachou (2004) states that inclusion policies have been considered an extra burden to existing educational policies, which might result from a market-driven view of education. Accordingly, Ball (2008) has stated that education for social justice might be the most complex policy agenda we can confront as teachers, parents and citizens, particularly when we consider that "policy discourses work to privilege certain ideas and topics and speakers and exclude others" (p. 5).

Ball (1993) states that first-order effects of policy involve "changes in practice or structure", while second-order effects involve the impact of "patterns of social access and opportunity and social justice" (p. 16). All action has the potential to empower and disempower, which also can be applied to policy, where discursive effects and actions might empower some to the expense of others (Ball, 1993). The discursive effects of policy might then have an impact on how, for instance, teachers and leaders talk about groups of individuals and might lead to social change, through both talk and actions. The context of policy outcomes is where those effects can be seen. Analysing policy outcomes involves analysing their impact on inequalities. Outcomes will not necessarily be fair and equitable simply because procedures were fair and equitable, as Opfer (2007) has argued.

In a Foucauldian-inspired approach, Ball (2013) argues for the inclusive potential of policies when commenting on the English Education Act of 1970, which included all children for the first time by ending the exclusion of children with severe disabilities as a path towards "the end of exclusion, of one sort, or perhaps a reworking of the boundaries of normality" (p. 83).

Three articles in the present project (Articles II–IV) pay specific attention to the inclusion of children and adolescents in SAMS. A typical art and music school pupil in Sweden is a Swedish-born girl with well-educated parents (Hofvander Trulsson, 2004; Jeppsson & Lindgren, 2018). Norway's corresponding art and music schools are "mainly arenas for children with well-educated middle-class parents, regardless of geographical or ethno-cultural background" (Karlsen, 2017, p. 221). Karlsen (2017)

points out that children and adolescents whose parents have non-Western backgrounds are particularly excluded because of a lack of information.

Karlsen (2017) suggests that being policy savvy is one way of contributing to inclusion in music education. She adds that the relation between music education and inclusion and exclusion “seems to run along many different lines simultaneously – ethno-cultural and racial origin, certainly, but also musical-cultural identification, social class, socioeconomic status, and sexuality” (p. 227).

The examples from the music education research field noted above point to the history of art and music schools in Sweden and other countries as marked by exclusionary practices. Regarding history, Ball (2013) has said that “the point is not to make sense of our history in the present but to make it unacceptable. It is about questioning the history that enfolds us, as a violent imposition of truth” (p. 87), which challenges us to question the history of SAMS and to reject a future in line with that history.

As noted above, this research project focuses on policy processes rather than on possible outcomes. However, as I have been arguing (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a), policy is already being enacted during the process of elaborating documents, which might make it possible to analyse some early, preliminary outcomes based on how the leaders discuss policy and the inclusion of all children. In this research context, analysing the policy process itself might add a vital dimension to the analysis of the outcomes. It might even be a way to contribute to the policy process, undertaking research *on* policy but also *for* policy, as well as research *on* inclusion but also *for* inclusion, keeping in mind that the research also is part of the power relations at play.

4. Methodology and design

This chapter outlines the design of the thesis and describes the methodological considerations made during the process regarding the relations between the data and the theoretical framework, the analytical and collaborative processes with the two co-authors and the analytical concepts applied in the four articles. It concludes by presenting some ethical considerations and reflections on my own positioning.

4.1 Design

The thesis is mainly based on data from three focus group conversations with SAMS leaders. In Article III, the data are complemented with selected policy documents related to SAMS. The leaders in the focus group conversations were chosen from a previous study (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2015, 2017b), where 202 leaders answered a national survey about SAMS. A total of sixteen leaders representing fifteen different SAMS participated in focus group conversations with me as the moderator. The leaders were chosen to represent differences in geographic location, municipality population size and subjects offered by the SAMS. The first focus group conversation involved four leaders, the second five and the third seven. In addition to the leaders, a music teacher took part in the third conversation, as the teacher accompanied the leader to the conversation. The teacher did not participate in the discussions, except for discussions regarding the inclusion of refugees, which is why the teacher is only mentioned in Article III.

The timeline for the focus group conversations was as follows. The first was conducted in the spring semester of 2016, the second in the autumn semester of 2016 and the third in the spring semester of 2017. The municipalities and participants in the focus group conversations were strategically chosen by me to search for variations and possible deviant cases. One focus group conversation took place in northern Sweden (Norrland) with leaders from municipalities in that region, another one in central Sweden (Svealand) with leaders from that area and the third was conducted in southern Sweden (Götaland) with leaders from that region. The division of Sweden into three regions is intended to show that municipalities in different geographical locations are

represented in the results. By using such large areas, confidentiality is not put at risk. It is important to keep in mind that each region has significant internal differences. For instance, in northern Sweden, there are significant demographic differences between unpopulated, sparsely populated areas and urbanised centres (Lidström, 2012). Norrland comprises almost 60% of Sweden's area but only 12% of its population. Two privately administrated SAMS⁹ are represented in the focus group conversations. Regarding the activities offered in the SAMS represented in the conversations, three SAMS offer music exclusively while 12 offer music and other aesthetic subjects/activities. Statistics from 2017 show that only 19% of SAMS nationwide offered music exclusively (Kulturrådet, 2018). Table 2 presents the SAMS represented in the focus group conversations in terms of municipality populations.

Table 2: SAMS represented in the focus group conversations ordered by municipality population size

Number of inhabitants in the respective municipalities	Fewer than 10,000	10,000-30,000	30,000-70,000	70,000-150,000	More than 150,000	Total
Number of SAMS represented in the focus group conversations	3	4	2	5	1	15

Article I discusses two focus group conversations with a total of nine leaders. The other articles include all the focus group conversations with a total of sixteen leaders from fifteen different municipalities.

All focus group conversations were recorded on audio and video to guarantee that I ascribe the quotations to the right participants. The language spoken in the conversations was Swedish and the results are presented in translations to English by me and my co-authors¹⁰. The original excerpts in Swedish for the first article were published as an appendix (see Article I). Translations of interview data are always challenging but in spite of the problems with finding the right nuances, the process of translation may have offered some positive effects. Ellefsen (2014) explains that working with two languages may have made her “attentive towards meanings and possible interpretations not as easily yielded by the language in which I am fluent, accustomed and – perhaps – discursively short-sighted” (p. 93). Foucault (1969/2011)

⁹ All SAMS in the present study are publicly financed. There are five municipalities in Sweden where SAMS are publicly funded but privately administrated, which means that each of these five municipalities might have several SAMS administrated by various actors, such as the municipality itself or teachers' associations (Kulturcheck, 2020).

¹⁰ Translations in Article III were discussed with my co-author Live Weider Ellefsen, to whom I showed parts of the original data in Swedish. As a Norwegian speaker, she could understand the original quotes in Swedish. Translations in Article IV were in some cases discussed with my co-author Patrick Schmidt. Even though he does not speak Swedish, we were able to discuss different meanings in English translations.

has reflected on this kind of translation and concluded that the translated statement cannot be regarded as the same as the original statement, even if the statement has been translated as faithfully as possible. In my opinion, translating may have led to a deeper reflection on what otherwise could have been taken for granted; the translation process became part of the process of analysis, transforming statements into what would become the results. The analysis starts with the transcription process (Wetherell et al., 2001). In the present case, the analysis gained an extra starting point when translating from Swedish to English. The transcriptions are not systematically worked through in a Jeffersonian¹¹ sense; rather, they are carefully executed under the inspiration of Potter and Wetherell (2004), and Zimmerman Nilsson and Ericsson (2012), focusing on aspects of relevance for the analysis.

One more participant joined one conversation but is not represented in the study; that individual arrived with only ten minutes left in the conversation and did not sign an informed consent document.

4.2 Focus group conversations and policy documents

There are two sets of data in this thesis: (1) three focus group conversations with SAMS leaders and (2) policy documents related to the national policy process. Leaders have a unique position in SAMS, as they are responsible for employing the teachers who work in such schools, for keeping track of local, regional and national policies and for linking those policies to their pedagogical practices. Despite these important duties, there is a lack of leadership perspectives in studies about SAMS. As a complement to the leadership perspectives, when studying problematisation processes of the inclusion of refugee children in SAMS, I and my co-author for Article III, Live Weider Ellefsen, decided to investigate the policy documents themselves to analyse how such problematisation processes take place in policy.

In order to analyse the leaders' discursive practices, I chose to conduct focus group conversations in which the school leaders could interact with one another. This approach makes it possible to identify the dominant discourses and the excluding systems, the forbidden words and the regimes of truth (Foucault, 1971/1993).

Discursive patterns are both preserved and changed in discursive practices (Puchta & Potter, 2004; Taylor, 2013), which is one reason for searching for situations where language is used to construct meaning and where discursive patterns can be analysed. Focus group conversations are better than individual interviews for obtaining data of

¹¹ Jefferson has worked out a detailed system for transcriptions that is commonly used in conversation analysis research and in some discursive psychology works (Wetherell et al., 2004).

this sort; focus group conversations can be considered discursive practices in cases where the participants share historical, contextual and discursive parameters. All participants in the present study are part of the historical development of SAMS and are members of the Swedish Arts Schools Council (membership is optional for the municipalities). In addition to that shared history and context, SAMS leaders in general commonly meet each other at national and regional conferences, which means that they are discursively connected to one another. When the leaders meet and discuss certain themes, they use language in ways that contribute to preserving or changing discursive patterns. The focus group conversations with the leaders can thus be seen as discursive practice(s), or as part(s) of ongoing discursive practices at the regional and national levels. At the same time, each leader is part of a local discursive practice characterised by the dominant discourses of a given municipality. When the leaders meet, different discursive practices on the local, regional and national levels are simultaneously at play.

Kitzinger (1994) explains how focus group discussions are organised to use group interaction to explore specific sets of issues. Such social interaction, as explained by Kitzinger (1994), can help identify group norms and explore the arguments that the participants use with one another.

In order to settle the three focus group conversations, I began by inviting six leaders to each and continued inviting other leaders until at least five leaders for each conversation had accepted. The leaders were chosen to represent municipalities of different sizes and in different parts of Sweden, privately and municipally administrated SAMS and both SAMS offering music exclusively and SAMS offering several art subjects. The selection thus emphasised variation, so that, for instance, if a leader from a small municipality declined the invitation, a leader from another small municipality would be invited.

For the first conversation, which took place in the spring semester 2016, five of nineteen SAMS leaders accepted the invitation to meet for a conversation about SAMS. However, one was unable to come, so there were four leaders in the first conversation. For the second conversation, which took place in the autumn semester 2016, four of fifteen art and music school leaders accepted the invitation. One expressed a desire to participate with another leader from the same school, to which I agreed, so there were five leaders representing four SAMS in the second conversation. The third conversation took place in the spring semester of 2017. That last invitation was sent to more than five leaders since one of the leaders acted as a gatekeeper and arranged not only a place and time for the meeting but also sent my invitation to leaders other than those I had chosen from the previous survey. Seven leaders participated in that conversation; two did not share the previous common context of the survey from which I had chosen participants for the focus groups. One music teacher also joined the conversation, accompanying the leader of their art and music school.

The first two group conversations were conducted in relaxed fashion rooms, with a sofa and/or easy chairs at locations I chose. The third group conversation was conducted in a larger classroom, with tables and chairs arranged in a U shape. Coffee, tea, buns and sweets were available. I moderated all conversations, but my intervention was minimal, allowing the participants to set the priorities, as encouraged by Kitzinger (1994). There was no pre-defined interview guide of the kind often created for focus group interviews, but I presented the overarching theme for the conversations; namely, potential changes for SAMS as a consequence of the new process to create a national policy. Since I had an interest in questions regarding the inclusion of children with disabilities, I asked a question about that in one of the conversations. In the other two, the leaders themselves started talking about that theme so there was no need for me to present the theme. Collaboration with compulsory schools also emerged in the conversations without my initiating it. The groups showed enthusiasm and began interacting when they arrived, even before the recording started.

At the end of the conversations, the participants (eight women and nine men) were asked to come up with names that I could use in the study instead of their real names. The names chosen by the participants were (in alphabetical order): Anna, Bo, Britta, Cecilia, Hanna, Iris, Johan, Jonas, Lisa, Maja, Otto, Peter, Petter, Samuel, Selma, Simon and Thomas.

The second data set consists of policy documents related to the national policy process and was used in the analysis presented in Article III. All documents were produced between 2014 and 2017. The following documents were included in the data: the SAMS inquiry (SOU 2016:69), the propositions preceding and commissioning the report (Dir. 2015:46; Prop. 2014/15:1), the proposition presenting the final national strategy for SAMS (Prop. 2017/18:164) and the referral responses following the inquiry (Remiss SOU 2016:69). The referral responses that contain statements that contribute to the problematisation come from government agencies, interest organisations, municipalities, networks, city/region-councils, cultural institutions and higher education institutions.

4.3 The analytical process and collaboration

My two supervisors have not worked as co-authors but have supervised the work of the entire project, including the four articles. I was the sole author of Articles I and II, while Articles III and IV were written in collaboration with co-authors Live Weider Ellefsen and Patrick Schmidt, respectively. The two co-authors have, in accordance with the Vancouver rules (Lund University Ethics Council, 2019) (1) substantially contributed

to the design and analysis in the respective article, (2) drafted and critically revised the respective article, (3) approved the final version of the respective article and (4) agreed to be accountable for the respective article regarding accuracy and integrity. I am accountable for the thesis project as a whole.

The collaboration with Live Weider Ellefsen started with a shared Google Doc. In the first drafts, I was responsible for the analysis of the focus group conversations, while she was responsible for the analysis of the policy documents. Later, we undertook a joint analysis of all the data. The working process saw me write some sessions and her write others; we would then revise each other's texts before dividing them between us again. During the process, we presented a draft of our article at the Nordiskt Nätverk för Musikpedagogisk Forskning (NNMPF, now NNRME, the Nordic Network for Research in Music Education) conference in Stockholm in 2019. We also met in Hamar (Norway) to work together on the article and have had several online meetings.

The collaboration process with Patrick Schmidt saw us work on the article one at a time, with drafts sent back and forth. I sent the first draft with a lot of data so that he would get appropriate insights, and he returned the draft with his revisions, questions and suggestions. I sent another draft with my revisions, questions and suggestions, and we continued on in this fashion. We presented drafts of the developing article at the International Society for Music Education conference in Baku in 2018 and at the European Association for Music Schools conference in Malmö in 2019. On both occasions, we met to discuss the article; we have also had several online meetings.

The first coding of data set 1 was done when the two first conversations had been conducted. That first coding led to an article with a focus on how SAMS are constructed within and through leaders' discursive practices (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a). I coded the data again when the third conversation had been conducted, focusing on leaders' talk about inclusion of children and adolescents with disabilities. That part of the data is presented in Article II (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019a). As a result of the second coding of the data, two themes emerged that were considered for further analysis: (1) the leaders' talk regarding refugee children (Article III) and (2) collaboration between SAMS and compulsory schools (Article IV). Once again, I conducted a new coding of the data by consistently reading through all the transcripts with a focus on the themes for Articles III and IV.

4.4 The analytical process and central concepts

This section consists of a summary of the analytical process, especially the analytical concepts applied in each article. The research study builds on an abductive approach, which means that the empirical material and the theoretical and analytical frameworks have influenced each other. Before conducting the conversations, I had established a Foucauldian discourse analytical framework. The focus group conversations are considered to be *discursive practices* in a Foucauldian sense (Foucault, 1969/2011), as a specific area of discursive formations, which can be analysed as indications of larger discourses. In discursive practices, attitudes are *performed* rather than *preformed* (Puchta & Potter, 2014), but they can also have been partly rehearsed previously (Taylor, 2013). The discursive practices are considered to be part of discursive processes connected to policies and policy processes, which aligns with policy theories (Braun et al., 2010).

In Article II, the complex relationship between policy and practice is approached. Article III goes even further and consider policy to be practice, acknowledging the operationalisations and negotiations of meanings that endorse the textual statements. In Article IV, the concept of *policy practice* is applied as a way to emphasise action as enactment of and response to policy.

As noted above, the first analysis of the data was made when two conversations had been conducted and no policy documents had been included as empirical material. After transcribing the first two conversations, analytical tools from discursive psychology were chosen to be applied in the analysis. During the further analysis for Article I, the concept of *loosely coupled systems* (Weick, 1976) was applied in the description of the system of SAMS, which constituted a premise for the analysis of the data. The concept of *tension fields* (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a; Lundberg et al., 2003; A. Persson et al., 2005) was applied as a consequence of the coding of the data. The analyses for Article I brought attention to *rhetorical strategies*, in line with Billig (2004), Potter and Wetherell (2004) and Puchta and Potter (2004). The SAMS leaders already made use of rhetorical strategies when introducing themselves. Discursive psychology, which takes a micro perspective, was then added to the Foucauldian framework to analyse the rhetorical strategies used by the leaders: in other words, the local and situated use of language. The approach is inspired by Ericsson and Lindgren (2011) who have combined discursive psychology with Foucauldian discourse analysis. These two levels of analysis are, in Article I, described as micro – focused on rhetoric – and macro – focused on power and resistance. In the analyses for the following articles, I have chosen to describe the levels as micro and meso. The reason for applying meso instead of macro is that the analyses are not carried out on a societal but on an institutional level. There is still a focus on power and resistance, but by reframing the

level as meso, the concentration on the institutional level is intended to become clearer. The analytical process moves between micro and meso levels in a process that is not necessarily parallel; rather, it is cyclical. The concept of *regime of truth* (Foucault, 1971/1993) is applied in Article I to expose how certain discourses are enforced while others are repressed or excluded. *Subject position* (Burr, 2015; Foucault, 1976/2002; Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2010) is also a concept applied in the analysis to describe the different positions that the leaders take when they rhetorically argue for certain discourses. The concept of *policy enactment* (Braun et al. 2010) is applied in the analysis in relation to the leaders' way of engaging in the ongoing national policy process.

When the third focus group conversation had been conducted, all three conversations were coded again with a specific focus on the theme for Article II: the inclusion of pupils with disabilities. The analyses were then carried out by once again making use of discursive psychology and Foucauldian discourse analysis. In Article II, the Foucauldian analysis is explicitly applied as a way to expose normality discourses, counteract marginalisation and promote democracy. In addition to the framework noted above, concepts from policy theories were applied in the analysis. The concept of *policy cycles* (Ball, 1994; Ball et al., 1992) is applied to the policy processes connected to the SAMS system since individuals in different contexts are considered policy actors who can, in a cyclical manner, influence how policies are conceptualised, which can shape the process itself. The notion of policy as text, as process, as discourse and as practice (Ball, 1993; Schmidt, 2017) is also applied in the article. The concept of *policy enactment* (Braun et al., 2010) is further explored in Article II and applies to the leaders' ways of acting as policy makers. The concept of *inclusion* is also part of the analytical framework. Asp-Onsjö's (2006) three aspects of inclusion – spatial, social and educational – are applied in the analysis. Drawing on problematisations of the concept of inclusion (Bunar, 2018; Dei, 1996; Hess, 2015; Laes, 2017), which have criticised monocentric views of inclusion, I suggest the concept of *multicentric inclusion* and apply that concept in the analysis of data used in Article II. Multicentricity is then applied in the conclusions of Article III and in relation to approaches to policy practice in Article IV.

A new coding of the focus group conversations was carried out, and two new themes emerged: inclusion of refugee children and collaboration with compulsory schools as a way to achieve inclusion of all children. These themes would constitute the bases for Article III and IV, respectively. Further coding and categorising was then carried out with a focus on the specific themes of each article. For Article III policy documents related to the national policy process for SAMS were added to the empirical material, constituting a second data set.

In Article III, Foucauldian discourse analysis and policy theories constitute the theoretical framework. The analyses align with Ball (1993) and Schmidt (2017), who,

inspired by Foucault (1969/2011, 1971/1993), view policy as discourse. *Problematization processes* (Ball, 2013; Foucault, 1999) constitute the core of the analyses, when we analyse “how the inclusion of refugees in SAMS, as a structured field of knowledge (problematization), is talked and written into existence (problematized) within SAMS education policy contexts” (Di Lorenzo Tillborg & Ellefsen, 2021, p. 8). The concept of policy enactment is applied in Articles III and IV. In the latter, the notion of policy issues as taking place within *nested contexts* (Rein & Schön, 1993) is added to the analytical concepts to analyse the nested contexts involved in the policy processes for SAMS. The notions of *multicentricity* (Dei, 1996; Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019a) and *multivocality* are also applied in Article IV in order to turn the focus of the analysis towards the multiple actors enacting policies in different contexts and to the interdependence of the different levels of policy practice.

4.5 Ethical considerations

At all stages of the research, all due consideration have been taken of the ethical regulations by the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet, 2017) and by Lund University (Lund University, 2021a) regarding laws, confidentiality, quality, reliability and research collaboration. There are some important issues involved in such ethical considerations. As Bryman (2012) states, writers do not always agree on what is and is not ethically acceptable. In agreement with Bryman (2012) and Wiles (2013), this study is made with the awareness that the choices made throughout the whole process might have implications for the participants and not only for the researcher to avoid being unethical or not conforming to regulations. The ethical principles are involved through the whole process, leading to informed decisions on each level.

Ethical frameworks can provide some criteria for considering the right thing to do in situations of ethical dilemmas (Wiles, 2013). The framework for this study is a *principlist* approach, as explained by Wiles (2013); it concentrates on the principles of respect for people’s autonomy, beneficence, non-maleficence and justice. The ethical decisions are made on the basis of these principles and therefore concentrate on voluntariness, informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity, the responsibility to do good and avoid harm and the importance of the benefits and burdens of research being distributed equally (Wiles, 2013).

Participation in the focus group conversations was for natural reasons not anonymous since I met the participants in person. I developed an informant consent document to be signed by the participants in the focus group conversations (see Appendix 1) in accordance with the principlist framework by Wiles (2013) and the

ethical regulations of Lund University (2021a). The informant consent document includes information on the following aspects:

- the focus on SAMS in Sweden,
- the aim to investigate the process of change that the SAMS facing with the elaboration and implementation of policy documents on a national level,
- inviting them being because they had previously chosen to participate in a survey,
- the group conversations being taped (audio and video),
- the possible risk with the study that utterances may cause to the individuals but with my working actively to minimise that risk by not mentioning information that could reveal their identity,
- the advantage of the study being to contribute to the exchange of experiences between participants and therefore to developing skills,
- confidentiality being secured and the data material stored so that unauthorised people would not have access to them,
- the participants giving consideration to confidentiality and not revealing the other participants' identities to any other person,
- the information about the study becoming accessible when published and
- information that participation in the research project is voluntary and that the participants have the right to interrupt and leave whenever they want, with no need to explain themselves. Already collected data will not be destroyed, and their own utterances can be excluded from the study if they wish so.

All participants signed the informed consent document and were given the opportunity to ask questions about it. I realised after the group conversation that I had not given enough emphasis to one of the informant's hesitation about signing the paper. While transcribing afterwards, I listened carefully to the conversation between this participant (Cecilia) and me. She had arrived late and the informed consent document had thus already been explained to and signed by the other participants. This may have had a negative impact on Cecilia. When she was given the paper, she asked if it was necessary to sign it and I confirmed that it was. Before I gave her any further information, the other informants started talking and telling her that they had signed it and that this procedure was standard for any kind of contemporary research. Cecilia then signed the paper and gave it to me. As the researcher and person responsible for ethical regulations in this study, I sent an email to Cecilia after the conversation, giving her the opportunity to ask questions and to express any concerns. This is to be considered a

crucial point in conducting research with integrity. Cecilia answered that she had no worries at all and that she only hesitated because she did not expect to have to sign a document.

Regarding the policy documents analysed in Article III, all are publicly available on the Swedish government's website. However, in acknowledging research ethics as described by the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet, 2017), there is no specific reference to any of the referral responses (Remiss SOU 2016:69).

Regarding the ethical permit review, I contacted the ethical committee at Lund University to ask if I needed to obtain a permit to conduct my research. Since the project would not entail certain risks for the participants, there was no specific need to do so, but I was encouraged to contact them anyway. Together with my main supervisor, professor Eva Sæther, I sent an application to the ethical committee, which decided that the research could be conducted as planned (see Appendix 2).

Inspired by Foucault's reflexivity, my ethical considerations and responsibilities have been considered throughout the project from planning until writing the final discussions. As Bacchi explains, "for Foucault reflexivity refers to the need to put in question our categories of analysis. In fact for Foucault reflexivity requires a *conscious* interrogation of taken-for-granted presuppositions and beliefs" (Bacchi, 2009, p. 27, emphasis in original). The ethical considerations have then been directed both to the care for others and to the care for myself and my own construction as a subject and as a researcher.

5. Summaries of the articles

The results of the present research project are presented in four articles, two of which have been published in peer-reviewed journals. The third article is under peer-review for publication in *Music Education Research*, and the fourth will appear in a book edited by Michaela Hahn, Cecilia Björk and Heidi Westerlund, with the working title *Music Schools as Masters of Collaboration: A European Kaleidoscope*. Reprints of Articles I and II are attached with permission from *The Finnish Journal of Music Education and Policy Futures in Education*, respectively. Articles III and IV are attached as unpublished manuscripts with permission from *Music Education Research* and editors Hahn, Björk and Westerlund, respectively. This chapter comprises a summary of each article. Article I focuses on the tension fields that emerge when art and music school leaders discuss policy and practice. Following up on one of the tension fields revealed in Article I, the tension between reaching all children versus nurturing a few children's special skills, the following articles focus on the inclusion of (potential) pupils in SAMS. Article II focuses on leadership perspectives on the inclusion of pupils with disabilities. Article III problematises the inclusion of refugee children as an interest area for policy and leadership. Finally, Article IV exposes how collaboration with general schooling is emphasised as a central policy and practice area when leaders speak of policies and practices of inclusion.

It is important to note that the articles partly overlap, particularly with regard to background and methodology. The reason for that is that each article has been or will be published as an independent text in a particular journal or book. During the review process of each article, adaptations were made to attend to the reviewers' and editors' requests, such as adding more context or using fewer details. As noted above, articles I and II were written by me as a single author, while articles III and IV were written in collaboration with co-authors Live Weider Ellefsen and Patrick Schmidt, respectively. As a consequence of the different editors, reviewers and co-authors, each article has a particular writing style and focus.

5.1 Article I

Tension fields between discourses: Sweden's Art and Music Schools as constituted within and through their leaders' discursive practices

The article begins by describing the background to the research interest. SAMS are present in about 97% of Sweden's municipalities, reaching over 400,000 children and adolescents in activities both outside of and in collaboration with compulsory schools. A national policy has never been established for SAMS, possibly owing to the fact that they are not considered part of the Swedish education system but instead stem from local music activities as a parallel, mainly voluntary school system. For the first time since these schools began to be established in the 1940s (originally as music schools), it might become a reality for such schools to work in accordance with national policy documents since the Swedish government has commissioned an investigation to suggest a national strategy. Considering the current process for creating national regulation for SAMS, it is relevant to undertake a research project on those schools while it is happening.

Previous research on SAMS suggests that they possess vast ideological freedom because, unlike compulsory schools, they do not have any policy guidance at a national level. This article aims to contribute to a better understanding of the possible tension fields that can emerge in the discursive practice of SAMS leaders as a consequence of government plans to create national policy documents. These emerging tension fields are explored by examining how the school leaders legitimise SAMS. The research question is: What are the tension fields that emerge when Art and Music School leaders talk about Art and Music Schools while discussing the national policy process?

The data consist of video documentation from two focus group conversations with a total of nine SAMS leaders from eight different schools in central and southern Sweden. The study is qualitative and uses an abductive approach. My analysis connects to an international context of education policy research and applies the loosely coupled systems concept to SAMS. In addition to that concept, the theoretical framework builds on discursive psychology, Foucauldian discourse analysis, concepts from educational policy theories and organisational theory.

The results expose a SAMS discourse that contrasts sharply with a compulsory school discourse and exists within several tension fields:

1. financial versus educational accountability,
2. management discourse (represented by directors) versus leadership for learning discourse (represented by headmasters),
3. educational discourse versus leisure discourse,
4. regulation versus freedom,
5. informal norms versus curriculum implementation,
6. traditional versus contemporary views of policy making,
7. reaching all children versus nurturing a few children's special skills,
8. municipally versus privately administrated art and music schools,
9. classical versus non-classical music,
10. music versus art and music schools.

SAMS are shaped by and within the exposed tension fields in relation to the process for national regulation. I argue that challenges in relation to the national policy process in SAMS, such as resistance and fear of losing flexibility, are already manifest. Hence, SAMS leaders can be seen as policy makers since they are already enacting policy even before a national policy has been created.

The article contributes to achieving the further aim of this thesis through its examination of the enactment of policy processes for the democratisation of music education. Article I contributes to answering the second overall research question by addressing how the enactment of policies is constituted within and through SAMS leaders' discursive practices. By doing so, the article contributes to a critical investigation of SAMS discourses connected to policy processes for the democratisation of music education. Article I makes it clear that SAMS leaders are already enacting national policies during these processes, a result that contributes to achieving the further aim of the thesis, which is to contribute to knowledge on the development and enactment of policy processes for the democratisation of music education.

5.2 Article II

Disabilities within Sweden's Art and Music Schools: Discourses of inclusion, policy and practice

The aim of Article II is to investigate the discourses that emerge when SAMS leaders talk about the inclusion of pupils with disabilities in relation to policy. A starting point

is that both previous studies and policy documents have revealed inclusion problems within SAMS. The research question is: How are art and music school practice, policy and inclusion of pupils with disabilities connected within and through leaders' discursive practices?

The data are based on three focus group conversations with a total of sixteen SAMS leaders from northern, central and southern Sweden. Discourse analysis as a social constructionist approach is applied since it provides a means to investigate the connection between language and social change. Concepts from both discursive psychology and Foucauldian discourse analysis are applied to investigate connections between rhetorical strategies on a micro level and discourses on an institutional (meso) level. The concept of multicentric inclusion is introduced and applied in the analysis. In addition, concepts from educational policy theories are applied to analyse how policies are conceptualised and enacted in the context of leaders' discursive practices.

Regarding terminology, the results challenged me when the concept of mixed abilities was introduced by the participants since that concept was not yet established in Swedish society.¹² The analysis exposes three discourses: a multicentric inclusion discourse, a normality discourse and a specialisation discourse. There are tensions between the multicentric inclusion discourse and both the normality and specialisation discourses. The analysis leads to the following suggestions to achieve justice in music education practices and policies: (a) enforce a specific national inclusion policy, (b) challenge the normality discourse and (c) unite the multicentric inclusion discourse with the specialisation discourse. The exposed discourses contribute to answering the first overall research question regarding discourses of inclusion and exclusion.

Article II contributes to achieving the further aim of this thesis: to contribute to knowledge on the development and enactment of policy processes for the democratisation of music education. The development and enactment of local inclusion policies by some SAMS leaders contrast with how other leaders legitimise the lack of local inclusion policies by mentioning the lack of specific inclusion policies on a national level. The connections between inclusion of pupils with disabilities, practice and policy contribute to answering the third overall research question that focuses on how inclusion of all children is constituted within and through SAMS leaders' discursive practices.

¹² A mapping of the Swedish terminology regarding disabilities or mixed abilities has been published elsewhere (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019b).

5.3 Article III

The inclusion of refugee children in Sweden's Art and Music Schools: Policy as practice

One starting point for Article III is that SAMS have assumed some responsibility for facilitating refugee children's social inclusion. The article investigates how the inclusion of refugee children in SAMS is introduced as a theme by their leaders when discussing national policy and local practices. This emerging theme has in turn called for tracing how the inclusion of refugee children is constructed and addressed as a topic in a selection of policy documents related to the national policy process for SAMS.

Two data sets constitute the empirical base: (1) three focus group conversations with sixteen leaders (the same empirical material as in Articles II and IV) and (2) policy documents with relevance for the national policy process for SAMS. Foucauldian discourse analysis and educational policy theories constitute the analytical and theoretical framework.

The analyses expose how problematisations occur on an overarching level and how they construct subjects and topics. Furthermore, some significant consequences of different choices of terminology are emphasised; the problematisations have implications for subject agency. We conclude that as society changes, SAMS need to change to accommodate new cultures while maintaining their own culture. The results call for a multicentric view on inclusion. The results and conclusions contribute to the aim of the thesis and give answers to the overall research question of how inclusion of all children is constituted within and through SAMS leaders' discursive practices and in policy documents with relevance for SAMS.

5.4 Article IV

Multicentric Policy Practice: Collaboration as a form of policy enactment

In Article IV, collaboration between SAMS and compulsory schools is a central theme. The theme has not been in focus in the recent national inquiry on SAMS (SOU 2016:69). One reason is that the inquiry considered after-school activities to be the core of SAMS' efforts. Furthermore, the analysis in Article I has exposed a sharp separation between the SAMS discourse and the compulsory school discourse, which can be exemplified by the positioning of SAMS leaders as leaders of schools different from compulsory schools. Despite that background, Article IV focuses on collaboration between the two school systems as discussed by SAMS leaders. This is a topic that has been insufficiently investigated to date in the growing research body on SAMS. The following research question guides and informs the analyses: How do SAMS leaders

talk about collaboration processes with compulsory schools as a response to regional needs and national policies for inclusion of all children?

The method is qualitative with data from three focus-group conversations with a total of sixteen leaders from fifteen SAMS. The theoretical and analytical framework is constituted by concepts from educational policy theories building on the notion of policy and how it relates to subjectivity. Other central concepts that contribute to the analysis of the complexity of policy practice are nested contexts, multicentricity and multivocality.

The results show that collaboration with the compulsory school system is central in the leaders' talk, which challenges the notion of the earlier described sharp separation between the SAMS discourse and the compulsory school discourses. The legitimization of collaboration builds on arguments that concern contextual, inclusionary, economic and market-driven aspects.

We conclude that collaboration has a dominant position from a leadership perspective in relation to national policies for inclusion of all children and the contextual complexities of sparsely populated areas in Sweden. Those complexities may be internationally transferable, which is why the potential for collaboration needs to be explored further and considered by policy actors on different levels in the international music education community.

Article IV contributes to a critical investigation of SAMS discourses connected to policy processes for the democratisation of music education for all children and adolescents and to knowledge on the development and enactment of such policy processes. The article helps answer the second overall research question of the thesis regarding the enactment of policies and the third research question regarding the inclusion of all children.

5.5 Connecting the results

In Article I, an art and music school discourse was identified as a major discourse sharply contrasting to a compulsory school discourse and existing within ten different tension fields. Tension field number seven, reaching all children versus nurturing a few children's special skills, can be connected to the concept of inclusion and can be recognised in the tension between the multicentric inclusion discourse and the specialisation discourse, which is identified in Article II. Hence, the tension is noticeable both when the analyses focus on the leaders' presentations of themselves and their own schools (Article I) and they turn attention to the leaders' talk about children with disabilities or in need of special support for other reasons. One recommendation

in Article II is to bring together the multicentric inclusion discourse with the specialisation discourse. These two discourses have been shaped by the antagonism between them, but there might be discursive possibilities in the intersection of inclusion and specialisation. The recommendation to balance two antagonistic discourses can also apply to tension field number seven in Article I, the tension between reaching all children versus nurturing a few children's special skills.

Tension fields number four (regulation versus freedom), five (informal norms versus curriculum implementation) and six (traditional versus contemporary views of policy making) are directly related to the national policy process for SAMS.

Regarding terminology, the analyses from both Article II and Article III disclose how different word choices are at play. In Article II, the leaders' discussions regarding terminology show how they explicitly talk about and negotiate the meanings of different concepts. A concept that they had recently learnt is introduced and established amongst the leaders: the concept of mixed abilities. In Article III, three main concepts are applied by the leaders and in policy documents: refugee children, newly arrived children and children with foreign backgrounds. The analyses show that the different choices of terminology have significant consequences for the views on the children in terms of subject agency. In Article II, I recommend a specific national inclusion policy for SAMS. That recommendation can be in line with the recommendation in Article III for a multicentric view on inclusion.

The concept of multicentric inclusion is introduced and applied in Article II as an alternative to monocentric views of inclusion. The concept is also applied in the conclusions of Article III, where a multicentric approach to inclusion is advocated. Multicentricity is also enforced in Article IV, where a multicentric outlook on inclusion and on policy practices is advocated.

Collaboration is a central theme in Article IV. The leaders argue for collaboration by making use of contextual, economic, market-driven and inclusionary aspects of a market discourse, an economic discourse, and an inclusion discourse. The focus on collaboration challenges the notion of the sharp separation between the SAMS discourse and the compulsory school discourse that had been reported in Article I. The dominant position of collaboration is partly explained by the contextual complexities of sparsely populated areas in Sweden, which have more influence in Article IV, which is based on three focus group conversations, than in Article I, which is based on only two. The market-driven and economic aspects exposed in Article IV connect to two tension fields from Article I: number 1 (between financial versus educational accountability) and number 2 (between management discourse and leadership for learning discourse).

In Articles I and II, rhetorical strategies are identified as ways of legitimising certain positionings. The analyses from all four articles show how problematisations occur discursively and how they construct subjects and topics.

6. Discussion

This chapter offers further discussions of the four articles included in this thesis. In the previous chapter, the results and conclusions of the articles were summarised and connected to one another. In the present chapter, they are discussed using the theoretical framework, the historical background, the policy documents and the previous research presented in the chapters above. By doing so, the overall research questions of the thesis can be answered and its overall aims achieved. As described in chapter 1, the aim of this thesis is to critically investigate SAMS discourses connected to policy processes for the democratisation of music education for all children and adolescents. A further aim is to contribute to knowledge on the development and enactment of policy processes for the democratisation of music education. The overall research questions are as follows: (1) What discourses of inclusion and exclusion constitute and are constituted by leadership positioning in relation to policy processes for the democratisation of music education? (2) How is the enactment of policies constituted within and through SAMS leaders' discursive practices? (3) How is the inclusion of all children constituted within and through SAMS leaders' discursive practices and within and through policy documents with relevance for SAMS?

As explained further in chapter 3, the thesis is written within a social constructionist framework, in the terms used by Gergen (1985, 2015) and Burr (2015). "A social constructionist orientation, at the general level, functions as a reflective pragmatism" (Gergen, 2015, p. 29), as it invites us to engage our curiosity and critical reflection. *Reflective pragmatism* is suggested by Gergen (2015) as a way to pragmatically and critically reflect on the accomplishments of the research and the implicit and explicit values of such accomplishments. With a discourse terminology in line with Foucault (1974/2004, 1976/2002), reflective pragmatism can serve as a way to expose the knowledge, actions and subjects that constitute and are constituted by the scholarly work: who is benefitted, who is disadvantaged, what discourses are constituted and how. Reflective pragmatism (Gergen, 2015), discourse perspectives (Foucault, 1971/1993) and policy theoretical standpoints (Ball, 2008) can contribute to the discussion of how the results contribute to exposing regimes of truth.

Drawing on reflective pragmatism, discourse theories and policy theories, the discussions in the present chapter are driven by critical reflection on "what", "how" and

“for whom”. Gergen’s (2015, p. 68) questions on reflective pragmatism guide the discussions in this chapter:

1. What do you want to accomplish?
2. What is the social utility of this accomplishment?
3. For whom is this accomplishment valuable (or not)?
4. What are the research methods and their implicit values?
5. How and for whom will the results be communicated?

I consider these questions to be interconnected and interdependent, and each section of this chapter can answer two or more of them. In section 6.1, I discuss the research accomplishments in relation to the research aim and research questions and thus provide part of the answers to Gergen’s first and second questions. In section 6.2, I discuss methods and their implicit values, what I want to accomplish and whom I need to consider, connecting to Gergen’s first, third and fourth questions, respectively. In section 6.3, I problematise the claims made in the research, which connects with Gergen’s second and third questions. Section 6.4 encourages policy activism, which connects to Gergen’s second, third and fifth questions. Section 6.5 focuses on research communication, which connects to Gergen’s fifth question. The last section, 6.6, consists of reflections on research limitations and ideas for further research, connecting to all of Gergen’s questions.

6.1 Music education and democratisation

As described in chapter 1, the concept of democracy is applied in this thesis following Woodford (2005), with a focus on individuals’ opportunities to develop their capacity and participate in society. More specifically, the concept of democracy is connected to every child’s democratic right to music education, in line with both music education research (Georgii-Hemming & Kvarnhall, 2015; Laes & Kallio, 2015; Vestad, 2015) and international and national policies regarding cultural and educational rights (Myndigheten för kulturanalys, 2021; OECD, 2017; Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2021; Regeringskansliet, 2020; UNHCR, 2021; United Nations, 2021a, 2021b). The policy processes in focus for this thesis involve the democratisation of music education through SAMS, which have the potential to contribute to every child’s and adolescent’s right to culture and education, as they can be considered to operate at the intersection between education and culture, following Mulcahy’s (2017) thoughts on cultural policy cited in chapter 1. The argumentation applied in this thesis

is not based on a proven causality between arts education and social improvement but on the perspective of cultural and educational rights. Causality in the field of arts education is generally difficult to prove (Galloway, 2009), but cultural and educational rights are assured by policies on different levels and explored in music education research.

The leaders' engagement in the policy processes can be analysed through the concepts of policy cycle (Ball, 1994), policy enactment theory (Braun et al., 2010) and contemporary approaches to policy making (Schmidt, 2012, 2017). SAMS leaders are engaged in the national policy process and influence the other contexts in the policy cycle. This approach aligns with a contemporary approach to policy making and policy enactment theory; policy is already being enacted by the leaders during the ongoing process for a national policy for SAMS and in relation to the contextual complexities of each school and municipality. However, traditional views of policy making are also noticeable in the results, in a way that aligns with earlier and more structuralist conceptions of policy processes, such as those described by Lasswell (1956), Anderson (1975), Jenkins (1978), May and Wildavsky (1978) and Brewer and deLeon (1983). The traditional views of policy making can be connected to the tension between freedom and regulation, which is in line with the views of policy implementation as challenging (Schwartz, 1994; Tivenius, 2008). These results show the complexity of the enactment of policies as constituted within and through SAMS leaders' discursive practices.

Applying Foucault's (1976/2002, 1980) concept of power/knowledge, it is interesting to look at two tension fields from Article I: number four (regulation versus freedom) and number five (informal norms versus curriculum implementation). In a Foucauldian sense, there are always power relations regulating what is possible to say, think and act, and such power relations are present even when there is apparent freedom. Considering the concept of power/knowledge, informal norms regulate what is possible to say, think and act, even if there is no official curriculum to be followed, which needs to be considered in any argument for freedom.

The boundaries of normality discussed by Foucault (1961/2010) and Ball (2013) shed important light on this discussion of the results. The normality discourse in Article II works to demarcate normality with clear boundaries. Such a discourse contributes to the construction of some pupils as the ones that SAMS can include and others as in need of care and not possible to include in SAMS. The discourse can contribute to a legitimization of exclusionary practices as necessity, as the only possibility. As recommended in Article II, that discourse needs to be challenged. Discourses, ruled as they are by the exercise of power, shape opinions, thoughts, actions and statements (Lindgren, 2006) and can even make some statements and thoughts impossible to conceive (Ball, 2013; Foucault, 1971/1993). When a discourse is revealed and what is

taken for granted is defined as a constructed regime of truth (Foucault, 1971/1993) rather than a natural truth, resistance and subject agency can become possible. The idea of multicentric inclusion connects to an activist approach towards the end of exclusion, or towards new ways of thinking of and constructing normality, as Ball (2013) indicates when he argues for the inclusive potential of policies. The concept of multicentric inclusion is coined and applied in the analyses in Article II; it is also put to use in Articles III and IV.

The results in Article III show how new target groups are discursively constructed in policies and practices and how problematisation processes (Ball, 2013; Foucault, 1999) construct topics and subject positions. The inclusion of refugees is problematised in policy documents and in the focus group conversations with the leaders. When described in policy documents and in the leaders' talk, this target group is discursively constructed in different ways, as subjects with agency or as objects for inclusion policies and in need of care and concern. Such constructions have consequences for the inclusion or exclusion of this group, which might compromise their cultural and educational rights and the processes of democratising music education. The analyses of how terminology in relation to inclusion of refugees is conceptualised by SAMS leaders and policy documents show how the different discursive formations around the concepts of refugees, newly arrived and those with immigrant background might have consequences for viewing the children as subjects with agency capacity or as objects for inclusion policies.

In Article IV, the results show collaboration is a central theme legitimised by contextual complexities and economic, market-driven and inclusionary aspects. Adding a Foucauldian perspective to the analyses of the article reveals that there are several discourses at play: a collaboration discourse, a market discourse, an economic discourse and an inclusion discourse. The collaboration discourse is the overarching discourse, constructed through and within the other discourses at play. The collaboration discourse challenges the notion of a sharp separation between the SAMS discourse and the compulsory school discourse. In line with a Foucauldian analysis, the arguments of the leaders can be interpreted as ways of legitimising their subject positionings. When arguing for collaboration, the leaders take different subject positions, namely: (1) as employers when arguing for their own employees, (2) as "leaders for learning" when arguing for the pupils, (3) as work partners when arguing for how compulsory schools benefit from collaborating with SAMS, (4) as politically engaged individuals when arguing for inclusion and diversity, (5) as managers when arguing for protecting their own schools and (6) as policy workers when using their framing capacity to connect different levels of policy. The different subject positions become available through the collaboration discourse and at the same time contribute to the discursive formations that emerge around collaboration. The subject positioning of leaders for learning can

be connected to the tension field between management discourse versus leadership for learning discourse in Article I. The management discourse exposed connects to Jeppsson (2020), who has pointed out that the economic field influences the work of SAMS leaders. The importance of the economic field is interesting in relation to the policy practice of the leaders. While discursively shaped, the policy practice is also shaped by economic and material conditions.

The dominant position of the collaboration discourse is partly explained by the contextual complexities of sparsely populated areas in Sweden. These areas are more prominent in Article IV, which is based on three focus group conversations, than in Article I, which is based on only two. The market-driven and economic discourses connect to two tension fields from Article I: number 1 (between financial versus educational accountability) and number 2 (between management discourse and leadership for learning discourse).

In Articles I and II, rhetorical strategies are identified as ways of legitimising certain positionings. The analyses from the four articles show how problematisations occur discursively and how they construct subjects and topics. On the basis of all four articles, it can be concluded that SAMS need to embrace a multicentric view on inclusion to work for the democratisation of music education.

Drawing on the four articles, I can state that the discourses of innovation and inclusion are dominant, even though, as my analyses have exposed, they are struggling with other dominant discourses like the normalisation discourse. The discourse of innovation is in line with research based on leadership perspectives (Jeppsson, 2020; Rønningen, 2019). The discourses of innovation, inclusion and collaboration constitute and are constituted by leadership positioning in relation to policy processes for the democratisation of music education. The normalisation discourse can be interpreted as a discourse of exclusion. Some groups of children and adolescents are constructed as those outside the limits of normality, in line with what Foucault exposed (1961/2010). Such constructions have an impact on the policy processes and on the enactment of policies, as Ball has explained (2013).

Politically, historically and conceptually, some individuals and groups of individuals have been considered to belong to society while others have been regarded as not belonging (Foucault, 1961/2010, 1974/2004). The results and conclusions from the four articles point to the presence of similar discourses of inclusion and exclusion, where the normality discourse includes certain groups of individuals even as it excludes others. The concept of multicentric inclusion (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019a) offers a way to problematise narrow notions of inclusion and demarcations of the limits of normality.

6.1.1. Accomplishments and social utility

Taking into consideration Vlachou's (2004) call to "begin to consider the pathologies of schools that enable or disable students" (p. 7), this thesis contributes to the exposition of policies and policy practices that can enable or disable students and shows how the lack of inclusion policies can disable potential pupils and the SAMS themselves. The lack of inclusion policies constitutes and is constituted by discourses of exclusion. The thesis aligns with Vlachou (2004) as to how inclusivity priorities sometimes are considered an extra burden by schools. The results presented in the four articles are an example of how education for social justice might, in accordance with Ball (2008), be the most complex policy agenda we can confront as teachers, leaders, parents or citizens, particularly when we consider that "policy discourses work to privilege certain ideas and topics and speakers and exclude others" (p. 5).

The national policy process for SAMS has thus far resulted in centralisation to a certain extent. For instance, there has been a centre for SAMS as part of the Swedish Arts Council since 2018 (Kulturrådet, 2020), and there a new teacher training programme was launched at six Swedish higher education institutions in 2019.¹³ In Article II, I refer to the teacher training courses as a new education degree specific for SAMS (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019a), but this is a simplified picture. The new teacher training courses do not lead to a teaching degree; they lead to a certificate when 90 ECT have been achieved, with the option of complementing that work with more courses. Both the new SAMS centre and the teacher training courses can be viewed as attempts to contribute to a process of democratising music education and arts education. One example of the role of the SAMS centre (Kulturrådet, 2020) in relation to such processes is that they are responsible for distributing grants that SAMS can apply for to reach out to new target groups or to work for the inclusion of pupils with disabilities, amongst other purposes. The new teacher training courses also share the rationale that SAMS need to be accessible to new target groups (Prop. 2017/18:164). The courses add to the diverse field of music teacher education that has been reported elsewhere (Sæther & Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019).

The SAMS system remains a highly decentralised or loosely coupled system (Weick, 1976), as described in Article I. As part of the national inquiry (SOU 2016:69), there was a recommendation for a new evaluation after a few years to analyse the need for a mandatory national policy. For a new policy to be mandatory, a legal framework would be necessary. As articulated in both the focus group conversations and the policy

¹³ The six institutions that offer the new teacher training programme (in Swedish *Kulturskolepedagogutbildningen*) are Lund University, Gothenburg University, Stockholm University, Stockholm University of the Arts, Umeå University and University College of Music Education in Stockholm (Kulturrådet, 2021).

documents analysed in the present study, such a legal framework could be developed in a similar way to the national legal framework for the libraries, which states that each municipality must have at least one library. For SAMS, the legal framework could state that every municipality needs to finance a SAMS, possibly in collaboration with one or more municipalities. A legal framework as a foundation for SAMS would make it possible to enact mandatory inclusion policies that could help fulfil the potential of SAMS to contribute to democracy in the sense of Woodford (2005) and more specifically to the democratic rights to culture and education that have been defended in research (Georgii-Hemming & Kvarnhall, 2015; Laes & Kallio, 2015; Vestad, 2015) and in policies (Myndigheten för kulturanalys, 2021; OECD, 2017; Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2021; Regeringskansliet, 2020; United Nations, 2021a, 2021b; UNHCR, 2021). A national policy for SAMS has been advocated by Holmberg (2010) in order to enforce teachers' legitimacy. I would add to that advocating for a legal framework to promote inclusion, to ensure the democratisation of music education and to fulfil the democratic potential of SAMS.

The tensions between the inclusion discourse, which enforces the multicentric inclusion of all children and adolescents, and the specialisation discourse, which enforces the improvement of a few children's special skills, can be fruitfully analysed in relation to the historical development of SAMS. The discourses represent the two main aims in the creation of SAMS as music schools in the 1930s and 1940s. The goal of providing music schools for all children, regardless of economic background (Brändström & Wiklund, 1995) corresponds to the multicentric inclusion discourse. The aim of preparing new local and professional musicians (Svenska kommunförbundet, 1984) corresponds to the specialisation discourse. Such tensions also connect to the antagonist discourses of breadth and depth revealed in previous research (Björk et al., 2018; Holmberg, 2010; Jordhus-Lier, 2018). Jordhus-Lier (2018) found that the breadth discourse was dominant in policy documents, while the depth discourse was dominant amongst teachers. In this thesis, the corresponding antagonistic discourses appear in the focus group conversations with the leaders. The results therefore confirm that these historical contrasting aims remain relevant for SAMS. The multicentric inclusion discourse is one of the discourses of inclusion constituting and constituted by leadership positioning. The specialisation discourse is a discourse of exclusion constituting another possibility for leadership positioning and constituted by that positioning.

By reconnecting to the history of SAMS, we can try to question what has been imposed as "truths" in a Foucauldian sense (Foucault, 1971/1993). The point here, inspired by Ball (2013), is to look at the connections between the present and the past, to question such connections, to make discourses of exclusion unacceptable and to reject a future in line with such discourses. It is no longer possible to see the cultural

rights and artistic development of children with disabilities and refugee children as a matter for specialists or as an extra burden. It is within the scope of SAMS, publicly funded institutions at the intersection between education and culture, that all children's cultural rights need to be secured.

Gergen's (2015) first question, "what do you want to accomplish?" can be answered as follows. Naturally, I wanted to accomplish the aims of the research project. I have critically investigated SAMS discourses connected to policy processes for the democratisation of music education for all children and adolescents, and the present analyses have contributed to knowledge on the development and enactment of policy processes for the democratisation of music education. With respect to the overall research questions, I have exposed discourses of inclusion and exclusion, how the enactment of policies is constituted within and through SAMS leaders' discursive practices and how the inclusion of all children is constituted within and through SAMS leaders' discursive practices and policy documents with relevance for SAMS.

Gergen's (2015) second question is "what is the social utility of this accomplishment?" This research study can contribute to SAMS inclusion policies and practices and lead to the inclusion of diverse groups of pupils, including individuals with disabilities and refugees. When exposing discourses of inclusion and exclusion, established ways of thinking and speaking about groups of pupils can be challenged and new ways of thinking made possible. By doing so, this study can contribute to the development of sustainable societies, where the democratic right to culture and the right to arts education are secured.

6.2 Reflections on methodology

The present study is based on focus group conversations with SAMS leaders and SAMS policy documents. The focus group conversations worked as expected, as situations in which the participants acted as members of a group and used language to construct meaning. The first article is built on the conversations from central and southern Sweden. The reason for that is pragmatic, since the conversation with leaders in northern Sweden was conducted later. Articles II, III and IV include all three conversations. When analysing the focus group conversations for Article III, my co-author Live Weider Ellefsen and I decided to include policy documents in the analysis, which enriched the article by providing additional perspectives. The theoretical framework chosen has made it possible to analyse the data on different levels. As explained in chapter 3, the focus group conversations are considered to represent discursive practices in a Foucauldian sense. The analyses of the conversations in the

four articles have shown that the exercise of power, as expressed by Ball (2013), rules the discursive practices, as is illustrated by the leaders' talk about themselves and the art and music schools they represent in Article I. Another example of the exercise of power is the negotiations between the leaders when it comes to terminology regarding disabilities in Article II and regarding refugees in Article III. Power produces the leaders as subjects that engage in processes for the inclusion of all children and adolescents but also as subjects that position themselves within the boundaries of normality. The exercise of power in the conversations and in the policy texts also produces the subjects of pupils and potential pupils within the groups of children with disabilities (Article II) and refugee children (Article III). By contrast, the exercise of power also objectifies the same groups of children and adolescents, constructing them as individuals "in need" and with no apparent agency.

From a policy theoretical perspective, policy is put into practice in discursive practices. Article IV in particular shows that dimension of the conversations, with leaders arguing for collaboration in their policy practice. Taking a Foucauldian perspective on the results of that article and on Article I, the exercise of power produces and is produced by the leaders' different subject positions.

As historically and contextually shaped through interactions and actions (Foucault, 1969/1972), the discursive practices of the leaders have been shaped even outside the focus group conversations. Examples of this are the texts written by representatives of the leaders (Lorensson, 2020; Sandh, 2012) and their Facebook group (Kulturskolerådet grupp, 2021), where policy is discursively put into practice.

The combination of discursive psychology and Foucauldian discourse analysis (Ericsson & Lindgren, 2011) or discourse analysis and analysis of discourses (Bacchi, 2005) is applied in Articles I and II. This combination has enabled an analysis of the rhetorical strategies applied by leaders when they position themselves within and through discourses and an analysis of the institutional discourses that are at play constituting subject positionings. For instance, leaders position themselves within an art and music school discourse and against a compulsory school discourse when making use of rhetorical strategies connected to defining their job descriptions as leaders. Dominant discourses that have been explored by previous research, such as the normality discourse (Foucault, 1961/2010), are also at play and constitute subject positionings and knowledge regarding disabilities.

The results from the focus group conversations with SAMS leaders have confirmed their unique position between political decisions and pedagogical practices (as discussed in section 4.3), which offers important insights into policy practice. The analyses show that leaders have been actively involved in the national policy process, enacting policy early in that process (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a). Drawing on Ball's (1993) cyclical approach to policy, SAMS leaders can be considered policy actors in the context of

practice, influencing the policy practice in their own and other contexts, such as the context of political decisions and text production. Since previous research has pointed out teachers' low engagement with policy and with innovating practices (Holmberg, 2010; Jordhus-Lier, 2018; Tivenius, 2008), SAMS leaders' engagement in policy processes might be useful in involving teachers in such processes.

The micro analysis with discursive psychology in Articles I and II has made it possible to analyse the rhetorical strategies used by the leaders when they position themselves. The Foucauldian discourse analysis in Articles I, II and III has made it possible to expose unwritten structures and silenced discourses. The inclusion discourse, as well as the specialisation discourse can be considered dominant discourses since the origin of SAMS, as they can be identified in the rationale for the system (Björk et al., 2018; Brändström & Wiklund, 1995; Holmberg, 2010; Svenska kommunförbundet, 1984). The normalisation discourse can be regarded as a discourse that has been silenced through history. The unspoken and unwritten ideas of normality have enabled and maintained the discursive formations around specialisation and particular forms of subjectivity, thus contributing to the inclusion of some children and the exclusion of others. Statements that legitimise the exclusion of certain pupils or groups of pupils are exposed in the conversations with leaders but have not been as explicitly exposed in official and historical documents. However, discursive formations around specialisation have historically constituted the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion.

The results in Article I, where leaders enact policy during the process, were a significant impetus to apply policy theories more consistently in the following articles. This allowed new layers to be applied in the analyses presented in Articles II, III and IV. The other reason for applying policy theories, which is noted in chapter 3, is that policy theories provide the means to suggest actions and policy recommendations. The policies and policy practices are thus analysed from discursive and policy theoretical perspectives.

Within a discourse theoretical framework, a reflective approach is encouraged (Heritage, 2004; Wetherell et al., 2001, 2004), which aligns with Gergen's (2015) reflective pragmatism. The reflective approach can be applied to the researcher's own positioning in relation to the discourses and to the participants. In the present section, I have reflected on how methodological decisions have contributed to the construction of the present study.

In conclusion, the research design and the methodology applied in this thesis have contributed to accomplishing what has been stated by the research aims, connecting to Gergen's (2015) question about what the researcher wants to accomplish. Gergen's question about "or whom" has been answered through the consequences for pupils of the different discourses at play. Gergen's (2015) question about the research methods and their implicit values has also been answered in this section. One implicit value of

the research methods is the notion that the study itself is considered to be socially constructed, in line with Jackson and Mazzei (2012), rather than a mirror of reality. The notion of the study as a social construction implies that the conclusions, problematisations and recommendations need to be problematised further considering the contextual complexities and power relations in which the potential reader is embedded. Drawing on my own subjectivity, such a problematisation process starts in the following section.

6.3 Problematising the problematisations and my own positioning

One implicit problem with the present study is the categorisation of groups of people, which can be considered “othering”, or defining groups of individuals as those in need for care and concern, a discourse that is problematised in Article III (Di Lorenzo Tillborg & Ellefsen, 2021). When problematising the inclusion of children with disabilities, the inclusion of refugees and inclusion through collaboration between SAMS and compulsory schools, my research contributes to processes of problematisation (Foucault, 1999). In a Foucauldian sense, there is no positioning outside discourse or power relations, which means the researcher is also a part of power relationships. As part of the problematisation processes, the research process and research products (the articles and this thesis) contribute to the construction of subjects even as problematisation is an object of study, in line with what Ball has stated (2013). Both Foucault and Ball invite us to reflect on our own contributions to problematisation processes and our own categories of analysis. Drawing on Foucault, researchers need to reflect on their beliefs and on what they may have taken for granted in order to understand how such aspects could affect their analyses. As argued in Article II, undertaking research to promote inclusion of particular groups of individuals implies a risk of unintentionally stigmatising the individuals in such groups and inadvertently representing discourses of normality. Researchers need therefore to be self-reflexive about their own categorisations. One way of doing that is to emphasise that such categorisations are not intended to represent homogeneous groups. The individuals within these groups can take different positionings within different discourses. In the present study, the focus on two particular groups, children with disabilities and refugee children, can be regarded as a limitation. At the same time, I would argue that avoiding such delimitations might risk making such groups invisible, which can contribute to maintaining disabling discourses, policies and practices.

Analysing my categories in the first article in this thesis, it is notable that one of the tension fields that emerged in two focus group conversations was the tension between “classical music versus non-classical music” (p. 70). Classical music refers here to Western classical music, while non-classical refers to all the other genres. The tension emerged in the focus group conversations with SAMS leaders, but the leaders mentioned several different genres; they spoke of [rock] band music, jazz music, Afghan music and Arabic music. The report that genres always had Western classical music as a starting point or even a dominant genre in SAMS in general justifies the description of a tension between classical versus non-classical music. However, when the research exposes the tension in such terms, it can contribute to the construction of the hegemony of Western classical music, “othering” several musical genres and reinforcing the traditional dichotomy. My own background as a violinist with a mainly Western classical repertoire might have influenced the construction of this category. My experience as a violin teacher in art and music schools where Western classical music was a relatively dominant genre may also have played a role in that construction. Perhaps if I had a background as a Swedish folk music fiddler, I would instead have problematised the fact that folk music did not even appear as a genre in the present study. What could I have done differently then? Possibly, the tension could have been illustrated as several tensions for a more complex and less Western and classical music-centric view: tension between Western classical music versus jazz music, tension between rock music versus Western classical music and so on. Tensions between included and marginalised music genres have been exposed in recent music education research (Jordhus-Lier et al., 2021), with folk music as a marginalised genre. Marginalisation of certain music genres is not in line with processes for the democratisation of music education.

Another tension field from the first article (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a) that deserves to be problematised further is the tension field between “reaching all children versus improving a few children’s special skills” (p. 70). This tension field is also a starting point for Articles II, III and IV in this thesis. The leaders do talk about those two tasks as contrasting with each other, but they do not explicitly place children with disabilities and refugee children in the first group. Children from these two groups are neither explicitly mentioned in constructions of pupils nor considered potential pupils within the specialisation discourse. The construction of children in these two groups as contrasting to the few children with special skills is part of my analysis of the leaders’ way of speaking of different groups.

The tension field between “reaching all children versus improving a few children’s special skills” (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a, p. 70) reveals that the goal of reaching all children might be disregarded when SAMS leaders work to improve a few children’s special skills. The dichotomy constructs a view of SAMS as either for all children or for

a few children. As noted above, the dichotomy can be connected to the tension between the multicentric inclusion discourse and the specialisation discourse exposed in Article II. When the two discourses “struggle against one another to establish hegemony” (Lindgren & Ericsson, 2010, p. 37), there is a risk that one or the other will become hegemonic. If the specialisation discourse becomes dominant, the publicly funded SAMS might work for the special skills of a few while most children and adolescents will be excluded from the system. There might be other ways to think about specialisation and inclusion; as recommended in Article II, they may even be brought together. Specialisation might be considered important within the multicentric inclusion discourse. In addition, to argue in favour of the inclusion of children with special skills may actually be a way to achieve (or at least move towards) the inclusion of all children.

The central theme of collaboration in Article IV can also be problematised from a Foucauldian perspective. The results show collaboration as a central theme, which can contribute to a view of collaboration as unquestionably positive, but there are several discourses at play. Collaboration for inclusion can be seen from the perspective of inclusion as the aim, with collaboration as a means to achieve it. However, as explained in section 6.1, adding a Foucauldian perspective makes it possible to see collaboration as a main goal legitimised by discursive formations around inclusion.

In connection with Gergen’s (2015) third question, “for whom is this accomplishment valuable (or not)?”, the arguments in this section have presented reflections on how the accomplishment might be valuable to me as a scholar as a way of addressing the ethical complexities and the risks embedded in conducting research. It must be noted that research does not produce truths but groups of statements that constitute a scientific discourse about discourses.

6.4 Policy activism

This thesis offers a critical investigation of SAMS discourses connected to policy processes for the democratisation of music education. As noted in chapter 3, one limitation of discourse analysis is that its analysis often stays on the level of critiquing institutions and processes (Ingram et al., 2016). By adding a policy theoretical perspective, the analyses in Articles II, III and IV take a step towards policy recommendations and actions. Ingram et al. (2016) have argued for analyses that can contribute to showing “how public policy can contribute to a more democratically governed society” (Ingram et al., 2016, p. 182), to which I hope the analyses in this thesis, combining discourse and policy theories, can contribute. The approach that I

have taken can be described as *policy activism*, acknowledging the researcher's role in policy processes and taking an active stand for inclusion policies. Schmidt (2015) has encouraged teachers to embrace policy activism, an approach that aims to build teachers' autonomy as they engage in policy processes on various levels. Policy activism can be ascribed to the SAMS leaders and teachers who wrote referral responses (Remiss SOU 2016:69) and to the SAMS leaders in this study who started enacting the national policy during that process. Policy activism can also be ascribed to me as a researcher with a clear interest in working for inclusion policies involving SAMS.

Another music education scholar who advocates for policy activism is Kertz-Welzel (2018). She argues that "musicians, music educators, and scholars have long been reluctant to participate in music education policy" (p. 81), but that they need to "speak the language of politicians without compromising music education's best interest" (p. 82) in order to communicate relevant knowledge to the field of policy making. Kertz-Welzel's argument is in line with Woodford (2005), who has pointed out how scholars have usually been unable to communicate effectively with those outside academia, such as politicians.

A call for policy activism in music education practices, policy and research is a key contribution of this thesis as a way towards conscious choices on all levels in the work for the democratisation of music education. Policies can be productive when used to find new ways of doing what has been done, to build autonomy and to challenge unjust structures. As Kuntz (2015) puts it, "to engage in activism is to in some way work for social change" (p. 28). Policy activism in music education can be a way to work for social change, for new ways of thinking and acting. Sweden is a democratic society, where actors on different levels can engage in political processes that affect the lives of children and adolescents. Teachers, school leaders, pupils and parents are all examples of potential policy actors working for social change.

Connecting the present section to Gergen's (2015) questions on the social utility of the accomplishments and for whom the accomplishment is valuable (or not), I can conclude that the policy activism that I encourage as an implication of the present study can be useful for researchers, leaders and teachers who seek to work towards policies for the inclusion of all children and adolescents. Such policy activism can indirectly benefit pupils and parents. As a possible implication of the present study, two specific groups of (potential) pupils are the most likely to benefit from such policy activism: children with disabilities and refugee children. Gergen's (2015) question about the implicit values of the methods can be applied to the methodology and theory in this case. By applying policy theories and following policy scholars that encourage policy activism, I hope to encourage others to make use of policy activism.

Foucault (1991) has pointed out how writing can be a process that changes the writer, which Ball (2013) regards as an important goal of writing. When I started

writing this thesis, I intended to become a music education researcher. As I am finishing it, I have become not only a music education researcher with an interest in cultural rights for every child but also a policy activist. When I began the thesis, I already had an interest in Foucault and his concepts of discourse and power. What I did not know was that I would become interested in Ball and his concepts of policy cycle and policy enactment. Nor did I know that I would become interested in policy activism. Foucauldian scholars might question whether a policy activist approach is consistent with Foucauldian discourse analysis. First, it is important to keep in mind that Foucault himself was a political activist, as scholars like Ball (2013) and Nilsson (2008) have pointed out. Foucault had a strong political engagement for the marginalised. My study emerges from a strong engagement for children and adolescents who are excluded from SAMS. The policy activism that I advocate, inspired by Schmidt and Kertz-Welzel, is not necessarily the same kind of political activity in which Foucault engaged. I am advocating an approach in which teachers, leaders and researchers become more aware of the parts that they – we – might be able to play in policy processes. Secondly, I align with Ball (2013) by stating that I do not consider myself to be a Foucauldian scholar. Rather, I apply Foucault's and other scholars' ideas and concepts in my analyses as tools for trying to think differently. The policy activist approach complementing the analyses based on discourse and policy theories is one attempt to think differently.

6.5 Research communication

The articles, whether published or forthcoming, and the thesis as a whole are ways of communicating the results. By writing in English and publishing in international journals, I hope to communicate my results to international researchers in both music education and allied fields like special education, disabilities studies, policy research and social diversity studies. The results concern the specific context of SAMS but could be relevant to the international reader since several countries have similar systems of such schools, notably music schools, as described in section 2.4. The thesis problematises the role of SAMS in the democratisation of music education in Swedish society. Recent international research on music schools has similarly problematised the roles of music schools in societies (Backer Johnsen et al., 2020; Björk & Heimonen, 2019; Deloughry, 2019; Ellefsen & Karlsen, 2020; Jeppsson & Lindgren, 2018; Jordhus-Lier, 2018; Krishna, 2020; Theologos & Katsadoros, 2019; Westerlund et al., 2019), even though the inclusion of pupils with disabilities and refugee pupils has not received the scholarly attention it merits. Another way of communicating with diverse research fields is to give presentations at national and international research conferences, which I have done

on many occasions, as illustrated by the list of selected presentations relevant to this thesis (pp. 14–15).

There is a limitation when writing in English: it can increase the communication gap between the researcher and practitioners, policy makers and other Swedish speakers with an interest in or even a passion for the subject. In order to bridge that gap and communicate the results to practitioners, I have written two publications in Swedish: a research report (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017b) focusing on children in need of special support and a chapter (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019b) partly based on Article II in a popular science anthology with a focus on children's culture (Janson, 2019). I have also participated in an interview (in Swedish) in a podcast by the Swedish Arts Schools Council (Kulturskolerådet, 2019). An article (Sandgren, 2019) based on that interview has been published (in Swedish) in *Kulturskolemagasin*, the magazine of the Swedish Arts Schools Council (Kulturskolerådet, 2020).

As part of the policy activist approach (Kertz-Welzel, 2018; Schmidt, 2015) that I advocate, I have taken part in the public debate about SAMS by writing an article published in the Swedish national newspaper *Metro* (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2018b) and by participating in a radio interview for Swedish Radio P4 Kristianstad (Olsson, 2020). This research communication is part of the third core task of Swedish higher education, which is “to cooperate with the surrounding community and work to ensure that research results come to good use” (Lund University, 2021b). A policy activist approach is in line with that third task, but it also encourages researchers to communicate more specifically how research results can contribute to policy processes and how practitioners can engage in policy processes. The act of becoming a researcher and an activist is, however, a complex one (Apple, 2015; Dyndahl, 2015), since “activism, even with the best of intentions, may also lead anew to inequality, marginalisation and exclusion” (Dyndahl, 2015, p. 30). In line with Dyndahl (2015), there is a need to address one's own positionality and to make one's own role in power relations evident, especially when representing “the oppressed subjects” (p. 28). A significant dimension of the complexity of becoming both researcher and policy activist lies in the different expectations embedded in the two roles. A researcher is expected to problematise and critically examine, while an activist is expected to take “a strong stand for or against something” (Ferm Thorgersen et al., 2015). My intention is to engage in both roles and to let them strengthen each other. When communicating with different groups, the problematisations that I undertake as a researcher need to be addressed, just as the activist approach for inclusion needs to be problematised.

Other ways of communicating research have been to present and discuss the ongoing study with SAMS leaders, teachers, teacher educators, music teacher students and others with an interest in children's culture in meetings, conferences, courses and social

media. Those opportunities have contributed to enhancing my own perspectives with new and different ones.

For further research communication, I am considering writing popular science versions of Articles I, III and IV in Swedish, with an eye to publishing them in education or educational leadership journals. The Swedish summary in this thesis could also be employed to be accessible to the practice field.

One area that needs improvement when it comes to communicating research is communication with policy makers, which is a way of exerting policy activism. I had planned to write policy briefs to the relevant authorities, inspired by the Arts Equal Project in Finland (Laes et al., 2018). Policy briefs usually include primary research results, recommendations and a short explanation of background and methodology. For practical reasons, writing policy briefs has yet not been possible, but I am still considering engaging with this kind of policy activism.

In conclusion, Gergen's (2015) question on how and for whom the results will be communicated has been answered in this section. The results have been communicated in various ways and through channels for communication with researchers, SAMS leaders, teachers and society in general.

6.6 Research limitations and further research

This thesis has focused on policy processes for the democratisation of music education policy and practice. The research object is focus group conversations with SAMS leaders and SAMS policies. The democratisation of music education is an area where I have only scratched the surface; the results have led to new questions that remain to be answered. As stated elsewhere (Rønningen et al., 2019), there is a growing body of SAMS research with a focus on inclusion and democracy, and the present study adds to that corpus.

In this thesis, the descriptions of the policy cycle do not specifically focus on the perspectives of pupils and parents. Such perspectives are, however, represented in both the conversations with the leaders and the policy documents, since the focus of the thesis is on policy processes for the democratisation of music education *for all children and adolescents* and on the inclusion of all children. An area with much need for further research, which has also been expressed elsewhere (Rønningen et al., 2019), is to turn directly to pupils, potential pupils and former pupils, along with parents and families, when undertaking research on policy processes for the democratisation of music education.

The character of Article I as a mapping article provides material for various approaches to further research in the tension fields. The perspectives of other policy actors, such as teachers, pupils and/or parents could be the focus of such a study. Another alternative would be to use the tension fields as a trigger in new focus group conversations with SAMS leaders to explore their perspectives further.

In the focus group conversations, boys are mentioned by SAMS leaders as a group that should be included to a higher degree than they are in today's SAMS activities. Since there are too little data regarding that topic in the focus group conversations, I have chosen not to focus on that aspect in the present study. The subject is, however, relevant to be considered for further research.

Article II is one of the first attempts to conduct research on SAMS and disabilities, and much more work needs to be done in that area. The next steps could include focusing on the perspectives of interest organisations, associations, pupils in compulsory schools for pupils with disabilities and/or parents. Another option is to consider the specific SAMS that are mentioned as role models by the national inquiry (SOU 2016:69) as subjects for further research.

More research on how SAMS have engaged with migration issues also merits greater attention. Here again, the next steps could be to include the perspectives of pupils, parents and teachers.

Collaboration with compulsory schools is a key theme in Sweden's sparsely populated municipalities. A study based exclusively on focus group conversations with leaders from sparsely populated municipalities would give a more detailed picture of how they collaborate with compulsory schools. A quantitative study based on the whole population (i.e., leaders from all SAMS) would make it possible to identify frequency, differences and similarities.

One limitation of the present study is its focus on music education, even though both leaders and policy documents represent all subjects within SAMS. Another idea for further research is, therefore, to conduct a study with a similar focus on SAMS, inclusion and democracy, but as a collaboration between researchers from several fields, such as dance, drama, the visual arts and music education. Such an interdisciplinary approach could contribute further to the inclusive and democratic potential of SAMS.

The large-scale network ethnographies undertaken by Ball and colleagues (Avelar et al., 2018; Ball, 2016; Ball & Exley, 2010; Ball & Junemann, 2011) to map policy networks could be fruitful inspiration in a future study with the aim of presenting a model for the many different networks involved in SAMS national policy processes. The present study, particularly chapter 2 and section 3.2, may lay the ground for such a study.

As noted in section 2.2, a Foucault-inspired genealogical analysis of SAMS, with a focus on documents and other historical sources as the empirical material has not been completed within the scope of this thesis, but it is yet another idea for further research.

When communicating with me in my role as a researcher but not as part of the data for the present study, leaders and teachers appeared to express a need for research conducted in close connection with the practice field, research that provides tools to react to political decisions and research that provides a starting point for new pedagogical ideas and methods. An action research study has recently been conducted in the northern Swedish municipality of Piteå (2020). I have started a plan for conducting an action research study with research circles in collaboration with SAMS teachers in a specific school, municipality or region. The vast literature on action research (see Alerby & Bergmark, 2015; Heiling, 2002) could be applied in such a study, which could also draw inspiration from policy activism (Kertz-Welzel, 2018; Schmidt, 2015) and from Freire's (1992/2019) and Darder's (2018) ideas regarding education and art not as neutral but as serving a political purpose.

Epilogue

I did not know the concept of *kulturskola* when I lived in Brazil, but I became interested in it after moving to Sweden. A publicly funded system of schools where children and adolescents could learn how to play an instrument, to dance, to paint or to perform plays was something I needed to learn more about. With no experience with SAMS, I started teaching in such schools in several municipalities in southern Sweden. From my own background, I had experienced other systems for music schools with public funding to some degree. For me, newly arrived in Sweden, it was not very easy to understand the system or even to understand whether I could or should apply to it. My experiences as a SAMS teacher made me realise the potential of such schools in the development of children and adolescents. That insight has influenced my interest to critically investigate this potential.

My foreign background has given me some insights into how it can feel to arrive in a new country and strive for a feeling of belonging and being included. Such feelings may be shared by many migrants. It is, however, important to point out my privileged position within the group of migrants. Being white has, on many occasions, made me appear “Swedish”, as several people have noticed. Even as a 17-year-old, I realised my privileged position regarding education since I had completed upper secondary school, while some of my peers in Swedish language classes had only gone to school for a few years. When I undertake research about the inclusion of refugees, newly arrived and/or children with a foreign background, I am therefore both an outsider and an insider. In relation to the group of children with disabilities, I consider myself to be an outsider (at least in this period of my life and in most contexts). Being an outsider, I have throughout the whole research project reflected on my own positioning and discussed ethical considerations with my supervisors, colleagues and representatives from interest organisations. Regarding the relation to the participants in my study, as a SAMS teacher I share a common background with many of them, which might have contributed to my access to the group of leaders.

As Hess (2015) has experienced and explained, a privileged position as a white scholar is often considered a neutral position, which has allowed her to start discussions about race, “a terrible irony in the work of anti-racism”, as she puts it (p. 68). My privileged position as a white, middle-class academic and teacher with no disabilities

allows me to make my voice heard regarding inclusion and exclusion in SAMS. I hope not to misuse my privilege as I continue to problematise my own questions and to reflect on the questions of “for whom” and “by whom”.

Sammanfattning

Denna avhandling består av fyra artiklar och en kappa som sammanbinder artiklarna. Avhandlingen fokuserar på kulturskoleledares samtal om praktik och policy för inkludering av alla barn. En anledning till att välja ledare är att, så vitt jag kunnat se, deras perspektiv ofta saknas i musikpedagogisk forskning generellt och i synnerhet i forskning med fokus på kulturskolor. Ytterligare en anledning till att välja ledare är att de ansvarar för att leda sina respektive institutioner i enlighet med rådande policyer och lokala praktiker. Förutom ledarnas perspektiv, inkluderar avhandlingen också policydokument för kulturskolor.

Studien skrivs utifrån ett starkt engagemang för grupper av barn och unga som historiskt har blivit exkluderade från kulturskolor. Den typen av engagemang har också varit drivande för de två forskare som bildar den teoretiska ramen för denna avhandling: den franska filosofen och historikern Michel Foucault, som hade ett starkt politiskt engagemang för de marginaliserade, och den brittiske sociologen och policyforskaren Stephen Ball, som har ett starkt engagemang för social rättvisa.

Syftet med avhandlingen är att kritiskt undersöka de kulturskolediskurser som är förknippade med processer för demokratisering av musikpedagogik för alla barn och unga. Ett vidare syfte är att bidra till kunskap om utvecklingen och genomförandet av policyprocesser för demokratisering av musikpedagogik. De övergripande forskningsfrågorna är: (1) Vilka diskurser av inkludering och exkludering konstituerar och konstitueras i och genom ledarskapspositioneringar i relation till policyprocesser för demokratisering av musikpedagogik? (2) Hur är genomförande av policyer konstituerade i och genom kulturskoleledarnas diskursiva praktiker? (3) Hur är inkludering av alla barn konstituerad i och genom kulturskoleledarnas diskursiva praktiker och policydokument med relevans för kulturskolor? Datamaterialet består av fokusgruppsamtal med sexton kulturskoleledare från femton kulturskolor samt, för Artikel III, policydokument förknippade med kulturskolor.

Kulturskolor har ursprungligen utvecklats som ett system av lokalt utformade musikskolor utan formella policydokument. Med tiden, har de inkluderat fler ämnen, som exempelvis dans, drama/teater och bild. Att finnas till för alla barn samt att träna professionella musiker har varit två huvudsyften i kulturskolornas historik. Kulturskolornas inkluderande syfte har problematiserats i policyer och forskning, vilket

visar att kulturskolorna har en ouppfylld demokratisk potential. Gällande policydokument, även utan officiella sådana finns det flera nationella och internationella policyer (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2021; UNHCR, 2021; United Nations, 2021a, 2021b; Myndigheten för kulturanalys, 2021; OECD, 2017; Regeringskansliet, 2020), som är relevanta för institutioner som existerar på politiskt uppdrag och är finansierade av skattemedel. I linje med dessa policyer, kan kulturskolor arbeta för inkludering av alla barn och unga och på så sätt bidra till demokratisering av musikpedagogik.

Begreppet demokrati används i denna avhandling i relation till den rätt som varje individ har att delta i samhället, vilket också gäller den demokratiska rätten till musikpedagogik. Andra centrala begrepp för avhandlingen är inkludering, diskurs och policy.

Inkludering används gällande alla barn och unga som lever i Sverige och därför kan betraktas vara potentiella kulturskolelever. Begreppet inkludering har problematiserats av forskare (Bunar, 2018; Dei, 1996; Hess, 2015; Laes, 2017). Kritik har riktats mot ett begränsat synsätt till inkludering, vilket implicit betraktat vissa grupper av individer som det dominanta centrum dit alla andra bör inkluderas. I linje med dessa forskare och deras ansträngningar att motverka sådana monocentriska synsätt, har jag föreslagit ett multicentriskt (Dei, 1996; Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019a) synsätt på inkludering och inkluderingspraktiker och policyer.

Diskurs kan, för denna avhandling, definieras som regler, villkor och osagda "sanningar" som både konstituerar och konstitueras av människors positioneringar, uttalanden och agerande. Diskurser påverkar och är också påverkade av subjekten, individerna. Detta förhållningssätt ligger i linje med Foucaults senaste verk (Foucault 1976/2002, 1999).

Policy är ett begrepp som innebär politiska processer, uttalade idéer, politiska beslut och specifika dokument med relevans för kulturskolor. Begreppet är därmed förknippat med en politisk dimension (Weible, 2014). Den politiska dimensionen är central i kommunalt finansierade kulturskolor. I linje med Ball och hans kollegor (Ball, 1993; Braun et al., 2010), är skiljelinjen mellan process och beslut sällan skarp. Aktörer i olika kontexter påverkar varandra och själva processen.

I april 2015 beställde den svenska regeringen en utredning för en nationell strategi för kulturskolor (SOU 2016:69; Kulturskolerådet, 2020). Jag har kallat processen för en nationell policyprocess för kulturskolor (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a). Policyimplementering kan vara utmanande, vilket har uppmärksamats i forskning (Schwartz, 1994; Tivenius, 2008), särskilt i fall där informella normer och traditioner varit rådande, som det varit för kulturskolor i Sverige. Av den anledningen, fokuserar avhandlingens Artikel I (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a) på de spänningsfält som framträder tidigt i processen. Andra artikeln (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019a) fokuserar på

kulturskolornas inkludering av barn och unga med normbrytande funktionsvariationer. Artikeln följer upp en rapport (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017b) som avslöjar att det finns kulturskolor som inte inkluderar barn och unga i behov av särskilt stöd. Artikel III (Di Lorenzo Tillborg & Ellefsen, kommande) fokuserar på hur inkludering av barn på flykt blir ett tema i fokusgruppsamtalen med ledarna och i policydokument. Avhandlingens fjärde artikel (Di Lorenzo Tillborg & Schmidt, kommande) har fokus på samverkan med grundskolan för att inkludera olika grupper av elever, vilket framträder som särskilt viktigt i de glest befolkade delarna av Sverige.

Avhandlingens teoretiska ramverk består av diskursteorier – diskursanalys enligt Foucault och diskursiv psykologi – och policyteorier. Några av de begrepp som används är diskurs, sanningsregim, policygenomförande och policycykel.

Resultaten visar flera dominanta diskurser som konstituerar och konstitueras av subjekten. Dessa diskurser är: multicentrisk inkluderingsdiskurs, normaliseringsdiskurs, specialiseringsdiskurs, marknadsdiskurs, ekonomidiskurs och samverkansdiskurs. Normaliseringsdiskursen kan beskrivas som en nedtystad diskurs. Att dessa diskurser påverkar varandra och konstruerar både elever och ledare på vissa bestämda belys särskilt i studien. Maktrelationer som finns inbäddade i både språkliga och sociala relationer har konsekvenser för vad som är möjligt att tänka, säga och göra, vilket har konsekvenser för mekanismer av inkludering och exkludering i kulturskolan. Den typen av analys kan öka medvetenheten kring de olika maktrelationer som ledare, lärare, elever och forskare är en del av samt hur deras delaktighet i policyprocesser kan bidra till demokratisering av musikpedagogik för alla barn och unga.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Informed consent document

Appendix 2: Decision from the ethical committee



LUNDS UNIVERSITET
Musikhögskolan i Malmö

Adriana Di Lorenzo Tillborg
doktorand i musikpedagogik
adriana.di_lorenzo_tillborg@mhm.lu.se
+46 706 610178

Information om studien och samtyckesformulär

Tack för att du väljer att delta i min studie!

Här följer mer information i enlighet med etikprövningslagens riktlinjer.

1. *Bakgrund och syfte*

Mitt avhandlingsprojekt fokuserar på musik- och kulturskolan i Sverige.

Syftet med studien är att undersöka den förändringsprocess musik/kulturskolan står inför med framtagandet och införandet av styrdokument på nationell nivå.

2. *Förfrågan om deltagande*

Att just du blivit tillfrågad att delta i studien beror på att du valde att medverka i enkätundersökningen jag skickade ut till alla musik- och kulturskolechefer i Sverige 2014. Dina uppgifter hittades via din kultur/musikskolas hemsida.

3. *Hur går studien till?*

Du kommer att delta i ett gruppsamtal med 4-7 andra deltagare. Samtalet kommer att spelas in på två sätt: ljud och videoupptagning.

4. *Vilka är riskerna?*

En möjlig risk med studien är att uttalanden kan komma att härledas till dig. Den risken kommer jag aktivt att jobba med för att minimera genom att vid redovisning utesluta information som kan komma att avslöja din identitet.

5. *Finns det några fördelar?*

Undersökningen kan bidra till utbyte av erfarenheter mellan deltagarna och således kompetensutveckling.

6. *Hantering av data, sekretess och konfidentialitet*

Det inspelade materialet, transkriberingarna samt samtyckesformulären kommer att förvaras så att inte obehöriga får tillgång till dem.

Datamaterialet i sin helhet kommer inte att lämnas vidare till några andra. Mina handledare kommer att få tillgång till delar av datamaterialet.

All data redovisas konfidentiellt under fiktiva namn.

Du som deltagare tar hänsyn till konfidentialiteten och avslöjar inte de övriga deltagares identiteter för andra.



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+46 706 610178

7. Hur får jag information om studiens resultat?

Du kan få ta del av studien vid publicering.

8. Frivillighet

Deltagande i forskningsprojektet är frivilligt och du har rätt att avbryta när som helst, utan särskild förklaring. Redan insamlad data förstörs inte men dina egna uttalanden kan uteslutas i redovisningen av materialet om du så önskar.

Samtyckesformulär

Jag har informerats, fått tillfälle att ställa frågor och fått dem besvarade.

Jag deltar i studien frivilligt och samtycker till att Adriana Di Lorenzo Tillborg behandlar personuppgifter om mig i enlighet med vad som beskrivits i punkterna 1-8.

Underskrift

Ort

Datum

Namnförtydligande

Avdelning 3

PROTOKOLL 2017/1

Sammanträde 2017-01-11 Kl 13.00—18.05

Sammanträdesrummet, Arkeologen, Sandgatan 1, Lund

Närvarande

Ledamöter

Ordförande

Cecilia Hanö

Ledamöter med vetenskaplig kompetens

Ole Elgström, vetenskaplig sekreterare

Dan Egonsson

Göran Molin

Mina O'Dowd

Bengt Sivberg (Deltar ej i beslut § 4.6 p g a jäv)

Lena Halldenius (Deltar ej i beslut §§ 4.1 – 4.12)

Vilhelm Persson

Företrädare för allmänna intressen

Ulla-Britt Andersson

Ann Hörnebrant-Sturesson

Esmaeil Salehi

Lennart Hägglöf

Conny Bäck (Deltar ej i beslut § 2.26 p g a jäv)

Övriga närvarande

Administrativ sekreterare

Ann-Marie Kellner

utdrag ur protokoll

§ 2

Ansökningar om godkännande av nya forskningsprojekt

2.10

Dnr 2016/1023

Föredragande

Ole Elgström

Forskningshuvudman

Lunds universitet

Forskare som genomför projektet (kontaktperson)

Eva Saether

Projekttitel

Sveriges kulturskolor i förändring

Beslut

Nämnden bedömer att undersökningen enligt ansökan utgör forskning men inte innefattar behandling av känsliga personuppgifter eller någon annan av de åtgärder som anges i 3 och 4 §§ etikprövningslagen. Nämnden finner därför att studien inte är tillståndspliktig enligt denna lag. Nämnden ger i stället följande

Rådgivande yttrande

Mot bakgrund av de ringa riskerna för inblandade forskningspersoner ser nämnden inga hinder för projektet från etisk synpunkt. Nämnden ger följande rekommendationer:

- Nämndens allmänna anvisningar för datasäkerhet bör i tillämpliga delar följas:
”Allt forskningsmaterial som innehåller känsliga personuppgifter ska förvaras i låsta skåp. Känsligt elektroniskt material ska lagras på separat krypterad hårddisk eller liknande, som förvaras i säkerhetsskåp. Beträffande allt forskningsmaterial gäller att endast personer direkt utsedda av den ansvarige forskaren ska ha tillgång till uppgifterna. Kodnyckel och annat direkt identifierbart material, som ljudinspelningar och samtyckesblanketter, ska förvaras åtskilt från det kodade materialet. All bearbetning och förvaring av data ska äga rum på dator eller annat medium utan anslutning till Internet.”
- När det gäller utformning av forskningspersonsinformation rekommenderar nämnden att sökande utgår ifrån informationen på hemsidan, www.epn.se/forskningspersonsinformation



Avdelning 3

PROTOKOLL 2017/1

Sammanträde 2017-01-11 Kl 13.00—18.05

Sammanträdesrummet, Arkeologen, Sandgatan 1, Lund

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Att utdraget överensstämmer med originalet intygar:

Administrativ sekreterare
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Article I



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Tension fields between discourses: Sweden's Art and Music Schools as constituted within and through their leaders' discursive practices

Introduction

Art and Music Schools¹ (*kulturskolor*) are present in about 97% of Sweden's municipalities, reaching over 400.000 children and adolescents both in activities outside of and in collaboration with compulsory schools (Kulturskolerådet 2016). For the first time since these schools started being established in Sweden in the 1940s (originally as music schools), it might become a reality for such schools to work in accordance with national policy documents, since the Swedish government has commissioned an investigation to suggest a national strategy. This paper is one of several articles of an ongoing research project that focuses on Sweden's Art and Music Schools during the national policy process.

The goals of the investigation for a national strategy commissioned by the Swedish government on April 30, 2015, were:

- to map Sweden's Art and Music Schools with special attention paid to restrictions or obstacles for availability, and strategies for increasing availability;
- to suggest measures to ensure future access to formally educated teachers; and
- to suggest a national strategy, exposing both positive and negative possible consequences of such a strategy (Kulturskolerådet 2016).

The full report presented on October 24, 2016, was entitled *En inkluderande skola på egen grund* [*An inclusive school on its own terms*] (SOU 2016:69). The first part of the title points to inclusion as an important foundation for music and art schools. The second part highlights the specificity of this kind of school as a unique agent with its own legitimacy within society. The outcomes of the investigation point to the need for national aims, a national centre for Art and Music Schools, funding to municipal cooperation at a regional level, strengthened teacher education as well as investment in research and funding for different purposes. According to the report, a legal framework on a national level is desirable but not viable at the moment, although it might be in the future (SOU 2016:69).

This article is structured as follows: the section entitled "Challenges in Art and Music School policy" will make a connection between education policy in the Nordic countries and the *loosely coupled systems* concept as applied to Sweden's Art and Music Schools, in order to give a background to how such schools relate to policy, the methodology section describes the methodology, design and concepts that I apply in relation to the aim, and the results section examines selected excerpts from the two focus group conversations. The analysis is carried out with the aim and research question as starting points, connecting to previous research. Finally, the most important findings of the study are presented, namely the tension fields within and through which Art and Music Schools are constituted.²

Challenges in Art and Music School policy

In the political context of the Nordic countries³, music and other artistic activities are commonly highly regarded and represented in political discourse as educational; they are also part of a Scandinavian discourse of making music and arts accessible to everyone (Heimonen 2003b; Karlsen, Westerlund, Partti & Solbu 2013). Every Nordic country has a comprehensive system of Art and Music Schools funded by the state and/or by regional and local authorities (Karlsen et al. 2013). In all Nordic countries except for Sweden, this system is controlled to some degree by national regulation (Heimonen 2003b; Karlsen et al. 2013). In Sweden there is no national policy for these schools, probably because Art and Music Schools have developed from local music activities as a voluntary school system, as suggested by Heimonen (2003a). They form a parallel system to the compulsory school system. Together with local regulation, other kinds of norms, such as political interests or local traditions, replace formal national regulation (Heimonen 2003b; Holmberg 2010). However, in the 1990s there was an intense debate in Swedish media about whether to regulate such schools, as a reaction to reduced financial support in several municipalities (Heimonen 2002). At the time, the Association of Swedish Art and Music Schools (*Kulturskolerådet*) was in favour of a special government decree (Heimonen 2002); that position is still held today (*Kulturskolerådet* 2016) when the discussions have been taken up again, this time also in social media. Tensions might be expected between the informal norms that are currently operating in Sweden's Art and Music Schools and the enactment of a possible new regulatory framework, which is a reason for this article to focus on Sweden's Art and Music School leadership perspectives on a national policy.

Because of the lack of national regulation, I consider Sweden's Art and Music School system to be a *loosely coupled system*, where each school is locally formed. Loosely coupled systems lack a "glue" holding together the different parts in the system, even though they are connected in some sense (Weick 1976). Schwartz (1994) points to the American library system as an example of a loosely coupled system, where each library has its own culture, mission and freedom of action. Sweden's Art and Music School system is also a decentralised system, where each school has its own culture, mission and freedom of action. Some of the schools preserve a classical musical tradition (such as school 6 in the present study), some have adopted a rock music profile (such as school 5 in the present study), and yet others take on the mission to form special activities for refugees (such as school 7 in the present study). Schwartz (1994) states that loosely coupled systems tend to resist adapting to structural reforms. Furthermore, he states that structural reforms can undermine the loosely coupled system's capacity for flexibility, adaptation and innovation (Schwartz 1994). In the case of Sweden's Art and Music Schools, they have for instance the flexibility to choose which activities they might offer. They are also able to adapt their activities to any particular context within the municipality as well as to innovate, organising courses in unusual subjects, such as origami and magic. Furthermore, each municipality in Sweden currently has the flexibility to choose whether or not to finance such a school, a flexibility that might be challenged by a national policy. These conditions might occasion possible resistance to reform.

In a study on music school teachers by Tivenius (2008), the conservatory discourse, where traditional music education is enforced, is identified as one of the dominant Art and Music School discourses. This discourse stands for resistance to change and represents an interesting parallel to the glue metaphor of the loosely coupled systems (Weick 1976), as Tivenius sees it as the "cement" keeping together the whole field. At the same time, this "cement" or "glue" needs to be balanced with teacher education reform focusing on democratic aspects of music education, in order to avoid a total isolation of the field. However, I believe there is reason to question whether the conservatory discourse still

holds the system of Art and Music Schools together, since most of the schools have become more diverse, embracing other arts and also other genres of music than those typically included in the conservatory discourse.

Zandén and Ferm Thorgersen (2015) have studied the implementation of a new curriculum for music in Sweden's compulsory schools. They state that implementation of educational reforms is conventionally considered a slow process. However, based on the results of the authors' research project where the teachers were engaged in implementation, they see evidence that it can actually be a rapid process. Zandén and Ferm Thorgersen also conclude that the new curriculum for music in compulsory schools in Sweden in the case that they studied provided the teachers with both possibilities and challenges.

From a Northern American perspective, both Schmidt (2012) and Wiggins (2015) support a shift of focus from product to process in educational policy. Wiggins (2015), having four other policy research articles as a starting point, advocates a constructivist view on learning in arts education that moves towards a more flexible, process-oriented educational policy. Schmidt (2012) emphasises the policy-making itself as central in supporting educational capital. Nevertheless, he states that there is still a challenging tension between this contemporary view and the more traditional one that enforces the standardisation of aims (Schmidt 2012): the "product-oriented" view, in Wiggins' (2015, 116) terms. A way of supporting the contemporary policy view, according to Schmidt, is to engage music educators in policy processes; he emphasises that policy is "as much legislation as it is a set of practices, as much analysis as it is a disposition, as much a process as a set of outcomes" (Schmidt 2017, 12).

British policy researchers (Ball 1993; Braun, Maguire & Ball 2010) expose the complexity of policy in relation to schools' own cultures and practices. Ball and Braun et al. advocate a broader policy view, where the policy text itself is connected to discursive processes. They suggest the use of the term policy enactment, rather than policy implementation, as involving "creative process of interpretation and recontextualisation" (Braun et al. 2010, 549) of policy into practice. Including discursive processes and practices to policy research is also my approach in this research project, exploring the discursive practice of the Art and Music School leaders during the policy-making process.

Thomas and Watson's (2011) analysis of policy and compulsory school leadership in an Australian context similarly exposes tensions, such as the one between the financial and the educational accountability requirements imposed on schools. If imbalanced, this tension can make the role of a leader one that is focused on financial accountability requirements instead of following the new Australian policy agenda that focuses on educational accountability requirements. The imbalance would lead to the (re)-establishment of a management leadership at the expense of a leadership for learning (Thomas & Watson 2011). Neither Tivenius (2008), Schmidt (2012), nor Wiggins (2015) or Zandén and Ferm Thorgersen (2015) apply the loosely coupled concept to the organisations they study. It is interesting to pose the question of whether there is any "glue" holding Art and Music Schools together, and in what ways policy processes can be problematic or productive.

One of several tension fields that the Swedish headmasters in the compulsory school context work within is that between change and continuity (Persson, Andersson & Nilsson Lindström 2005). This tension field is constituted inside the school itself, in relation to other parts of society, as well as within educational policy itself since it "should contribute to the survival of society over time while simultaneously making a contribution to the modification of certain aspects of social life", including changing methods and pedagogy (Persson et al. 2005, 58). Within another tension field identified by Persson et al. in the same school context, the headmasters might choose to ally themselves either with the administrative directors or with the teachers. These tension fields might well also be applicable to Sweden's Art and Music School leaders, because of the possible changes

they are facing with a national strategy, but also because they might choose different kinds of alliances.

This article focuses on Sweden's Art and Music School leadership perspectives on the current national policy process and on the tension fields that emerge when leaders talk about Art and Music Schools.

The research question for this article is:

- What are the tension fields that emerge when Art and Music School leaders talk about Art and Music Schools while discussing the national policy process?

Responding to this question, I also aim to describe the identified tension fields and to analyse their relations to each other. This study may in this way contribute to a better understanding of tension fields connected to the governmental plans for national policy documents, which may help in developing pedagogical strategies and policy recommendations.

Methodology and design

The main epistemological foundation of this article is that language and social world are connected in a reciprocal relationship (Potter & Wetherell 1987). Language is used by individuals "to *construct* versions of the social world" (Potter & Wetherell 1987, 199). However, the terms used in conversation are those which are "culturally, historically and ideologically available" (Billig 2004, 217). Another important aspect of this constructionist perspective is that "variation in accounts is expected, since there are different ways of describing or interpreting the same experience" (Potter & Wetherell 1987, 200).

Discourse is a central concept for this article's analysis. Within *discursive psychology* the core of discourse is the situated use of language (Burr 2015). Discursive psychology takes a micro perspective and focuses on discourse and rhetoric (Billig 2004; Potter & Wetherell 2004; Puchta & Potter 2004; Burr 2015). Michel Foucault (1969/2011; 1971/1993) holds that discourse may refer not only to utterances or statements but also to unwritten rules and structures. The concept may, according to Foucault (1969/2011), be applied both when analysing micro and macro levels of interaction, although *Foucauldian analysis* often takes a macro perspective, analysing social structures, power issues, ideologies and institutionalised practices (Foucault 1969/2011; 1971/1993; Zimmerman Nilsson & Ericsson 2012; Burr 2015).

In this article an approach inspired by Ericsson and Lindgren (2011) is adopted where discursive psychology and Foucauldian inspired analysis are combined. The discourse concept is therefore applied on both micro and macro levels: the micro level focusing on rhetoric and action, the macro level focusing on discourse in relation to power and ideology. Combining those two levels, I can use the material to investigate what is taken for granted, not only in terms of what is at stake on a rhetorical level in the local conversations, but also in a broader institutional perspective.

Foucault (1971/1993) argues that discourses are always connected to issues of power and resistance; power is not seen as something a person possesses, but as an effect of discourse. By drawing upon a certain discourse, a person can empower him- or herself, or a particular group in society. A *regime of truth* as explained by Foucault (1971/1993) is created and enforced when trying to make a discourse the only valid one, repressing and excluding other possible discourses.

The data for this article consist of selected excerpts from two video recorded focus group conversations with a total of nine Art and Music School leaders from eight different schools in southern and central Sweden.

I consider a focus group conversation to be a discursive practice, where attitudes are, as explained by Puchta and Potter (2014), *performed* in interaction and not *preformed*, as simply existing inside an individual. However, I see a need to complement this perspective with Taylor's (2013) argument that discourses are always partly rehearsed, since parts of them can have been performed in several ways in different situations prior to the actual 'performance'.

The study builds on an abductive approach; the theoretical framework and the data have influenced each other. I had established a discourse theoretical framework before conducting the focus group conversations, which had beforehand shaped my way of viewing the participants' worlds as socially constructed. The analytical tools from discursive psychology were selected after reading the transcriptions of the conversations, as they seemed applicable for the data. While transcribing the data and identifying patterns, I also identified tensions. The concept of *tension fields* then became an important analytical concept, which I applied in my further analysis. The material would then lead the analysis to maybe unexpected directions (tension fields and discourses would emerge from the data), but always within the discourse theoretical framework.

The nine participants were chosen from a database of 202 Art and Music School leaders (59% of the whole population) who, in 2014, participated in a national survey about such schools (Di Lorenzo Tillborg 2015). They are all between 44 and 67 years old. Two of them (Maja and Bo) represent the same Art and Music School. A third participant (Otto) represents another Art and Music School in the same municipality as Maja and Bo. All nine participants have earlier experiences in performing music or other art forms at a professional or amateur level. Four of the municipalities represented in the study are situated in central Sweden and the other four are situated in southern Sweden. Regarding population size, the municipalities range from small to large. Three schools offer only music activities while the other five offer music and other art forms. Two schools are municipally administrated and the other six are privately administrated. At the end of the conversations the school leaders were asked to come up with names that I could use instead of their real names when publishing. The participants in the first conversation chose the names: Anna, Cecilia, Johan and Thomas. Those in the second conversation chose the names: Bo, Iris, Maja, Otto and Selma. Both conversations took place before the findings from the government commissioned investigation had been published.

The language spoken in the conversations was Swedish and the results are presented in my translation to English. The original in Swedish is presented in the appendix to ensure transparency. Ellefsen (2014) suggests that working with two languages may have made her "attentive towards meanings and possible interpretations not as easily yielded by the language in which I am fluent, accustomed and—perhaps—discursively short-sighted" (ibid. 93). Translating may have had this impact on me and may have resulted in more reflection and observations of what otherwise might have been taken for granted. The analysis starts with the transcribing process (Wetherell, Taylor & Yates 2001). In the present case it could be said that the analysis gained an extra starting point when transcribing from Swedish to English. The transcriptions are inspired by works of Potter and Wetherell (1987), and Zimmerman Nilsson and Ericsson (2012), focusing on aspects of relevance for the analysis, such as talk and action, and leaving out other aspects such as details in intonation to avoid imbalance between micro and macro levels of analysis. Even though I could identify tensions in many excerpts, only a few were selected for further analysis in this article; these will be recounted with specific focus, compiled, connected to theory and earlier research on both micro and macro levels, and finally cross-analysed in order to make conclusions that will answer the present study's research question.⁴

The ethical considerations in this article concentrate on voluntariness, informed consent, confidentiality, responsibility to do good and avoid harm, the importance of the

benefits and burdens of research being distributed equally (Good research practice 2011; Wiles 2013; Lund University 2016). The informed consent paper, elaborated in accordance with those considerations, included the following information about the study:

- the focus on Art and Music Schools in Sweden;
- the aim to investigate the process of change that the Art and Music Schools are facing with the elaboration and implementation of policy documents on a national level;
- the reason for inviting them, namely their participation in the mentioned earlier study;
- that group conversations would be taped (sound and video);
- the possible risk of the study being that utterances might make it possible to identify the individuals but with me working actively to minimise that risk by not mentioning information that could reveal their identity;
- a benefit of the study being to contribute to exchange of experiences between participants;
- that confidentiality would be secured and data material stored so that unauthorised people would not have access to them;
- participants were asked to respect the study's confidentiality and not reveal other participants' identities;
- information concerning how the study would be accessible when published;
- that participation in the research project was voluntary; and
- the participants' right to interrupt their participation whenever they wanted to, with no need of explanation. Already collected data would not be destroyed, but their own utterances could be excluded in the study if it was their wish.

Approaching research reflexively (Wetherell, Taylor & Yates 2001; 2004; Heritage 2004) helped me in the process of interpreting and accessing the data, as well as in drawing conclusions that will lead to practical educational implications for readers and policy-makers. The reflexive approach was evident already when conducting the focus group conversations with the awareness of the constitutive role I had as a researcher. I tried to accept and to be a part of the discursive practices of the leaders, even though I am not an Art and Music School leader myself; my own experience from these kinds of schools is as a music teacher. When interpreting and analysing the data I was also reflective regarding my positioning, in order to avoid categorising according to preconceptions.

Tension fields

Already while transcribing the conversations I started to include some of my own comments in the margins. Those comments turned out to be important when identifying patterns and tension fields. The excerpts included in this section come from two specific parts of the conversations: from the beginning of the participants' own introductions, with issues they chose to bring to that introduction, and from their answers to more direct questioning from me about their expectations for a possible national strategy. The connection between the excerpts is also the reason why I selected them: namely, that they expose the construction of self-image(s), as they expose the leaders' strategies to legitimise Art and Music Schools.

The visual dimensions are not written *in italics*. When written in the following way: [text], the text has been changed by me in order to preserve the participants' confidentiality.

Leaders' introductions

Both conversations started with the moderator (myself) providing information about the research project and handing out the informed consent paper. They were also asked to introduce themselves and the schools they were representing.

Cecilia introduces herself as director; she explains that she used to be called headmaster before, but now the title headmaster is not allowed in schools that are not regulated by law. Notably, when explaining that, she uses the word 'you' and not the word 'I'. She is referring to something that happened to herself when the title changed, but with this rhetorical strategy she is talking as if the same event could have happened anywhere in Sweden.

Cecilia: I can start. My name is [Cecilia]. I am from [municipality 1] and I am director, Art and Music School director at [municipality 1]. And that actually changed with the implementation of a new organisation. Before that you were called headmaster. Now you are called director of the Art and Music School. Now you cannot be called headmaster if it is not a school regulated by law.

Anna starts describing herself as headmaster but with some hesitation since she starts with "well" and continues "I am headmaster, then, even though this title might not be allowed". Johan jokes: "it is not allowed, it is wrong" and Anna capitulates by saying, "yes, it is wrong, then I am Art and Music School director". Anna's description at first contradicts Cecilia's, supporting Potter and Wetherell's (1987) statement that variation in accounts is expected. Johan challenges this description with a rhetorical strategy constituted by a joking tone and a normative statement when saying, "it is wrong". Anna reacts by replacing her own official title by the commonly accepted title.

An *Art and Music School discourse* is evoked within this discursive practice. The discourse is constructed by different mechanisms as opposed to a compulsory school discourse. One of these mechanisms is the subject positioning of a leader as a director excluding the subject position of a headmaster as it belongs to the *compulsory school discourse*. Separating the field from the compulsory school field connects to what Tivenius (2008) refers to as the isolation of the field.

Johan is in his turn also evoking the *Art and Music School discourse* by introducing himself as director while Thomas is the last one to introduce himself and does not mention any title at all.

In the second conversation, neither Otto nor Maja use any working title in their introductions, but describe themselves as founders, individuals who started new schools. Since both of them represent *privately administrated* schools, what might be at stake for them is to be acknowledged as developing the Art and Music Schools. They position themselves against the older, *municipally administrated* Art and Music Schools (tension field 8). This positioning stands for new kinds of administration and contradicts both the conservatory discourse (Tivenius 2008) and the glue metaphor of the loosely coupled systems (Weick 1976).

Bo is the only leader from the focus groups included in the present study who introduces himself as a musician, and more specifically, a *classical* one. He represents the same school as Maja, who already had described the school itself and therefore there was no need for Bo to do the same. However, the way he introduces himself might be a way of emphasising the *classical niche* of school 7 contrasting to the niche of school 6. This way, the *classical music discourse*, connected to the *conservatory discourse* (Tivenius 2008) is enforced against the *non-classical music discourse* (tension field 9).

All leaders in the first conversation represented *municipally administrated* schools, but none of them referred to that fact in their introductions. Maybe this information was implicit, since *municipally administrated* Art and Music Schools are in the majority. However, in the second conversation, Iris introduced her school as a *municipally administrated*. Even though she arrived late and missed the others' introductions, she positioned her own school against the others, *privately administrated*, schools (tension field 8).

Iris: *Well, [municipality 6] Art and Music School is the name of it and it is a municipally administrated Art and Music School, middle sized, all subjects represented.*

Selma introduced herself as the "unit director", a working title similar to "director", the title accepted by the participants in the first conversation. The title headmaster is not mentioned in the second conversation, confirming a distancing from *compulsory school discourse*, but also confirming a distancing from the *privately administrated* schools whose leaders employ the title of 'founder'. A tension field can be identified between *municipally* and *privately administrated* Art and Music Schools (tension field 8).

Contrasting to Iris, who mentioned that all main cultural expressions were represented at her school, Selma positioned her own school against that definition, saying that "it is just a Music School, not an Art and Music School". The use of the word 'just' as well as the use of a negative sentence (the second part of the phrase) indicates an inferior position. *Art and Music Schools* with subjects other than music are indirectly referred to as superior. A tension between *Music Schools* and *Art and Music Schools* can be identified (tension field 10).

I identify ambivalence and complexity in the subject positioning of the leaders of Art and Music Schools. The title of 'director' is established over the title 'headmaster' in one particular discursive practice (the first conversation), but not without resistance, which is to be expected from a Foucauldian point of view (Foucault 1971/1993). It is likely that the participants who emphasise the importance of applying the right working title have been engaged in these kinds of discussions before and that the statements are partly rehearsed as defined by Taylor (2013). In the second conversation, the title 'director' is established alongside the title 'founder'. Since a discursive practice can be seen as a piece of evidence for a larger discourse, similar discussions are likely to take place between other Art and Music School leaders in Sweden, which also applies to discussions about administration types and about the subjects offered by the schools.

Anna continues her introduction with an utterance that is certainly partly rehearsed, as discourses always are (Taylor 2013). One evidence of that is that she raises questions that have not been discussed in the group conversation, posing them as important for the group to engage in. She emphasises the question of whether Art and Music Schools are *education* or *leisure and culture*.

Anna: *Then I think there is an important question that you should raise. We belong to different administrations. But a political question that I wish that Swedish politicians would think about is: are we education? are we leisure and culture? And I think that we are both and then you must have perspective on those parts, on the education that we want to protect. For instance, you should reach certain pupils, all pupils maybe in some context and then there are those who want to improve their special skills then it is maybe leisure and culture. Within school you have a clear educational perspective and it is very important. When you end up at leisure and culture then you don't have this perspective anymore... And somewhere you end up being squeezed because we have an educational responsibility. We are all pedagogues working at Art and Music School... and so we should be. And that I think is a very important question, so I would wish for us to return to it.*

The terms *education* and *leisure and culture* have other connotations beside their common definitions⁵, since they correspond to the two different administrative departments where Art and Music Schools are commonly placed within the municipalities (in Swedish, *utbildning* or *fritid och kultur*, respectively). Depending on which administrative department an Art and Music School belongs to, it can have either an educational or a leisure and culture character. Anna emphasises that she thinks Art and Music Schools have both an educational and a leisure and culture function. Since an Art and Music School normally cannot belong to two different administrative departments in Swedish municipalities, Anna is probably referring to the common connotations of the expressions “education” and “leisure and culture”, where education stands for formal education while leisure and culture stands for spare time, recreation. The words ‘you’ and ‘must’ serve as justification that she believes that she is not the only one thinking this way, but instead the language she uses points to a stance that she considers common for Art and Music School leaders. Thomas responds to Anna’s statements in his introduction. He starts by describing an activity through which his Art and Music School reaches all the municipality’s 6 and 7 year-olds and how the teachers who work with this activity are heroes.

Thomas: *I think those teachers are everyday heroes because they meet each one of the pupils and it is thanks to that we actually have representation in all neighbourhoods. You kind of reach out to, yes, you really reach out also from an equality...*

He continues with a broader explanation of what kind of school they are.

Thomas: *This kind of school that we are I think is very distinct and good. And it is important to become distinct, you attend, you attend at least once a week and you learn properly. You get a social community but you are kind of supposed to be excellent. You are supposed to kind of meet the art there, you know? And it shall not be so exclusive that someone is taken out, it should be on your own conditions, but you should have the possibilities to improve within the Art and Music School all the way to the Academy of Music and this is a line that our teachers have had since... Because we could have twice as many pupils but then it is no longer Art and Music School, it is just recreation, and then we waste the staff we have, because they are very experienced. And some of them are the best in Sweden.*

Both Anna and Thomas talk in positive terms when speaking of reaching all children. Thomas uses the metaphor “heroes” when referring to the teachers working towards all children. At the same time they emphasise the right of some pupils to improve a special skill. There is an antagonism between *reaching all children* and *improving a few children’s special skills* (tension field 7). This antagonism is parallel to the one between the leisure and recreation purpose of Art and Music Schools and their *educational* purpose. There is a clear connection between reaching all children and the Scandinavian discourse of making music and arts accessible to everyone (Heimonen 2003a; Karlsen, Westerlund, Partti & Solbu 2013).

A dyad of antagonist discourses is evoked, *the educational discourse* and *the leisure discourse* (tension field 3). It is possible that those antagonist discourses are complementary for Art and Music Schools, since both are legitimised, one at a time. To use the term employed by Persson, Andersson and Nilsson Lindström (2005), both Anna and Thomas choose an alliance with the teachers instead of with the administrative directors, when saying “we are all pedagogues” (Anna) and “some of them are the best in Sweden” (Thomas). This alliance can be seen as an indication of the dominance of the *leadership for learning discourse* (Thomas & Watson 2011).

Leaders' talk about the national policy process

When asked about their thoughts and expectations for a national strategy, the leaders emphasise several issues. Anna states that "society has a responsibility to make sure that there is a broad cultural life and so on" and speaks in positive terms of a law for an Art and Music School in every municipality, "just like the library law". Thomas agrees, but with reservations, "it should not be like regulations and a 'Björklund thing'"⁶, whereupon Anna agrees.

Johan explains other issues related to a possible national strategy.

Johan: But I think that, yes, I agree with you (points to Anna with both hands), the national strategy I think should say that Art and Music Schools have some duties, like duties towards the society, and it should include that you should try to reach all children in a municipality.

The argumentation used by Anna enforces the need of a national strategy as a way to increase the status of Art and Music Schools. Anna mentions the library law as a good example of how national regulation can work. It is interesting to note that Schwartz (1994) mentions the American library system as an example of a loosely coupled system. Anna's argumentation focuses on the mandatory character of the library law, with a library in every municipality, but when Thomas joins the interaction, the aspect of freedom of action for Art and Music Schools is emphasised, in a way similar to the American library system as described by Schwartz (1994). I would argue that there is a tension between *regulation* and *freedom* (tension field 4), which connects to Schwartz's (1994) statement that structural reforms can undermine the capacity for flexibility, adaptation and innovation. When asked if they would also like an Art and Music School law, Thomas states that it should not be regulations and a "Björklund thing", a statement which Anna rapidly agrees with. The statements enforce the existence of a tension field between *regulation* and *freedom* (tension field 4) but also between the *informal norms* that are prevalent in Sweden's Art and Music Schools (Heimonen 2003b; Holmberg 2010) and a possible *curriculum implementation* (tension field 5). The contradictions when the leaders speak in a positive sense about a national strategy but in a negative sense about too much regulation connect to the challenging tensions between *traditional* and *contemporary views of policy-making* (Schmidt 2012), as they see policy-making as central to supporting Art and Music Schools, but still fear standardisation of aims (tension field 6).

The issue of *reaching all children* is discussed in positive terms by the participants, confirming the Scandinavian discourse of making music and arts accessible to everyone (Heimonen 2003; Karlsen, Westerlund, Partti & Solbu 2013). Johan also states that a national regulation should include strategies for reaching all children. This is an issue that the Swedish government has asked to be investigated by the Commission for a National Strategy (Kulturskolerådet 2016; SOU 2016:69). There could be several factors leading to some children not being reached by Art and Music Schools. Discussions about specific groups that to a higher degree than today should be included in Art and Music Schools took place in both conversations. Boys, children and adolescents with disabilities as well as refugees are examples of such groups. Those specific issues will be addressed in the next steps of the present research project.

In the second conversation, when asked about their thoughts on the investigation for a national strategy, the participants talked about their own participation in it, since all leaders were invited to a national meeting in Stockholm. However, Maja stated that they "have no power to influence the investigation". Selma responded to that, which led to a discussion about whether there was a difference between Art and Music Schools with different types of administrations regarding participation in the investigation.

Selma: *Here we are in different positions. In the Swedish organisation of Art and Music Schools. I am unit director for a municipal music school so I am part of it. But you (looking at Bo, Maja and Otto) will maybe be affected, but can't have an influence.*

Otto: *But we are also part of it. I mean we are...*

Bo: *Well it is funny to hear that you say that we can't have influence, because we have been interviewed.*

Selma: *Yes, you have. Of course.*

Bo: *So we had the illusion that they would take it on board.*

Selma: *I do think so, I do think so.*

Iris: *They will.*

Otto: *Yes, because it was kind of group work that got documented.*

The leaders' talk about belonging to the Swedish organisation of Art and Music Schools is contradictory. Selma states that only municipally administrated schools are part of it, while Otto and Bo state the opposite. All schools in this study belong to the organisation. The discussion connects to the tension between *municipally administrated* and *privately administrated* schools (tension field 8). Power as an effect of discourse (Foucault 1971/1993) is at stake in this part of the conversation. Some of the leaders speak of being empowered while others speak of not having power in relation to the process of investigation for a national strategy. They have been engaged in the investigation process, connecting to a contemporary view of policy (Schmidt 2017), but there is not a consensus about the possibilities of actually exerting power. Bo makes use of irony when saying, "it is funny to hear that you say that we can't have influence", which can be seen as a rhetorical strategy to resist a discourse that empowers the *municipally administrated* schools at the expense of the *privately administrated*.

The excerpts presented in the results expose the leaders' strategies to legitimise Art and Music Schools as different from compulsory school, but still offering more educational than leisure activities. They also expose their need for national regulation that would still preserve their local freedom of action.

Conclusions and implications

My conclusion is that the *Art and Music School discourse* and the subject positioning of their leaders are, in these particular discursive practices, characterised by complexity and ambivalence. The complexity connects to (i) the tensions identified by earlier policy research (Thomas & Watson 2011; Schmidt 2012; Wiggins 2015), (ii) the tensions identified by earlier educational research (Heimonen 2003a, 2003b; Persson, Andersson & Nilsson Lindström 2005; Tivenius 2008; Holmberg 2010; Zandén & Ferm Thorgersen 2015), as well as to (iii) the tension fields identified in this article.

After analysing the data material, I now return to my research question: *what are the tension fields that emerge when Art and Music School leaders talk about Art and Music Schools while discussing their expectations for a national strategy?* The analysis of the data allowed me to identify tension fields between:

1. financial *versus* educational accountability,
2. management discourse (represented by directors) *versus* leadership for learning discourse (represented by headmasters),
3. educational discourse *versus* leisure discourse,
4. regulation *versus* freedom,
5. informal norms *versus* curriculum implementation,
6. traditional *versus* contemporary views of policy-making,
7. reaching all children *versus* improving a few children's special skills,
8. municipally *versus* privately administrated Art and Music Schools,
9. classical *versus* non-classical music, and
10. Music Schools *versus* Art and Music Schools.

The tension fields 1 and 2 are closely connected, since the *management discourse* focuses on a financial accountability while a *leadership for learning discourse* focuses on an educational accountability. In the tension field number 3, the *educational discourse* is directly connected to the leadership for learning discourse, as this specific kind of leadership promotes education. A new Art and Music School policy needs to consider these tensions. A policy that secures financial support will promote a balance between management and leadership for learning.

There is also a close connection between the tension fields 4, 5 and 6. *Regulation* connects to *curriculum implementation* while *freedom* connects to *informal norms*. A *traditional view of policy-making* (Schmidt 2012) sees *regulation* and *curriculum implementation* from a negative perspective, while a *contemporary view* sees them as challenging but offering possibilities. The policy-making for Art and Music Schools has already started with the government commissioned investigation. The leaders have already been engaged in the process, which is important for enacting policy, in the terms of Ball, Maguire and Braun (2010). Leaders have now the important task of engaging the art and music educators in the policy process. Regarding policy-makers, they have the important task in considering practitioners – both educators and leaders – as policy-makers.

There is also a close connection between tension fields 3 and 7. *Educational discourse* connects to *improving a few children's special skills*, while *leisure discourse* connects to *reaching all children*. The same way that leisure and education can be seen as linked to each other (Sivan & Stebbings 2011), these tension fields should be complementary for Art and Music Schools. A new policy must consider what kind of practitioners this school form needs, in order to balance these tensions. Both teachers and leaders are meant to serve all kinds of pupils, including those needing special support because of disabilities and those needing support to prepare for formal artistic education.

Tension fields 8, 9 and 10 are closely connected to each other. *Municipally administrated Music Schools* with a *classical music* profile represent tradition and connect to the conservatory discourse (Tivenius 2008), while privately *administrated Art and Music Schools* with a *non-classical music* profile represent the newer, more diverse Art and Music Schools. Those categories do not always coincide, especially as diversity among schools appears to be increasing. The conservatory discourse (Tivenius 2008) as a “cement” holding together the whole field does not apply to Art and Music Schools any more; the loosely coupled system concept (Weick 1976; Schwartz 1994), however, is still applicable.

I argue that an Art and Music School discourse is identified as a major discourse sharply contrasting to a compulsory school discourse by legitimising Art and Music Schools as schools existing within all the identified tension fields. The study is limited to nine leaders, representing eight schools in seven Swedish municipalities in southern and central Sweden, 2016. My argument implies that the tension fields identified so far can be seen as the dominant discourses available for the nine leaders. As dominant discourses,

such tension fields are likely to be available for leaders in other Art and Music Schools in Sweden. As the research project continues, I will likely keep adding new tension fields to the list.

I find it highly relevant and interesting to undertake a research project on Sweden's Art and Music Schools at this moment, in view of the current process for creating a national regulatory system for them. Sweden's Art and Music Schools are shaped by and within the many exposed tension fields in relation to the process for national regulation. I argue that challenges of the national policy process in Sweden's Music and Arts Schools, such as resistance and fear of losing flexibility, are already observable. My argument connects to the similar challenges identified by Schwartz (1994) over twenty years ago. Engaging practitioners is the way to overcome these challenges.

This article provides part of the answer to the question *how* Sweden's Art and Music Schools *are constituted* within the discursive practices of leaders from central and southern Sweden in the light of a possible new policy. Other crucial questions to be investigated can be *for whom* Sweden's Art and Music Schools are meant to be, as highlighted in tension field number 7, what the forthcoming national goals (SOU 2016:69) will focus on and what the consequences might be.

Schmidt (2017) emphasises the need for engaging music educators in policy processes. I would argue that engaging Art and Music School leaders is crucial since they can bridge the gap between policy-makers and Art and Music School educators. In fact, the engagement of the leaders in policy-making during the process of investigation shows that Art and Music School policy is already being enacted, with the leaders acting as policy-makers. ■

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Notes

- [1] I have chosen the English term “Art and Music Schools”, also used by The Nordic Council of Art and Music Schools (2017), to translate the Swedish *kulturskolor*. It is used in this article as an umbrella term for all municipally funded Art and Music Schools as well Music Schools.
- [2] An appendix with the original focus group conversation excerpts in Swedish is included after the references.
- [3] The Nordic countries consist of Denmark (and the associated territories Faroe Islands and Greenland), Finland (and the associated territory Åland), Iceland, Norway, and Sweden (Norden 2016).
- [4] The steps in the analysis process are described in appendix 2.
- [5] Even though ‘education’ and ‘leisure’ have opposing definitions in the Encyclopædia Britannica’s entries on ‘education’ and ‘leisure’, connecting to discipline and freedom, respectively (Education 2016; Leisure 2016), researchers like Sivan and Stebbings (2011) would instead link leisure and education “in their common function of developing personality” (ibid. 28) and as parts of a life-long process.
- [6] Jan Björklund was Sweden’s Minister for Education between 2007 and 2014. In 2010 he presented a new school curriculum promising clearer and more concrete goals for teachers and pupils and introducing grade marks from year six.

Appendices

Two appendices are included. Appendix 1 consists of the original transcripts from the focus group conversations in Swedish. Appendix 2 consists of a description of the steps in the analysis process.

Appendix 1

Leaders’ introductions

Cecilia: *Jag kan börja. Jag heter [Cecilia]. Jag kommer från [kommun 1] och jag är chef, kulturskolechef på [kommun 1] kulturskola. Och det byttes nämligen här nu när man gjorde en ny omorganisation. Förr hette man rektor. Nu heter man kulturskolechef. Nu får man inte beta rektor om det inte är lagstadgad verksamhet.*

Anna: *Jasså jag är ju då ehh rektor, fast det kanske inte får finnas den titeln.*

Johan: *Nej, det får det inte, det är fel (skämtsamt ton).*

Anna: *Ja, det är fel, jag är då kulturskolechef.*

Johan: *Jag är då från [kommun 3]. Jag är chefen [ärtal].*

Otto: *Jag heter [Otto] och är då en av grundarna, initiativtagare till musikskolan [namn på musikskolan].*

Maja: *Jasså jag har startat nånting som heter [namn på musikskolan].*

Bo: *Ja, jag är då [klassisk instrumentalist] i botten.*

Iris: *Jaha, [kommun 6] kulturskola heter den och är en kommunalt driven kulturskola, medelstor, alla ämnen representerade.*

Moderator: *Vilka ämnen är det då?*

Iris: *Eller, alla ämnen (himlar med ögonen), men huvudkulturyttringarna*

Selma: *Jag heter [Selma] och jag är enhetschef för [kommun 7] musikskola. Det är bara musikskola, inte kulturskola. Än.*

Anna: *Sen tycker jag det är en viktig fråga som man ska lyfta. Vi hör ju till olika förvaltningar. Men en politisk fråga som jag önskar att svenska politiker skulle fundera på, det är: är vi utbildning? Är vi fritid och kultur? Och jag menar att vi är både och och då måste man ha perspektiv på de bitarna och på utbildning som vi vill värna. Till exempel man ska nå vissa elever, alla eleverna kanske i något sammanhang och sen så är det de här som vill förkovra sig då är det kanske fritid och kultur. Men perspektivet, för det är ju så väldigt lätt att när man hamnar, jag har ju tillhört både skola och fritid och kultur... Inom skola så har man ett tydligt pedagogiskt perspektiv och det är jätte viktigt. När du hamnar i fritid och kultur då har du inte det perspektivet längre. Och nästan hamnar man då i kläm därför att vi har ett pedagogiskt ansvar. Vi är alla pedagoger som jobbar i kulturskola... och bör var det. Och det tycker jag är en jätte viktig fråga, så jag skulle önska att vi kom tillbaka till det.*

Thomas: *Och det som är roligt i [kommun 4] är att man sedan [är] haft [aktivitet] i förskolor och i första klass [antal] minuter varje vecka på alla skolor. De [dessa lärare] tycker jag är hjältar i varden för de möter varenda elev och det är tack vare det som vi faktiskt har representanter i alla bostadsområdena. Man når liksom ut till ja, man når verkligen ut också ur jämställdhets. Den här formen av skola som vi är tror jag är väldigt tydlig och bra. Och det gäller att hålla den tydlig, du går in, du går minst en gång i veckan och du lär dig ordentligt. Du får en social gemenskap men du ska liksom bli bra. Du ska möta liksom konsten i detta vad? Och den får inte vara so exklusivt så att någon stötts ut utan det ska vara på dina villkor, men du ska ha möjligheter att förkovra inom kulturskolan ända upp till musikhögskolan och det är ju ett led som lärarna på vår skola haft sedan... För vi kan ha dubbelt så många elever men då blir det inte längre kulturskola, då blir det uppehållande verksamhet och då slösar det in med personal som vi har, för de är väldigt erfarna. Och några av de lärarna är bland de bästa i Sverige.*

Leaders' talk about the national policy process

Anna: *Sambället har ett ansvar för att det finns en bredd i kulturlivet och så vidare. Och därför tycker jag att om det skulle komma en lag som säger att det ska finnas så tycker jag att sambället talar om.*

Moderator: *Att det ska finnas?*

Anna: *En kulturskola. I varje kommun.*

Anna: *Precis som det är med biblioteket.*

Thomas: *Ja, beroende på... så det inte blir liksom förordningar och "Björklund-historia" liksom, så det måste...*

Anna: *Ja, det är en annan sak, det är en annan sak.*

Johan: *Men det jag tycker det är, ja, jag håller med dig (pekar med båda händerna mot Anna), nationella strategin tycker jag ska säga att kulturskolorna har vissa uppdrag, som just man har som ett samhällsligt uppdrag och det ska innefatta att man ska försöka nå alla barn i en kommun.*

Maja: *Vi har ingen makt att påverka utredningen. Vi har bara sagt vad vi...*

Selma: *Här sitter vi i olika positioner. I kulturskolerådet. Jag är enhetschef för en kommunal musikskola så jag är en del av det. Medan ni (tittar på Bo, Maja och Otto) kommer kanske att bli påverkade, men inte har någon påverkan.*

Otto: *Men vi är med där också. Alltså vi är ju ...*

Bo: *Alltså det var ju roligt att höra att du säger att vi inte har nån påverkan för att vi har ju blivit intervjuade.*

Selma: *Ja, det har ni ju blivit. Naturligtvis.*

Bo: *Då inbillade vi oss att de tog till sig det*

Selma: *Det tror jag, det tror jag.*

Iris: *Det gör de.*

Otto: *Ja, för det var ju liksom olika grupparbeten som blev dokumenterade.*

Appendix 2

The analysis was made in six steps.

- Step 1: unfolding the data.
- Step 2: recounting, with specific focus.
- Step 3: compiling the data in categories: themes, patterns and "tension fields".
- Step 4: connecting the data with theory and earlier research on both micro and macro level.
- Step 5: summing lines and "cross-analysing" them.
- Step 6: making final conclusions and answering the research question.

Abstrakti

Artikkeli käsittelee diskurssien välisiä jännitteitä Ruotsin taide- ja musiikkikoulujen (kulttuurikoulujen) näkökulmasta. Taide- ja musiikkikouluja on lähes jokaisessa Ruotsin kunnassa ja opetus tavoittaa yli 400 000 lasta ja nuorta. Taide- ja musiikkikouluja ei ole ohjattu kansallisella tasolla, sillä näitä kouluja ei pidetä osana Ruotsin koulutusjärjestelmää.

Musiikkikouluja alettiin perustaa 1940-luvulla paikallisten toimijoiden ansiosta. Nykyisin taide- ja musiikkikoulut muodostavat peruskoululle rinnakkaisen, vapaaehtoisen koulutusmuodon. Ruotsin hallituksen tilaaman tutkimuksen perusteella taide- ja musiikkikouluille ehdotetaan nyt uutta kansallista strategiaa.

Tämän artikkelin tarkoituksena on lisätä ymmärrystä siitä, minkälaisia jännitteisiä kenttiä syntyy Ruotsin taide- ja musiikkikoulujen johtajien diskursiivisessa käytännössä sen seurauksena, että hallitus aikoo alkaa ohjata myös näitä kouluja kansallisella tasolla. Kirjoittaja tarkastelee erityisesti sitä, miten koulujen johtajat oikeuttavat taide- ja musiikkikouluja. Tutkimuksen aineisto koostuu kahden fokusryhmäkeskustelun videoinnista. Keskusteluihin osallistui yhteensä yhdeksän taide- ja musiikkikoulun johtajaa kahdeksasta eri koulusta Keski- ja Etelä-Ruotsista. Tutkimus on laadullinen ja perustuu abduktiiviseen lähestymistapaan.

Tulokset paljastavat taide- ja musiikkikoulujen diskurssin, joka on vastakkainen yleissivistävää koulua koskevan keskustelun suhteen. Diskurssi sisältää runsaasti jännitteitä: 1) taloudellinen vs. kasvatuksellinen, 2) johtamiskeskustelu (johtajien edustamana) vs. oppimisen johtaminen (rehtoreiden edustamana), 3) oppimisdiskurssi vs. vapaa-aikaa koskeva keskustelu, 4) sääntely vs. vapaus, 5) epäviralliset normit vs. opetussuunnitelman toteutus, 6) perinteiset vs. nykyajan näkemykset politikoinnista, 7) kaikkien lasten tavoittaminen vs. huolehtiminen muutamien lasten erityisistä taidoista, 8) kuntien vs. yksityisten hallinnoimat taide- ja musiikkikoulut, 9) klassinen vs. ei-klassinen musiikki, 10) musiikkikoulut vs. taide- ja musiikkikoulut. Tutkija toteaa lopuksi, että vastustus ja pelko joustavuuden menettämisestä ovat jo ilmeisiä. ■

Article II



Disabilities within Sweden's Art and Music Schools: Discourses of inclusion, policy and practice

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to investigate the discourses that emerge when Sweden's Art and Music School leaders talk about the inclusion of pupils with disabilities in relation to policy. A starting point is that both earlier studies and policy documents have revealed inclusion problems within Art and Music Schools. The research question is: how are Art and Music School practice, policy and inclusion of pupils with disabilities connected within and through leaders' discursive practices? The data are based on three focus group conversations with a total of 16 Art and Music School leaders from northern, central and southern Sweden. Discourse analysis as a social constructionist approach is applied since it provides a means to investigate the connection between social change and discourse. Concepts from both discursive psychology and Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis are applied in order to investigate connections between rhetorical strategies on a micro level and discourses on an institutional level. The concept of multicentric inclusion is introduced and applied in the analysis. In addition, concepts from educational policy theories are applied in order to analyse how policies are conceptualised and enacted in the context of leaders' discursive practices. Regarding terminology, the results challenge this researcher when the concept of mixed abilities is introduced by the participants. The analysis exposes three discourses: multicentric inclusion discourse, normality discourse and specialisation discourse. There are tensions between the multicentric inclusion discourse and the normality discourse, as well as between the multicentric inclusion discourse and the specialisation discourse. The analysis leads to the following suggestions in order to achieve justice in music education practices and policies: (a) to enforce a specific national inclusion policy, (b) to challenge the normality discourse and (c) to bring together the multicentric inclusion discourse with the specialisation discourse.

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Keywords

Art and Music Schools, disabilities, discourses, inclusion, policy

Swedish Art and Music School policy

For several years, many Art and Music Schools¹ in Sweden have invested in providing specific activities directed towards pupils with disabilities (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017b, 2019; Kulturskolerådet, 2018). Despite the efforts towards inclusion, in 2014, 6 out of 202 Art and Music Schools in Sweden did not include children and adolescents with special needs,² neither in regular activities nor in specific activities directed towards such groups (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017b, 2019). Such specific activities will be referred to as ‘special activities’ from now on. This result is arguably in conflict with democratic values with regard to a music education that cares for and copes with equity, inclusiveness and diversity. As argued by Ockelford (2012), research is fundamental to the development of both practice and policy. The present paper uses such results and arguments as starting points when addressing the need for research on challenges to inclusion.

The present paper is part of an ongoing research project that focuses on Sweden’s Art and Music Schools during a time when they are subjected to a national policy process. The data consist of focus group conversations conducted in 2016 and 2017 with Art and Music School leaders. ‘National policy process’ is the term I have chosen to apply (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a) to the process officially initiated by the Swedish government when commissioning an investigation on Art and Music Schools in order to create ‘a national strategy’ (in Swedish, *en nationell strategi*; SOU, 2016: 47) for those institutions. The report from that investigation (SOU, 2016) can be described as one of the policy documents within the national policy process.

The most recent step in that national policy process was a proposition from the government (Prop, 2017/[2018]) built both on the national investigation report (SOU, 2016) and on the many referral responses (Regeringskansliet, 2018) connected to it. The needs and objectives stated by the proposition constitute what can be defined as a ‘national strategy’ or a national policy. Since there is no law stating that every Swedish municipality should have an Art and Music School, the national policy has the status of guiding principles, not of mandatory regulation. Each municipality can choose whether and how to translate the national policy into their local practice. The consequences of the national policy process have already been visible during the process, with policy being enacted by leaders who then become policy actors (Björk et al., 2018; Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a).

I have previously (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a) described Sweden’s Art and Music Schools as a ‘loosely coupled system’ (Weick, 1976). Within such systems, there might be different kinds of rules, norms and policies running. However, some broader policies might have been common for the institutions even before the national policy process. Examples of such relevant broader policies in Sweden are the Disability Policy (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a), based on the UN Convention on Human Rights for Persons with Disabilities (United Nations, 2019), and the policy for Children’s Rights (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018b), based on the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2019). None of these policies are specific Art and Music School policies, but they are policies that apply to all individuals

with disabilities and to all children in Sweden, respectively. In the focus group conversations, Art and Music School leaders make no reference to such broad policies, but they do talk about the absence of inclusion policies for Art and Music Schools. Leaders in the conversation from 2017 mention the investigation report (SOU, 2016) that had been presented at the end of 2016. The government proposition (Prop, 2017/[2018]) was presented in 2018 and hence after the focus group conversations. Therefore, the participants could not make any reference to it.

In order to contextualise the present paper, it is relevant to mention one of the tension fields that emerged earlier (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a) in the present ongoing research project since it relates to the focus of the present paper on the inclusion of children and adolescents with disabilities. The relevant tension field is the tension between 'reaching all children versus improving a few children's special skills' (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a: 70) which reveals that reaching all children is a goal that might be disregarded when improving a few children's special skills is one of the discourses struggling to establish hegemony (see Lindgren and Ericsson, 2010, regarding the notion of struggling discourses). The expression 'special skills' alludes to what the leaders refer to as advanced skills that might potentially lead to higher education in the arts and that a few individuals might be interested in developing. This mentioned tension field does not necessarily have to be interpreted as a dichotomy; the two discourses need not be mutually exclusive, but they might actually overlap or even complement each other.

The aim of this paper is to investigate the discourses that emerge when Sweden's Art and Music School leaders talk about the inclusion of pupils with disabilities in relation to policy. More specifically, the research question focuses on Art and Music School practice, policies related to Art and Music Schools (including the national policy process) and children's rights to be included in the publicly funded Art and Music Schools, when articulated within and through leaders' discursive practices. A number of concepts related to disabilities will be discussed in the next section.

Disabilities in research and practice

Applying the 'right' concepts in order to promote inclusion of individuals with disabilities is a complex task due to the risk of unintentionally representing ableist discourses that proclaim that disability is 'inherently negative, ontologically intolerable' (Campbell, 2008: 3). Studying inclusion of a particular group of individuals can be a way to try to counteract marginalisation, but labelling groups of individuals has often been a strategy to legitimise definitions of normality in society, as exposed by Foucault's studies of mental institutions and prisons (Foucault, 1974/2004, 1976/2002). Researchers interested in disability issues need to be self-reflexive about how to apply concepts and about the possible consequences of their own choices. In his PhD thesis about definitions of the concept of disability, Grönvik (2007: 38) states that 'we should not judge ourselves too hard in our use of the concept. It will slip away, and there will be conceptual shifts'. He hence recognises that even when you choose one concept, the way in which it is used might not always be the same. The challenge, according to Grönvik (2007: 38), is to 'try to avoid the most serious misconceptions' through a reflexive approach for each research case.

The concept 'with special needs'³ has been commonly used (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017b; Fronczak, 2011; Kivijärvi and Kaikkonen, 2015; Ockelford, 2012; Ståhl, 2012), but it has also been problematised. Many practitioners and researchers in Sweden (Asp-Onsjö,

2006; Gårdare and Sandh, 2011; Larsson-Swärd, 1999; Gustafsson, 2002; Ståhl, 2012) rather choose the concept 'in need of special support' to emphasise that there is no difference in human needs, but instead in the arrangements required in order to satisfy an individual's normal needs. It has also been stated that all children need special support sometimes (Gustafsson, 2002). Such an argument emphasises that abilities might change over time and between contexts, which should lead to providing extra support to all children when needed. However, Hjärne and Säljö (2006) have pointed out that the opportunity for extra support is often limited to those with a diagnosis or an ongoing investigation.

The concept of disability is widely applied in international research, which can be confirmed by the results of a search for journals in the Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata (NSD, 2018): more than 70 international journals include this concept in their titles. There is not a single definition of the concept, but it 'will mean different things even at the same time and in the same culture' (Grönvik, 2007: 38), which seems to be inevitable according to Grönvik's conclusions. For each researcher, then, there is a need for constant reflection on 'choices of definitions' and on 'the consequences of choosing definitions' (Grönvik, 2007: 34). Taking a social constructionist stance in line with Burr (2015), I consider the concept of disability to be socially constructed. Two consequences of that social constructionist stance are that: (a) the meanings of the concept depend on prevailing norms, and (b) society is responsible for including all individuals.

The participants in the present study, both in the first and in the second focus group conversations, introduced a concept that was unknown to me before meeting them: the Swedish concept of *funktionsvariation*,⁴ which can be translated as 'variation in function', 'variation in ability' or 'mixed abilities'. The concept seems to be increasingly used in Swedish society (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019) as a broad concept that can apply both to individuals with functionality and abilities in accordance with prevailing norms about functioning in society and to those with functionality and abilities not in accordance with such prevailing norms (Nationella Sekretariatet för Genusforskning, 2018). In a similar way, the English concept of mixed abilities can be applied to groups where individuals with and without disabilities are included (Herman and Chatfield, 2010); such groups include a mix of abilities amongst the individuals.

In the focus group conversations, I applied the concept of disability.⁵ As mentioned, the concept is applied in the present paper when referring to individuals or groups of individuals with characteristics deviating from prevailing norms.

Discourses of inclusion in research, policy and practice

Similar to the concept of disability(ies), inclusion can also be seen as a complex and ambiguous concept, used in different ways in education research, policy and practice. In education research (see Florian, 2008; Fridlund, 2011; Nilholm, 2006; Peters, 2007), the concept of inclusion has been applied in ways that Skowronski (2013: 85) describes as partly normative, aiming to change prevailing unjust strategies. Inclusion has also been applied by researchers (Göransson, 2006; Haug, 2014; Nilholm, 2006) in a more direct way as an ideal to aim for; a school for all, where the teaching is adapted to each individual's conditions and interests. Several Art and Music School projects and associations with the aim of promoting inclusion of children and adolescents with disabilities, such as *En kulturskola för alla* [An Art and

Music School for All] (Kulturskolerådet, 2018) and the organisation for individuals with mixed abilities, Passalen (2018), apply the same kind of ideal that researchers such as Göransson (2006), Nilholm (2006) and Haug (2014) apply.

Inclusion has also been defined by researchers (Ferm Thorgersen and Christophersen, 2016; Haug, 2014; Persson, 2014; Wennergren, 2007) in terms of democracy and democratic rights for all individuals, which connects to the aim of changing unjust structures and strategies, as described by Skowronski (2013).

There are some complications when applying inclusion to change unjust structures. One such complication is how to determine when inclusion has been attained; another complication regards the limits between inclusion and exclusion. Considering different aspects of inclusion, not only its physical or spatial aspects, might be a way to deal with such complications. Asp-Onsjö (2006) has developed a model where inclusion is analysed with regard to three aspects: spatial, social and educational. She explains that the fact that all individuals are included in the same room does not automatically imply that social and educational aspects of inclusion are considered. For some relevant excerpts, the present analysis applies the three aspects of inclusion according to Asp-Onsjö (2006) as a way to analyse how inclusion is spoken of.

The concept of inclusion is crucial to policy discourses, as well as to research and practice discourses. In the government-commissioned investigation (SOU, 2016), the concept of inclusion has a central position, starting with the title 'An inclusive Art and Music School on its own terms' ('En inkluderande kulturskola på egen grund'). Inclusion is mentioned in the investigation report as a goal to be achieved by Art and Music Schools, which already seems to be the case in general, according to the investigation. The investigation does not provide a clear definition of the concept, but it does connect it to (1) every child's right to participation, (2) the importance of information and (3) the importance of representation (SOU, 2016: 237). Inclusion is to be applied to all children, regardless of background or disability, according to the investigation. Amongst the suggestions for how to achieve inclusion, the investigation report mentions a higher degree of visibility, broader content, teacher competence and adapted buildings/locations.

In line with the investigation (SOU, 2016), the government proposition (Prop, 2017/ [2018]) positions inclusion as a central goal to be achieved. The document emphasises the already existing government development funding that Art and Music Schools can apply for when, for instance, working particularly with children and adolescents with disabilities. Other efforts to achieve inclusive Art and Music Schools are new investments in higher education, including a new education degree specific for Art and Music Schools.

Music education scholars have argued for the importance of including diverse learners in music education contexts. Kivijärvi and Kaikkonen (2015), as well as Georgii-Hemming and Kvarnhall (2015), argue for inclusion within the current structures, providing opportunities for meetings between diverse learners. However, in Finland, the case of Resonaari, a Finnish music school for individuals with disabilities, is described as a distinct music school offering the empowerment that other institutions fail to offer (Laes and Schmidt, 2016). For the present article, it is interesting to investigate how leaders talk about inclusion in Sweden's Art and Music Schools, both regarding current activities/programmes and regarding parallel, specially arranged structures for specific groups.

British researcher Ockelford (2012) states that it is important that the global music education research field admits serious shortcomings, and focuses more on the area of pupils

with special abilities. I suggest that Ockelford's argument is highly relevant not only to the research field but also to music education practice and policy. The analysis of the present investigation shows that some Art and Music School leaders acknowledge shortcomings in local practices and policies with regard to pupils with disabilities.

The challenge to policymakers, school leaders and practitioners is not *whether* music education should be provided to all children and adolescents, but rather *how* to provide music education to all children and adolescents, as argued by Ockelford (2000, 2012). It is important to acknowledge that there are no universal solutions; maybe there are as many solutions as there are individuals (Ockelford, 2012). Swedish scholar Altermark (2016: 132) proposes an approach where 'the universals as such' are to be critically examined.

Ockelford (2012) presents an argumentation in line with Passalen's (2018) vision – that when particular research about children and adolescents with disabilities no longer is needed, only then has the music education field attained an equal music education. What is needed is to create inclusive environments in order to promote social justice (Darrow, 2015). Darrow (2015) further states that diversity and social justice are closely connected to the educators' ability to, among other things, recognise the stereotypic and stigmatising discourses about people with disability.

Laes (2017: 73) problematises the concept of inclusion, and questions whether inclusion 'yet remains an impossibility in the efforts to create a more democratic music education'. Laes's approach is to try to go beyond the ordinary, dominant discourses when working for inclusion – an approach that challenges a way of thinking of inclusion as bringing those in the margins to the centre.

A similar approach to problematise the concept of inclusion is exemplified by Hess (2015), who positions herself against inclusion as a way of adding or bringing certain peripheral perspectives/groups to the dominant centre. Instead, she refers to Dei's (2013) concept of the multicentric curriculum, where the 'centre' that each pupil brings to the classroom is in focus. Such approaches call for new ways of defining and applying the concept of inclusion.

Another way of conceptualising inclusion is to connect it to interactions. I would say that Bunar (2018: 98) makes that connection when stating that newly arrived immigrant children and adolescents (who have been living in Sweden for no longer than four years) must be included as soon as possible in ordinary school classes and also in after-school activities, where interactions with 'not newly arrived' individuals are possible. That view of inclusion is in line with the views of Georgii-Hemming and Kvarnhall (2015), as well as of Kivijärvi and Kaikkonen (2015), who argue for facilitating meetings between diverse learners.

Drawing from the earlier research that has been presented, and especially from Bunar (2018) and Laes (2017) and from Hess's (2015) interpretation of Dei (2013), it seems necessary to emphasise intercultural interactions, complexity and multicentricity when applying the concept of inclusion. I would, therefore, suggest the concept of 'multicentric inclusion' as an alternative when focusing on inclusion in order to emphasise all the different centres that correspond to all unique individuals. In that way, the present paper aligns with education research that aims to change prevailing unjust strategies (Skowronski, 2013), applying inclusion as a concept to be understood as multicentric. For the present article, multicentric inclusion is applied in the analysis as a concept connected to how Art and Music School leaders talk about pupils and potential pupils with disabilities.

Methodology and design

Discourse analysis as a social constructionist approach is applied in this study since it provides a means to investigate a connection that is important to my research object: the connection between social change and discourse. Exposing repressed and excluded discourses can be a way to counteract marginalisation and promote democracy (Foucault, 1971/1993). Concepts from discursive psychology and from Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis are applied in order to make connections between rhetorical strategies on a micro level and discourses on a broader, institutional level.

The concept of discourse is applied on a micro level in line with discursive psychology. In that sense, the concept focuses on rhetorical strategies (Billig, 2004; Burr, 2015; Potter and Wetherell, 2004; Puchta and Potter, 2004) used by the Art and Music School leaders when they try to legitimise a certain positioning. When applied on this level, the concept is not connected to larger discourses, but rather it refers to what happens in the specific focus group conversation that the leaders are engaging in at the moment. In order to make connections to discourses on an institutional level, the concept of discourse will also be applied in a Foucauldian sense, which means that discourse is more than just language – discourse actually constitutes the subjects and objects that it speaks of (Foucault, 1969/2011, 1971/1993). When applying the concept in that sense, the analysis might expose how the leaders position themselves as subjects in larger discourses. The analysis might also be able to expose normality discourses (Foucault, 1974/2004, 1976/2002) that constitute object and subject positions. Therefore, a Foucauldian-inspired analysis may make it possible to expose how power is exerted when certain discourses benefit some but not others. The description of these two levels of the analysis might give the impression that the discourses I present are sharply separated from each other, but I would argue that they are intrinsically connected to each other. The analysis will therefore not be conducted as a twofold process but as a complex process that moves between different levels.

The concept of discursive practices is applied in a Foucauldian sense as a way to delimitate an area for analysis or a piece of evidence for a larger discourse (Foucault, 1969/2011). The discursive practices, in this case are the focus group conversations with the Art and Music School leaders. The concept is also applied as a connection to educational policy theories based on the view that discursive practices are discursive processes related to policy (Braun, Maguire and Ball, 2010). By connecting the concept of discursive practices to policy theories, the complex relationship between policy and practice can be approached and investigated. Discursive processes that are related to a policy process may have the power to influence the process itself, while at the same time a policy process can influence the discursive processes connected to it. The relationship between discursive practices and other social practices is multifaceted. The present study has its ontological starting point in a view where discursive practices and other social practices are mutually connected, constituting one another (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips, 2000: 132).

Ball et al. (Ball, 1994; Bowe, Ball and Gold, 1992) have conceptualised policy processes as ‘policy cycles’ since they develop in a cyclical way; contributions from actors in each context where a policy is conceptualised will impact the other contexts. The analysis of such connections and of how different contexts can impact each other can also apply for the analysis of the national policy process for Sweden’s Art and Music Schools. It is necessary to clarify how the concept of policy itself is applied in this text. Policy might be conceptualised as a specific policy text, but in the present text, policy is conceptualised as process, as text, as

discourse and a set of practices in line with the approach of policy researchers such as Ball (1993) and Schmidt (2017). Such an approach connects to Foucault's (1969/2011, 1971/1993) ideas of discourse as constituting object and subject positions; Ball (1993) even states that policy constitutes object and subject positions. The process of interpreting and translating policy (as text or as process) into practice, as opposed to just implementing it, can be described as policy enactment (Braun, Maguire and Ball, 2010). For the present analysis, the concept of policy is applied, taking into account that policies might be enacted by actors in different contexts in a cyclical way. Hence, Art and Music School leaders can be regarded as policy actors, or policymakers within the contexts of practice, when enacting policy in practice.

The research method in this study is qualitative. The data consist of three focus group conversations. A total of 16 leaders from 15 different Art and Music Schools in northern, central and southern Sweden participated in focus group conversations with me as a moderator. The leaders were chosen from another study by the author (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2015, 2017b) where 202 Art and Music School leaders answered a national survey. They represent Art and Music Schools as well as Music Schools; small, medium and large municipalities; and municipally as well as privately administrated schools (all municipally funded).⁶ When invited to the conversations, the leaders were informed about my interest in Art and Music Schools in change in relation to the governmental plans for creating a national strategy; the national policy process became a common platform that we shared as a starting point for the conversations. Therefore, it is relevant to analyse how the leaders relate to policy, even when policy is not explicitly spoken of. Inclusion was not mentioned as a premise for the conversation, but rather it was introduced to or by the leaders during the conversations.

Ethical considerations have been made in relation to the research ethical principles of Lund University (Lund University, 2018; Vetenskapsrådet, 2018) and according to Wiles (2013).

In addition to the mentioned common ethical considerations, other ethical aspects call for reflection. Undertaking research on the inclusion of a specific group of individuals is a way to counteract marginalisation, but it might also risk stigmatising the individuals in that group, especially if the researcher is an outsider. I am aware that categorising a group of individuals based on only one category will never result in a homogeneous group. When applying the concept of mixed abilities,⁷ the leaders in the conversations focus on those with disabilities since those with abilities in accordance with norms are not considered to need special support or special activities. The individuals in this group might take numerous positions in different contexts. Focusing on only one common aspect is a limitation of the study, but I would argue that it is also a necessary delimitation in order to expose challenges to inclusion.

Analysis of results

The results show variations in how Art and Music School leaders talk about including pupils with disabilities. None of the leaders mentioned the Swedish Disability Policy (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a) or the policy for Children's Rights (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018b), but some of them did talk about the absence of an inclusion policy. Here, those policies are considered as textual interventions, or 'policies as texts' in line with Ball (1993) and Schmidt (2017).

The focus group conversations started with the leaders introducing themselves and talking about Art and Music Schools in relation to the national policy process; that part of the data is presented elsewhere (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a). Only the data with relevance for the aim of the present paper are included in the results. The participants in the first conversation chose the names Anna, Cecilia, Johan and Thomas. Those in the second conversation chose the names Bo, Iris, Maja, Otto and Selma. Those in the third conversation chose the names Britta, Hanna, Jonas, Lisa, Peter, Petter and Samuel.

In two of the focus group conversations, I introduced the topic of disabilities with a question about how to reach children and adolescents with disabilities. In the third conversation, the leaders themselves introduced the same topic. In all conversations, I followed up by asking about special activities and/or about participation in regular activities.

Conceptualising disabilities

When the leaders in the first conversation introduced themselves and their schools, they mentioned working to reach more children and adolescents as part of their goals as leaders. Following up on that, the theme of disabilities was introduced by the moderator with a question about how to reach out to children and adolescents with disabilities, asking if they 'have some kind of plan' or if these pupils 'may attend to the regular activities'. Johan answered:

I must say that in general that if there is something that I feel that, how should I put it, that we have a development potential then it is exactly this ... this issue with *funktions ... variationer*.

In this quote, Johan hesitates but recognises that his Art and Music School needs to develop this area. He says that 'we', as in the Art and Music School that he represents, have a 'development potential', which can be seen as a rhetorical strategy to emphasise that (a) the responsibility lies on the whole Art and Music School and not only on him, and (b) this is an issue that is not neglected. The statement amounts to recognition of a shortcoming, which is arguably a necessary step towards inclusion, as stated by Ockelford (2012). A similar recognition is formulated by Selma, who acknowledges that this is an area they 'cannot be proud of'. Johan also introduces the Swedish concept of *funktionsvariationer*, which, as discussed in the session about disabilities in research and practice, could be translated as 'mixed abilities'. Anna agrees that this is the right concept to use, and the other leaders in the conversation have no objections. These statements call for further analysis of the relation between the micro (focus group) level of discourse and an institutional level of discourse. It seems that rhetorical strategies emphasising that reaching individuals with disabilities is not a neglected issue are connected to a multicentric inclusion discourse on the institutional level. In a Foucauldian sense (Foucault, 1969/2011, 1971/1993), the subject positions of leaders acting for multicentric inclusion are constituted by such an institutional discourse. The rhetorical strategies on the micro level enforce the discourse on the meso level. As a researcher, my own terminology and assumptions are challenged by the introduction of the concept of mixed abilities.

In a similar way as Johan, Otto expresses difficulties in applying the right term to a group of pupils with disabilities – 'Yes, it is difficult to name it properly' – and he also chooses to talk about mixed abilities. The leaders in that conversation apply the same terminology. Selma questions whom to include in this particular group: 'Is it those who have a diagnosis or is it those who can, who ... this is quite difficult to say how to sort it up'.

Similarly to Johan and Otto, Selma's utterance connects to the complexity of applying the 'right' concepts to promote inclusion but avoiding representing ableist discourses (Campbell, 2008). In this particular excerpt, there is also a certain resistance to dividing people into able-bodied or disabled, which connects to Foucault's (1974/2004, 1976/2002) resistance to society's definitions of normality. This rhetoric connects to a larger institutional inclusion discourse. This excerpt can be interpreted as an example of how to discuss inclusion as multicentric, considering the complexity of categorisation and inclusion. The leaders' ways of talking connect to policy as discourse, in the words of Ball (1993); policy is here conceptualised in the discursive practices, with arguments for creating a common terminology and enforcing multicentric inclusion.

In the third conversation, no consensus regarding the concept of mixed abilities is established. The concept is not even mentioned by the leaders. Instead, the Swedish concept *funktionshinder*, which can be translated as obstacle(s) to abilities, and the concept of *mongoloid*⁸ are mentioned. A consensus seems to be established where leaders speak of schools for pupils with disabilities and training schools for pupils with severe disabilities in the first place. In the second place, they speak of individuals with disabilities. One example of that is a quote by Hanna, who states that in their municipality, there is 'a teacher who is responsible for the activities at the training school for severe disabilities and at the special school for disabilities. And at the moment, we have no one of those pupils in the voluntary activities'. Hanna refers to the close collaboration between Art and Music Schools and compulsory schools for pupils with disabilities. The 'voluntary activities' mentioned by her correspond to what I have referred to as the regular activities at the Art and Music School: activities that are not directed to a specific group of pupils but that anyone can attend to.

Leaders in that conversation mention other issues when the theme of disabilities is discussed. Britta talks about a pupil who was allowed to start at the Art and Music School before the minimum age because that pupil 'needed help and support' since a sibling had died. The story is mentioned when she explains that her Art and Music School do not have special activities for pupils with disabilities. 'It can be this kind of thing' or 'a school nurse who gets in touch', as she details it further.

Mental illness emerges as a theme in the second conversation when the leaders discuss disabilities. Anna, Cecilia and Johan talk about the importance of Art and Music Schools for pupils with mental illness and state that Art and Music Schools have a responsibility for them:

Those children are home from school but choose, almost 100% of them, to attend Art and Music School. Because it is like a lifesaver, because if you are home from school because of sickness, you don't go to school, don't meet your friends, nothing. Then it is ... it says something about our significance. (Anna)

There are several rhetorical strategies (Billig, 2004; Burr, 2015; Potter and Wetherell, 2004; Puchta and Potter, 2004) in the last quote. By saying 'almost 100% of them', Anna attempts to increase her credibility. The metaphor 'lifesaver' emphasises the importance of Art and Music Schools. Enumerating the things that you do not get when you are home from school is also a way of enforcing what you get when attending Art and Music School. Cecilia agrees with Anna and reinforces that 'this is the kind of responsibility you have' by telling a story about a teacher who found out that a pupil was cutting herself. She talks about it by demonstrating with one hand against the other arm. Such strategies connect to and enforce

inclusion discourses on a meso level, bringing mental illness to the agenda as another kind of situation demanding special support.

Mental illness is also a subject in the third conversation. Lisa talks about the subject when introducing herself since she also is responsible for a community home.⁹ The shared administration makes it easier to reach this specific group of pupils, according to her. No specific policy 'as text' (Ball, 1993) is mentioned regarding pupils with mental illness, but rather there seems to be a consensus regarding inclusion on a discursive level or, in Ball's (1993) policy, as discourse.

Pupils with dyslexia are mentioned in the first conversation as a specific group. Johan describes an art activity that seems to appeal to pupils with dyslexia:

We have [name of activity] that we are very proud of that dyslexics really apply themselves to and they get dignity and strength through it. And they start when they are eight, and we have to kick them out when they are 19.

In this particular case, the activity is offered to anyone – in other words, to pupils with mixed abilities. It seems clear that this is an example of including diverse learners, as encouraged by Georgii-Hemming and Kvarnhall (2015), Kivijärvi and Kaikkonen (2015), as well as by Ferm Thorgersen and Christophersen (2016). Both spatial and social inclusion in the terms of Asp-Onsjö (2006) seem to be achieved, and possibly even educational inclusion (Asp-Onsjö, 2006), considering that all three aspects of inclusion need to be addressed in order to make pupils so interested that they don't want to quit. Bringing together diverse learners can be analysed as including in a multicentric way.

Anna talks about support in relation to individual development, emphasising that 'we will not speculate about how far you can go, because you never know it from the start'. It might be argued that Anna uses the pronoun 'we' as a rhetorical strategy, probably to include the other people in the room, and 'you' in order to state that it is common sense that it is not possible to predict how a pupil will develop right from the first lesson. This statement emphasises the temporal dimension of needing support, in line with the concept 'in need of special support' (Asp-Onsjö, 2006; Larsson-Swärd, 1999). This excerpt can also be interpreted as an example of aiming for multicentric inclusion since individuals are included with their own development potentials and mixed abilities.

In all three conversations, I applied the concept of disabilities when talking to the leaders. The leaders applied other concepts and included pupils other than those with disabilities in the conversations. My own binary division between able and disabled was challenged by a broader multicentric inclusion discourse where mixed abilities are taken into account, connecting to Foucault's (1974/2004, 1976/2002) resistance to society's normality discourses and to Campbell's (2008) efforts to avoid representing ableist discourses.

Conceptualising inclusion in regular activities

Several leaders talk about including pupils in regular activities. When asked if any special arrangements are made when including pupils in regular activities, Cecilia answers:

Cecilia: No, no. It could be a drama group, a dance group...

Moderator: That's those who can be there actually.

Cecilia: Yes, and on the same terms.

Individuals who can participate with others are included in regular activities, similar to what Georgii-Hemming and Kvarnhall (2015), as well as Kivijärvi and Kaikkonen (2015), suggest, but without any further arrangements; this amounts to spatial inclusion but not necessarily to social and educational inclusion in the terms of Asp-Onsjö (2006). The excerpt represents a struggle between two antagonistic discourses (as explained by Lindgren and Ericsson, 2010) on a meso level: the inclusion discourse and the normality discourse. The inclusion discourse is represented by the rhetoric of equality. The normality discourse, connecting to Foucault (1974/2004, 1976/2002), is represented since the rhetoric points to the fact that the activities are planned and arranged according to what pupils without disabilities are able to do. Equality – on the same terms – is regarded, but not equity – on each individual's own terms. The normality discourse constitutes a subject position of a leader who is focused on the art and music activities but not necessarily on the individuals who might want to participate in them. Multicentric inclusion is not an aim within a normality discourse, but there is rather a vision of a dominant centre of able individuals with which 'the others' might be included.

Anna explains that those who are able to participate in group activities do so on the same terms, but those (pupils with disabilities) who participate in individual activities may get more time than others. In this case, special arrangements are made regarding regular activities, even though it only applies to individual activities. It is unclear if there are pupils who do not participate at all because they would need special activities or because they would need special support for group activities. Arguably, the struggle between the normality discourse and the inclusion discourse is once again represented in Anna's statement: the inclusion discourse constitutes a subject position of a leader who strives for equity and who compensates for disabilities by adjusting the time frame, while the normality discourse constitutes a subject position of a leader who does not make any such compensations.

Iris makes a statement about how to connect special activities with regular activities:

As soon as the teacher sees that their interest is maybe for a particular instrument and the teacher makes the judgement that they would manage it, then the teacher helps them with the transition.

That statement is an example of how to include all children in the current structures (Georgii-Hemming and Kvarnhall, 2015; Kivijärvi and Kaikkonen, 2015) by starting with parallel structures. Even in this case, the struggle between normality and inclusion discourses can be observed; the inclusion in current structures is conditioned to those who 'would manage it'. The statement is also an example of policy enactment, as described by Braun, Maguire and Ball (2010), or, in other words, of leaders conceptualising inclusion policy in the practice context and contributing to the policy cycle, in line with Ball et al. (Ball, 1994; Bowe, Ball and Gold, 1992).

Otto says that they 'accept all and try' and that they 'have never had to say no because someone could not make it', while Selma says that 'there is no specific policy' they need to follow, but they 'do accept all individuals that apply and solve the situations as they come up'. The reservation that it could hypothetically be necessary not to accept some pupils is made with the rhetorical strategies 'have never had' and 'could not make it' in order to legitimate a hypothetical case of refusing a pupil; if a pupil cannot make it, it would not be the

responsibility of the Art and Music School. The normality discourse is represented; those who deviate from 'normality' can be rejected. Otto's utterance is also a way of not recognising that there is a problem – the opposite of what is encouraged by Ockelford (2012). The other leader, Selma, describes how arrangements are made to solve any situations, which is an example of including in the current structures (Georgii-Hemming and Kvarnhall, 2015; Kivijärvi and Kaikkonen, 2015) and if necessary in more than one aspect (Asp-Onsjö, 2006). The broader multicentric inclusion discourse is represented; each individual's conditions and abilities are considered. Talking about the absence of a specific policy connects to the fact that, by the time, there were no national governmental policy documents, regarding either inclusion or any other aspect for Art and Music Schools (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a; Kulturskolerådet, 2018). The broader national policies such as Disability Policy (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a) and the policy for Children's Rights (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018b) are not mentioned when leaders talk about the absence of policy. Policy as text (Ball, 1993) is not mentioned, but policy is enacted (Braun, Maguire and Ball, 2010) in the practice context according to the discursive practice of the leaders.

Conceptualising inclusion in special activities

Several leaders state that they have special activities for pupils with disabilities or, in their terminology, mixed abilities. Some of them state that a music therapist is responsible for such activities in their schools, and one says that they have some teachers working with special activities. In one case, the special activity is a group that combines art and music activities:

We have a special activity that we call [name of the mixed art and music activity], and there the children who cannot participate with others can participate. And also adults. So, we mix them because, I mean, you are 50 but you might be like a three-year-old. I mean, it is like this, right? So, there we mix. Then we also have those who attend to the integrated activities who can handle that. (Cecilia)

Cecilia talks about individuals with disabilities in comparison to small children. Adults with disabilities can, according to her statement, have much in common with small children, which is why they have particular groups for individuals with disabilities, bringing together children and adults. It is possible that these kinds of mixed groups are successful, but I see a risk of stigmatisation when comparing adults to small children. There is a need for reflection on Darrow's (2015) statements about the ability to recognise and work against stigmatisation and stereotypic views. Both normality and inclusion discourses are represented and enforced by rhetorical strategies in the conversations. The normality discourse is enforced when comparing adults with disabilities to small children, constituting a subject position of a leader who does not consider adults with disabilities as adults. The normality discourse is also represented when referring to 'children who cannot participate with others'. The multicentric inclusion discourse is represented and enforced when leaders emphasise the importance of having special activities for individuals with disabilities, constituting a subject position of a leader who focuses on the individuals with disabilities and who arranges special activities accordingly. Policy is enacted in the practice context when the leaders talk about making arrangements for inclusion.

Iris states that they have special activities. A music therapist leads those activities, and the target group is the group of pupils who attend special schools for children with learning

disabilities¹⁰ and training schools for children with severe learning disabilities.¹¹ Children with neuropsychiatric disabilities are ‘of course’ welcome in all courses, as she puts it, and she continues by saying ‘that’s what we want’. Saying ‘of course’ can be a demonstration that including everyone is the obvious way to work at her school. ‘Of course’ is a rhetorical strategy which enforces the inclusion discourse. Even in this case, policy is conceptualised and enacted in the practice context when the leaders talk about making arrangements for inclusion.

Otto talks about the special niche of his own school, and that they do not ‘go outside that and create special courses’. He continues by explaining that he does not have ‘that knowledge either’. The expression ‘going outside’ would possibly not be used if Art and Music Schools had a specific inclusion policy. Since there was no such policy by the time for the conversations, inclusion seems to be regarded as something extra that could be taken into regard if the Art and Music School leader chooses to do so. Broader inclusion policies such as the Disability Policy (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a) and the policy for Children’s Rights (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018b) are not mentioned. Lack of knowledge is also pointed out as a reason for not having special activities for this group of pupils. There seems to be a need for challenging stigmatisation (Darrow, 2015) and normality discourses, emphasising that there are no universal solutions (Ockelford, 2012). The statement legitimises a normality discourse by pointing out the absence of a national policy text regarding inclusion. The example confirms the tension between reaching all children and improving a few children’s special skills, (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a), representing an inclusion discourse and a specialisation discourse. The inclusion discourse connects to leadership working for inclusion, but, in this particular case, there is a lack of discussion regarding the three aspects of inclusion, in Asp-Onsjö’s (2006) terms: spatial, social and educational. The specialisation discourse connects to leadership working for specialised training within a niche.

Concluding discussion

The research question for this paper was ‘How are Art and Music School practice, policy and inclusion of pupils with disabilities connected within and through leaders’ discursive practices?’ The analysis shows that practice, policy and inclusion are discursively intersected but are also disconnected on a discursive level. A noticeable disconnection is the one between practice and broad Swedish inclusion policies (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018a, 2018b) since such policies are not even mentioned in the leaders’ discursive practices. Inclusion for pupils with disabilities is connected to practice when leaders talk about inclusion in multicentric ways. There are discursive intersections between policy and inclusion: the leaders talk about inclusion despite the absence of a national inclusion policy, and they also talk about not being obligated to include pupils with disabilities due to the absence of a national inclusion policy. In other words, the absence of a specific national inclusion policy for Art and Music Schools can make it possible to legitimise the absence of a local inclusion policy, which favours the normality discourse. The broad national inclusion policies are not enough to ensure that every Art and Music School works for inclusion at a local level. There is an urge for a specific national inclusion policy for Art and Music Schools if the government is to be able to sustain democratic values successfully regarding an equal and inclusive music education – a music education that cares for and copes with diversity.

A gap seems to exist between the special activities and the regular activities due to the normality discourse. If not only spatial but also social and educational inclusion (Asp-Onsjö, 2006) were provided in regular activities, it might be possible that some

pupils who participate in special activities would be able to participate in regular activities. That would probably facilitate meetings between different kinds of pupils, promoting more equal and democratic music education (Georgii-Hemming and Kvarnhall, 2015). This could be a way to enforce multicentric inclusion. Art and Music School leaders face the challenge of developing inclusive practices. One way of doing that is to engage in policymaking, creating, changing and enacting policy. The proposition from the government (Prop, 2017) is a step in that direction.

The aim of this paper was to investigate the discourses that emerge when Sweden's Art and Music School leaders talk about the inclusion of pupils with disabilities in relation to policy. The following discourses have been exposed through the analysis: the multicentric inclusion discourse, the normality discourse and the specialisation discourse. There are tensions between the multicentric inclusion discourse and the normality discourse, as well as between the multicentric inclusion discourse and the specialisation discourse. Following an approach by Schmidt (2015) where he proposes 'marrying two discourses', the present analysis leads to the suggestion to bring together the multicentric inclusion discourse and the specialisation discourse in order to achieve justice in music education practices and policies, where every child's potential to improve special skills is taken into account.

Regarding terminology, the results challenge this researcher when the concept of mixed abilities is introduced by the participants. The concept is applied in the discursive practices of Art and Music School leaders as referring to pupils with abilities not in accordance with prevailing norms, as a synonym for the concept of disabilities but changing the focus from *disabilities* to a variety of abilities. However, as explained in the section 'Disabilities in Research and Practice', the concept might also be applied as referring to all individuals. Applying concepts is indeed complex (Campbell, 2008; Grönvik, 2007). The different ways of applying the concept of mixed abilities and the consequences of these different approaches for education research, policy and practice call for further research.

Research *on* inclusion might play a decisive role *for* inclusion. The present study leads to the conclusion that research on multicentric inclusion with regard to music education policy and practice, specifically focusing on disabilities and special support, is a much-needed field of further research.

Declaration of conflicting interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship and/or publication of this article.

Notes

1. Art and Music Schools is a translation applied by the Nordic Union of Art and Music Schools (2017) and by earlier research (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a) for the Swedish concept of *kulturskolor*. They are municipally funded institutions providing courses and activities for children and adolescents in music and other art subjects. The courses and activities can be provided after school or during the school day in collaboration with the compulsory school system (Kulturskolerådet, 2018).

2. The data in the report consist of the answers to two questions from a national survey sent to all Art and Music School leaders in Sweden in 2014. 'With special needs' is a translation of the Swedish term *med speciella behov* used in the survey.
3. The corresponding terms applied in Swedish are *med speciella behov* or *med särskilda behov*.
4. I have written about Swedish concepts with regard to disabilities elsewhere (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019).
5. Translation of the Swedish *funktionsnedsättningar*.
6. Out of 290 municipalities in Sweden, four finance Art and Music Schools through a 'voucher system', funding private actors who provide courses and activities for children and adolescents (Kulturcheck, 2018).
7. In Swedish: *funktionsvariationer*.
8. The use of the term 'mongoloid' for Down syndrome is considered unacceptable (Svenska Downföreningen, 2019) and avoided in contemporary Swedish usage. The term is mentioned by one leader in one of the focus group conversations.
9. Community homes (in Swedish, *HVB-hem*) have daily activities for those who are inactive and not enrolled in education. County councils and municipalities are responsible for health-care assistance being provided in the form of rehabilitation and habilitation (Socialstyrelsen, 2018).
10. Translation of the Swedish term *särskola*.
11. Translation of the Swedish term *träningsskola*.

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Article III



The inclusion of refugee children in Sweden's Art and Music Schools: Policy as practice

Manuscript submitted for publication in the journal *Music Education Research*

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Word count of the manuscript: 7017

Acknowledgements

This paper is part of an ongoing doctoral dissertation project at Lund University, Sweden. Special thanks are due to the supervisors of author A, Professor Eva Sæther and Senior Lecturer Sven Bjerstedt, as well as to colleagues from the Malmö Academy of Music, Lund University, who provided insight and expertise that greatly assisted the development of the paper. Grateful thanks are also due to the participants in the focus group conversations who generously accepted to be part of the research project.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

The inclusion of refugee children in Sweden's Art and Music Schools: Policy as practice

Sweden's Art and Music Schools (SAMS) have assumed some responsibility for facilitating refugee children's social inclusion. This article investigates how the inclusion of refugee children in SAMS is introduced by leaders when discussing national policy and local practices as well as how the theme is constructed and addressed as a topic in policy documents related to the national policy process for SAMS. Two data sets constitute the empirical base: (1) conversations with leaders and (2) policy documents. Policy and discourse theories constitute the analytical and theoretical framework. The analyses expose how problematisations occur on an overarching level and how they construct subjects and topics. Furthermore, some significant consequences of different choices of terminology are emphasised; the problematisations have implications for agency capacity. The article concludes that as society changes, SAMS must change to accommodate new cultures while maintaining their own cultures. The results call for a multicentric view of inclusion.

Keywords: art and music schools; discourse; inclusion; music schools; policy; refugee children

Introduction

In Nordic countries, as in other parts of the world, increased migration following conflicts, persecution and natural disasters has led to the arrival of cohorts of refugees and asylum seekers. The refugee crisis in 2015 led to the highest number ever of asylum seekers in Sweden; more than 160,000 refugees applied for asylum, of which around 70,000 were children (Swedish Migration Agency 2020a). These children rely on the policies and practices of their host nations to promote the development of competencies necessary to understand, live and work in their new societies. Moreover, they depend upon their host cultures to facilitate social inclusion while also providing the opportunity to maintain and to develop their own cultural identities. Through the United Nations (UN) convention related to the status of refugees (UNHCR 2020) as well as the UN convention on the rights of the child (OHCHR 2020), refugee children are ensured these rights: the right to elementary education, the right to practice and enjoy their own languages and cultures, and notably, the right to participate fully in cultural and artistic life.

States Parties shall respect and promote the right of the child to participate fully in cultural and artistic life and shall encourage the provision of appropriate and equal opportunities for cultural, artistic, recreational and leisure activity. (OHCHR, article 31)

In Sweden, the established system of extracurricular municipally organised and publicly funded art and music programmes have assumed some of the responsibility for facilitating refugee children's social inclusion, learning and participation in and through music and art activities in recent years. Asserting that 'all children and youth should be offered equal opportunities for personal development through easily accessible arts-based activities of high quality' (Swedish Arts Schools Council 2020), Sweden's Art and Music Schools (SAMS) have tentatively explored different ways to recruit and to

engage refugee children and adolescents in cultural activities¹; however, recent research suggests that participation in SAMS activities amongst refugee and immigrant children remains low compared to their peers (Jeppsson and Lindgren 2018). How to involve and thereby contribute to securing the cultural rights of refugee children remains a challenge and also a political priority for SAMS.

SAMS are currently subjected to the public eye due to the process of creating a national political strategy for this school system for the first time in Swedish history. The commissioned inquiry *An inclusive Art and Music School on its own terms*² (SOU 2016:69) has been a particularly important policy tool in this regard. Together with the many referral responses subsequently submitted on behalf of various political interest organisations, educational institutions and municipalities, the report has laid the groundwork for an approved government proposition (Prop. 2017/18:164) that presents guiding principles, if not mandatory regulations, for SAMS practices.

In this article, we investigate how the inclusion of refugee children in SAMS is introduced as a theme by SAMS leaders when discussing national policy and local practices. The emerging theme requires tracing how the inclusion of refugee children is constructed and is addressed as a topic in a selection of policy documents related to the national policy process for SAMS.

Music education research and the inclusion of refugee children

Scholars such as Burnard et al. (2008) have pointed out that music education has traditionally been associated with exclusiveness and elitism but also that music has been promoted as an inclusion tool, or ‘as a common ground between cultures’ (Burnard et al. 2008, 19). Both research (Benedict et al. 2015; Björk et al. 2018; Di Lorenzo Tillborg 2019) and policy documents (SOU 2016:69) make use of the instrumental potential of music education in working for democratic and inclusive societies and critique how inclusion in and through music education is not always enacted in practice. Music can be a fundamental tool in the complex processes of ‘cultural maintenance’ and acculturation when immigrants balance between preserving cultural traditions and adapting to new ones (Kenny 2018, 213).

As pointed out by Björk and Heimonen (2019), access to extracurricular music education is acknowledged as a right in Finland and in the Nordic countries, while access to general music education is guaranteed as a right. The case is similar in the Swedish context, where SAMS repeatedly have needed to legitimise their position in society (Holmberg 2010; Di Lorenzo Tillborg 2017). Recent studies connected to the first European Symposium on Music Schools in Vienna 2017 have explored the position of (Art and) Music Schools in European society. It has been argued that such schools should have ‘human flourishing’ as their foundation (Björk and Heimonen 2019, 36), that they need to take ethical responsibility (Westerlund, Väkevä and Ilmona-Sheppard 2019), that they are important to the formation of cultural identities (Theologos and

¹ Examples of the projects are ‘The Art and Music School and refugee children – unaccompanied minors and newly arrived meet the Art and Music School’ (*Kulturskolan och barn på flykt – ensamkommande och nyanlända möter Kulturskolan*) and the Nordic initiative ‘The Art and Music School as an including force in the local communities’ (*Kulturskolan som inkluderande kraft i lokalsamfundet*) (Swedish Arts Schools Council, 2020).

² All translations are the authors’ unless otherwise specified.

Katsadoros 2019) and that participation is still highly connected to social background (Deloughry 2019; Westerlund, Väkevä and Ilmona-Sheppard 2019).

In Sweden, as in Denmark, Finland and Norway, there is a growing body of research on the role of (Art and) Music Schools for democratic and inclusive societies (Rønningen et al. 2019). The relation between SAMS and democracy/inclusion has been exposed as complex and multifaceted. Hofvander Trulsson (2010) has described how voluntary instrumental studies are used by immigrant parents as a key to the host culture, reconstructing social status and obtaining access to Swedish society; however, Jeppsson and Lindgren (2018, 205) have exposed the typical SAMS pupil as 'a Swedish-born girl with well-educated parents'. Despite this growing body of research, there is a lack of research on the inclusion of refugee children in the context of SAMS.

The meaning of the concept of inclusion has been problematised by previous research. Inclusion can refer to participation 'despite challenges stemming from poverty, class, race, religion, linguistic and cultural heritage or gender' (Burnard et al. 2008, 9). Finnish researchers Laes and Kallio (2015) have gone even further and have argued for the aim of inclusion within music education to be to welcome all individuals because of their differences and not despite them in what could be described as striving for polyphony rather than for a dominant melody. A non-reflective way of applying the concept can enforce an approach where there is a dominant centre to which the marginalised should be included (Dei 1996, Hess 2015; Laes 2017; Bunar 2018), which is a reason that enforcing *multicentric inclusion* has been suggested (Di Lorenzo Tillborg 2019), connecting to Laes and Kallio's (2015) polyphonic way of viewing inclusion.

Ballantyne and Mills (2008) have noted that different approaches to inclusion can have an impact on students' empowerment. Analysing the Norwegian Art and Music School Curriculum, Ellefsen and Karlsen (2019) similarly have observed that user groups included in the schools' 'breadth programme', which largely consists of short-term projects and outreach-initiatives, effectively might result in being less empowered because their learning outcomes might be viewed as possessing a lower cultural value than what is taught in the schools' 'core programme' (Ellefsen and Karlsen 2019, 11). Kenny (2018) has shown that asylum seekers can be constructed as active agents or as subjects of their own cultural identities. Schneider, Ingram and Deleon (2014) have argued that the social construction of target groups in policies impacts both how the groups are viewed in society and how the policies are enacted. The argument is partly based on how the social construction of the specific group of 'immigrants' 'impacts the kinds of people favoured by immigration rules' (Schneider, Ingram and Deleon 2014, 115).

Policy analysis and problematisation

In the present article, theoretical perspectives and concepts from educational policy theory and from discourse theory are applied. They align with the approaches advocated by Ball (1993) and Schmidt (2017), who agree that while policy can be, and has been, analysed as 'text(s)', 'process', and 'practice', comprehending policy as 'discourse' is even more productive. Inspired by Foucault ([1969] 2010, [1970] 1981) and utilising his understanding of discourse as material practice (Foucault [1969] 2010, 99–105), Ball and Schmidt alike adopt a broad view of policy that includes not only the textual statements of policy documents and the strategies involved in producing some of them but also everyday operationalisations and negotiations of their meanings in various fields of political practice. Our approach to the analysis rests upon this premise: while government education policy regulates the various objects, subjects and activities of

educational practice, the field of objects, subjects and activities also regulates policy in that it constitutes the site from which policy discourse rises, which is what Foucault refers to as a material field of emergence (Foucault [1969] 2010, 91). This outlook, which is in line with Ball and colleagues (Bowe, Ball and Gold 1992; Ball 1993, 1994; Braun, Maguire and Ball 2010) as well as with Schmidt (2017), is in contrast to the conceptions of policymaking as vertical processes following specific steps. Rather, we consider the discursive production of policy to be a complex situation where text, political procedure and everyday practice intertwine. Policy initiatives can be traced to actors in different contexts with policy continuously being shaped in a cyclical way. Policy *enactment*, then, ‘is not a moment but a process framed by institutional factors involving a range of actors’ (Ball, Maguire and Braun 2012). Through such discursive processes, political and educational areas of interest and activity are established and upheld. Foucault, when wrapping up his six lectures at Berkeley in 1983, describes his own work as an analysis of ‘the process of “problematization” — which means: how and why certain things (behaviour, phenomena, processes) became a problem’ (Foucault [1983] 1999, 66). Ball (2013) correspondingly notes that: ‘[T]he history of education policies, is precisely, a history of problematizations of education, set within a broader social field’ (Ball 2013, loc. 453). Bearing in mind Foucault’s twofold take on discursive formation as both structure and process (Foucault [1969] 2010, 107), we consider a problematisation to be both a structured object of knowledge – that is, a specific problem in need of attention and political strategy – and the processes of knowledge formation that construct such a problem. In the following sections of this article, we examine how the inclusion of refugees in SAMS, as a structured field of knowledge (problematisation), is discussed and written into existence (problematised) within SAMS education policy contexts. Leaning on Foucault, our approach also entails investigating how the discursive production of policy produces specific subject positions, that is socially and culturally established positions in discourse to which every speaker, thinker and doer must subject if s/he is to speak, think and do (Foucault [1969] 2010, 50–55).

Data sets and strategies of analysis

Two data sets constitute the empirical base of the article’s analyses: (1) three focus group conversations with a total of 16 SAMS leaders plus a music teacher³ (conducted in 2016–2017) and (2) policy documents related to the national policy process (produced between 2014 and 2017). The focus of the group conversations was introduced as ‘possible changes in SAMS as a consequence of the ongoing national policy process’ by the moderator (author A). ‘Including refugee children’ did not constitute a pre-defined topic for the focus group conversations but was mentioned by the leaders themselves when discussing recruitment and responsibilities. The participants were chosen from a database of 202 SAMS leaders⁴ to represent (1) both publicly and privately administrated schools (all publicly funded), (2) schools offering music only as well as those offering several art activities and (3) schools in northern, central and southern Sweden. Following the principles for research ethics (Swedish Research Council, 2021), precautions were taken to protect the privacy and confidentiality of the participants. Names, schools, places and projects have been anonymised, and statements have been revised to minimise risks of recognition.

³ SAMS leaders were invited to the conversations. One music teacher came along with the leader for the respective SAMS and participated in the conversation.

⁴ 59% of all SAMS leaders at the time.

The policy documents for the second data set are comprised of the SAMS inquiry (SOU 2016:69), the propositions preceding and commissioning the report (Prop. 2014/15:1; Dir. 2015:46) and the proposition presenting the final national strategy for SAMS (Prop. 2017/18:164). The data set also includes the referral responses following the inquiry (SOU 2016:69 Referral Responses). All the government policy documents and 21 of 161 referral responses comprise statements that in our analysis contribute in a significant way to the discursive problematisation of including refugee children in SAMS. The 21 relevant referral responses represent government agencies, interest organisations, municipalities and city/region-councils, cultural institutions and higher education institutions. Interestingly, while the focus group conversations reflect that SAMS leaders are concerned with the inclusion of refugee children, none of the responses submitted by SAMS institutions express such concerns. The policy documents analysed in the study are publicly available at the Swedish Government's homepage. Acknowledging research ethics as described by the Swedish Research Council (2021), we have chosen not to refer to any of the 21 relevant responses specifically.

The first round of the analytical mapping of the datasets was carried out by author A (group conversations) and author B (policy documents), respectively. We then made joint analyses of the two data sets. This entailed several stages of coding and categorising, during which we identified and discussed statements which encircle a specific group of (potential) SAMS participants as well as statements that describe strategies of recruitment, areas of responsibility, possible measures and actions and potential (learning) aims and objectives for this particular group. The results are presented in the two following sections. First, we address the problematisation of 'refugees' as a particular SAMS 'target group'. Thereafter, we examine the discursive construction of meaning related to 'including' this target group in SAMS practices. In the subsequent discussion, we discuss how problematisations occur on an overarching level and how they construct subjects and topics.

Identifying a target group: the 'refugees', the 'newly arrived' and the 'children with foreign backgrounds'

The right of everyone to culture is persistently reiterated across the policy contexts included in this research. This follows the Swedish cultural policy objectives (Prop. 2009/10:3); however, to promote everyone's rights, a strategy is employed that differentiates 'everyone' into 'someone' by reciting a mantra of identity categories. For example, Prop. 2017 emphasises that governmental initiatives must contribute to children's and youth's possibility of participating in SAMS activities regardless of 'disability, gender, gender identity or expression, sexuality, ethnic affiliation, religion and beliefs or socioeconomic background' (Prop. 2017/18:164, 13). Reducing complexity by sorting people into categories is a political strategy meant to promote what is thought to be shared interests despite differences within the group:

The group 'children and youth with foreign background' probably shares more differences than similarities among themselves. Still, we choose to bring out this group, in order to call attention to the differences that seem to exist regarding Art and Music School participation. If we refuse to speak about children's origin as a factor in recruitment, we risk making invisible a large target group. (SOU 2016:69, 121)

The commissioned inquiry (SOU 2016:69) strategically demarcates a group of children and youth to address inequalities in established patterns of cultural participation: 'foreign background' is considered to be a factor that hinders access to SAMS activities. In the policy contexts investigated, a variety of terms are put to use to subject this specific target group to cultural government. In addition to 'foreign background', the most frequent descriptions include 'refugees', 'unaccompanied minors' and 'newly arrived children'.

During the focus group conversations, the SAMS leaders quickly establish 'refugee' as a descriptive node around which the discussion organises itself, and the leaders use the concept interchangeably with the above listed terms. Even so, when emerging in the context of the focus group conversations, 'refugee children' and 'unaccompanied minors' seem to engender in the conversation a particular discourse of care and concern that the other terms do not by recounting the children's previous exposure to war, conflict and scarcity. Indeed, the concept of 'refugee children' provides the SAMS leaders with a tool to differentiate within the demarcated target group on the grounds of experienced traumas:

Samuel: We should bear in mind the huge difference between the Syrian child who has run away from the bombs and the child born [in Sweden by parents with foreign backgrounds].

The statement implicates that the two might have diverging needs and that educational aims and objectives should reflect this difference. Regarding unaccompanied minors, another leader advises:

Iris: It is uncertain for how long they are going to stay in Sweden. So, it demands a special way of working. To try to strengthen them, so that whatever happens they will carry this with them.

Including the unaccompanied children in SAMS requires, according to Iris, a special way of working that focuses on the therapeutic motif of strengthening them. Not yet privileged with permanent national residence, these students are temporary members available for schooling only for a limited amount of time. The time allotted must be used with care and concern for their particular needs. Following an alternative but overlapping discursive trace, Samuel suggests that SAMS could provide exactly what refugee children need, namely an opportunity to make music:

Samuel: Those who are unaccompanied minors or refugee children, they usually don't have this tradition from where they come from that there are opportunities to play or sing or make music. It's first when they arrive here; it's like a new world is opening to them that we can offer!

Samuel adopts a pragmatic shortcut, choosing not to dwell on the children's traumatic experiences when considering his educational responsibilities. Rather, he concludes that where they come from, they must have lacked opportunities to make music. SAMS can provide them with such activities, indeed, the same activities that SAMS are providing for Swedish children at large. In this regard, and even while upholding the demarcation of a group based on assumptions of their shared lack of musical experiences, Samuel's statement challenges the essentialisation of the group with reference to its members' particular therapeutic needs. Thus, the statement repositions the 'unaccompanied' within the larger group of 'every child', a category that in today's Nordic societies

carries with it an understanding of the diversity amongst its members.

Unlike in the focus group conversations, 'refugee' is used only to a limited degree in the policy documents and never to address a group of potential SAMS students. Rather, the terms most frequently in use to strategically encircle a related target group are 'newly arrived' and children/parents with 'foreign backgrounds'. According to the Swedish Migration Agency, 'newly arrived' is a status you receive when having been granted a residence permit and assigned to a municipality (Swedish Migration Agency, 2020b). SOU 2016:69 and the referral responses use the term without reference to formal status but recurrently concerning 'extensive changes' in society due to 'increased migration' and when pointing out challenges following from such change (SOU 2016:69, 275). The 'great number' of new arrivals is thought to constitute a new premise for SAMS practices, which should contribute to updating what Swedish culture is to better harmonize with today's Sweden (SOU 2016:69, 170–171; SOU 2016:69 Referral Responses). 'Priorities' will have to be made at the risk of setting different target groups against each other: 'the needs of pupils with disabilities should not be underestimated, but in some municipalities, large cohorts of the newly arrived means one must prioritise differently' (SOU 2016:69 Referral Responses).

When the documents use the description 'foreign background' or refer to 'ethnicity' or students' 'cultural background', they typically address a target group already established in Swedish society, unlike the 'newly arrived'. Their establishment is subsequently used to explain why they are under-represented in SAMS. Lower participation is coupled with an intersection of ethno-cultural affiliation and economic situations and occurs in segregated living areas with high immigrant density in comparison to villa districts with high living standards (SOU 2016:69, 121; Prop. 2017/18:164, 10; SOU 2016:69 Referral Responses). Representing children's 'foreign background', the parents come to be viewed in both data sets as obstacles to participation, differing from the Swedish norm in their culture, interests, economy and knowledge of SAMS. Thus, important in a policy of 'inclusion' is to bypass the problem of parents and living area. Through pedagogically adapted cultural outreach programmes and programmes that overlap with school-based activities, children and youth with foreign backgrounds can be accessed directly. Some of the referral responses in particular hold that cooperation with the arenas of ordinary schooling is crucial to the recruitment of children with foreign backgrounds: 'you only need to change two things to reach all children: 1) no fee and 2) school based tuition'; 'when children meet in a school setting, socioeconomic situation and parents' background is of less importance' (SOU 2016:69 Referral Responses).

Accessible, inclusive, representative and integrating music education

When commissioning a SAMS inquiry, the Swedish Ministry of Culture also requested a draft for a national strategy to secure 'an equal and easily accessible Art and Music School of high quality for all children and youth in Sweden' (Dir. 2015:46, 6). Indeed, a most significant initiative can be found already in the report's title, where the concept of an 'inclusive' SAMS is launched. While the state of being 'accessible' leaves the responsibility for action up to potential users, being 'inclusive' implies action on the part of the educational institutions. The nine-paragraph strategy proposed by the report emphasises SAMS' obligations in this regard by suggesting that SAMS engage with society at large, such as in the form of outreach projects, to inform children and young people about activities and to encourage them to participate (SOU 2016:69, 23, 283). The state of being 'inclusive' also requests an attentiveness towards students' own

experiences and interests and giving students influence over the structure and content of lessons (SOU 2016:69). The government proposition following the inquiry advocates a revised strategy. Here, the discourse of 'accessibility' reclaims its hegemony, most prominently as one of four overarching objectives: 'governmental efforts pertaining to SAMS should contribute to promoting accessibility and equality' (Prop 2017/18:164, 10).

At the policy practice level of SAMS leadership, 'inclusion' emerges as a most significant topic in the focus group conversations, often in relation to specific groups of children to 'be included'. Already when introducing themselves, the leaders express concerns with inclusion and democratic rights, explaining how background factors, such as economy and geography, govern students' possibilities of participation in their districts. The fact that SAMS are tax-funded is put forward to emphasise their responsibility to reach and to be relevant to all children and youth, including refugees. Moreover, the existence of state grants earmarked for projects that target particular groups of students is taken to implicate that SAMS not only are invited but to a certain extent also obliged to carry out governmental inclusion politics. The grants also support the leaders' stance that a successful operationalisation of inclusion politics demands additional economic support. Some of the SAMS leaders in the focus group conversations receive additional support to address the inclusion of new target groups, and others encounter obstacles on municipal levels of policy: 'We want to welcome refugee children in our school', Bo says, 'but our [local] politicians are putting the brakes on. [...] We were allowed initially, but later on, it stopped'. Otto feels that the municipal authorities no longer can 'manage it all'. Both Bo and Otto likely also, as previously suggested, engage with the discourse of 'care and concern' when referring to the politicians and municipal authorities 'not managing' and 'putting the brakes on'; however, Selma mentions the topic of 'inclusion' mainly through a discourse of economy, suggesting the possibility of seeking external financial support from charitable or non-profit foundations:

Selma: No one can say that we are not allowed as long as the project is [financed externally]. I think: if we can achieve some media coverage, the politicians might begin to understand. Typically, they don't understand until they can see it, for real. [...] 'This is what we should do', they say, then (laughs), or 'this is what we have decided to do'. And then we say, 'Thank you'. (They all laugh).

Projects such as Selma's tend to attract the interest of local politicians, and as she claims, might even spark new investments in inclusion policy practices. According to the SAMS leaders, subsidised projects in which pupils can participate for free is needed to achieve 'inclusive' SAMS. As a general rule, refugee children and unaccompanied minors pay the same fee as any other pupil in the regular, week-to-week educational practices of SAMS. 'In this regard', Selma says, 'it's like with any other child. But they might have legal guardians that have been provident'. Providence, in this context, means 'signing them up as soon as they cross the bridge' (Selma) and preparing to finance their participation.

Prop. 2017 advises that SAMS, 'to sustain their legitimacy, [...] must venture to broaden their activity and seek to recruit children and youth from yet more groups in society' (Prop. 2017/18:164, 14). It follows that SAMS must endeavour to present themselves as attractive and accessible to potential students across and regardless of established patterns of cultural participation. A measure of SAMS quality is thus whether the school has succeeded in achieving a certain degree of social representation.

With the SAMS leaders in the focus group conversations, the representation of refugees and children with disabilities holds a specific status as giving evidence of increased ‘accessibility’; however, access is a challenge the other way around:

Lisa: The way my new work position is described, my responsibility encompasses the adolescents who live in treatment homes, which means that I can reach them [unaccompanied minors] because I decide what to do (laughs). There is this target group that we usually have difficulty in reaching that I have access to. The ‘cultural meeting’ is also my responsibility, so cooperation with SAMS goes very smoothly. It should be a creative meeting place!

Lisa’s job description provides her with privileged access to groups of adolescents that other SAMS leaders have trouble reaching, and her position enables her to employ a particular form of inclusion policy that facilitates creative meetings between different groups of participants. Selma also explains how to obtain access to certain target groups by cooperating with other institutions and social services. Her externally funded project comprises all pupils who are connected to the mother tongue education centre.

Selma: You could be child to a diplomat or an unaccompanied minor from Afghanistan, but you end up there. The diplomat child might stay for two hours, and someone else stays for eight weeks. And there we will have music lessons with them.

The SAMS leaders take the challenge of contacting target groups that for the sake of inclusion policies, should be recruited seriously. In the focus group conversations, contact and recruitment emerge as more prominent topics than the musical activity in itself, comprising questions of economy, distribution of information and practical organisation; however, a few considerations regarding educational content and relevance are also made in relation to teachers’ competence and backgrounds. Simon, the music teacher present in one of the group conversations, discusses the musical and educational challenges of teaching a refugee youth wanting to learn an Arabic song.

Lisa: We need a broader diversity of competence in our staff; it [Simon’s example] shows that we still haven’t sufficient diversity (Britta agrees).
Simon: Not if we want to meet them in their music.

Lisa and Britta go on to advise that there are lots of ‘teachers, fantastic musicians’ from other cultures around to recruit, with Simon later adding that he knows ‘third-generation immigrants who would gladly transfer this culture’. When discussing refugees’ participation in the context of learning a piece of music rather than inclusion, the group conversation participants construct positions for the refugee child within discourses of musicianship and musical learning rather than of inclusion. Still, the suggested solution also reactivates a discourse of particular needs, cares and concerns when situating the responsibility for otherness with others, thereby contributing to cultivating particular students’ more peripheral positions in SAMS.

In the focus group conversations, the participants base their discussion of inclusion on the silent assumption of a difference between ordinary and special activities. Petter remarks that while everyone is welcome in his school’s ordinary activities, they mainly attract young majority children. The newly arrived and others need to be ‘invited in a more special way’. His view is in line with the inquiry in which

collaborative outreach projects are suggested as a means of recruiting more broadly. Iris provides an example of such a strategy.

Iris: If papers and forms must be filled out beforehand, we lose them. So, we reach out to homes for unaccompanied minors, offering something else than one-on-one teaching. These guys, they have chosen themselves to do a musical about their journey! Pupils from upper secondary are in on the play, too; the SAMS are getting 'childified' (laughs), so we actively reach out to adolescents as well. Our music teacher also works at the youth club, and the unaccompanied boys go there with him and come in contact with other Swedish kids their age. We are making a difference, I think, for real!⁵

As previously mentioned, the problematisation of including refugees is characterised by discussions of 'access'. Iris's special outreach project, as narrated, provides access to relevant groups (for those who are recruiting), removes obstacles that prevent access for relevant groups (for example, economy, previous knowledge and location/travel time) and provides access to the activity itself by letting the participants decide its content and purpose. Furthermore, as described by Iris, the outreach strategy provides a starting point for partaking in 'ordinary activities', such as going to the youth club. Thus, the project increases access to 'other Swedish kids', thereby potentially facilitating social integration.

The inquiry repeatedly reflects the opinion that SAMS constitute a unique cultural resource when it comes to improving 'integration', such as of the newly arrived (SOU 2016:69, English summary). Within the practices of inclusive SAMS, commitments to better integration entail not only securing representation of certain groups in SAMS but also improving the integration of these groups into society at large. The few referral responses that comment upon this aspect adhere themselves to the report's high hopes for SAMS' potentially integrative function. None of them expand upon what kind of activities may carry the potential of 'integrating' those who are, by such logic, 'segregated'; however, statements on the importance of collaborating with compulsory schools to recruit children and youth in general are frequent across the responses as they are with the SAMS leaders. With SAMS activities located in children's and youth's everyday school life, the argument goes, the threshold of participation is lowered considerably, even for groups of participants that are difficult to recruit.

Discussion: Problematisations in policies and leadership practices

In the analyses presented, we have aimed to shed some light upon the 'processes of problematisation' (Foucault [1983] 1999, 66; see also Ball 2013) that establish the inclusion of refugees in SAMS as an educational and political area of interest. Conceptualised as policy practice, the SAMS leader group conversations analysed contribute to the ongoing discursive negotiation of meaning regarding the inclusion of refugees as an educational and political responsibility, or 'problem'. When statements concerning the inclusion of refugees are enacted in the conversations, they contribute to the overall problematisation process, as they do when applied and operationalised as a local SAMS policy in the single school context. Thus, the group conversations become

⁵ The quotation from Iris is shortened and edited to preserve confidentiality. Details and facts are left out for the same reasons.

part of the continuous cyclical process of policy enactment in the sense argued by Ball, Maguire and Braun (2012). The policy documents similarly take part in the problematisation process, such as by contributing to the construction of target groups for SAMS recruitment and activity. In this way, the leaders' discursive practices, as evidenced by the group conversations, and the policy documents analysed intertwine with each other, and with similar practices (not analysed here) and as a result, subjects and objects of SAMS policy are constructed and/or reconstructed.

From this it follows that the SAMS system can be understood as a tool of government. In contributing to problematising 'the inclusion of refugees' by operationalising the topic within SAMS contexts, the policy practices are analysed to pursue overarching governmental interests in the social stability and control of the population. Including refugees in SAMS practices secures within discursive normality that and those who are operating at the discursive borders and potentially defuses a threat of difference into that which can be known and handled. The financial support that SAMS can apply for to identify and to target groups not yet well-represented within the SAMS enforces the schools' role as a tool of inclusion policies because it could encourage leaders to enact such policies on the local level to be eligible for support.

As has been argued in the analyses, three main subject positions overlap to constitute a new target group for SAMS policy: 'the refugees', 'the newly arrived' and 'children with foreign backgrounds'. We find that the topics within which these three are articulated differ somewhat from each other, and they seemingly add two different strings of meanings to the problematisation of inclusion. Paradoxically, the 'newly arrived' are associated with the already present Swedes; they simply have not been in the country for as long. Thus, they have yet to establish themselves, and in the process, to 'update' the Swedishness of Sweden. Their backgrounds are played down, and their future in Sweden is emphasised. Regarding the children with foreign backgrounds, differences rather than similarities are enacted in the problematisation. The parent generation's successful establishment within Swedish society as foreigners with foreigners' outlooks and ways of life is implicitly presumed to hinder their children's access to SAMS activities. Overall, the condition of having newly arrived constitutes a new premise for SAMS policies and activities, while having a foreign background presents SAMS with an obstacle to reciprocal accessibility, that is, something SAMS must overcome to 'be accessible' and to 'get access to' specific target groups.

Because social constructions of target groups have an impact on the possibilities for individuals to be empowered (Ballantyne and Mills 2008) and to develop forms of agency (Schneider, Ingram and Deleon 2014; Kenny 2018), the construction of 'newly arrived' as similar and of individuals with 'foreign backgrounds' as different could empower and strengthen the social agency of people considered newly arrived, while those considered to fall within the category of individuals with foreign backgrounds could experience less support and encouragement from society. For the 'refugees', their construction as objects for inclusion policies might not enforce empowerment at all but rather instigate in the context a necessity for acts of care and concern. In this sense, the subject position of refugees constructs them as mere objects rather than subjects of inclusion policies. In both data sets, constructions of the group of refugees are sometimes made in relation to the group of 'children with disabilities': both groups are considered to present a specific inclusion problem in need of attention; however, social constructions of target groups can lead to the benefit of certain groups at the expense of others (Schneider, Ingram and Deleon 2014), which is a concern in a referral response that exposes how different groups are differently prioritised in policy discourses.

When analysing our selection of policy documents and the three group conversations in relation to our research questions, we find that the problematisation frequently returns to the topics of accessibility, inclusion, representation and integration as well as financial funding, political decisions, collaboration and teachers' competence. Amongst these, accessibility and inclusion constitute the most prominent nodal points of meaning making. Indeed, the concepts alternate to provide premises for SAMS policy. In the material, the premise of accessibility implies a stance in which SAMS recruitment plans primarily entail 'being accessible', that is, ensuring that courses are for everyone and that information about this is provided; however, an ambition to include seems to imply that SAMS must take action by strategically reaching out to particular groups of students. This struggle for discursive hegemony is particularly visible when comparing the commissioned inquiry's use of 'inclusion' (SOU 2016:69) to the final government proposition's (Prop. 2017/18:164) use of 'accessibility', but the discourses of accessibility and inclusion also dominate in the group conversations with SAMS leaders: notions of enhancing accessibility are enacted in statements that emphasise that SAMS should be working collaboratively with other institutions in society to remove obstacles to participation as well as to obtain access to new target groups. Ambitions to include are enacted in arguments that implicate a certain form of care and concern for target groups that should be actively included in special programmes and in special ways. In connection with this, teachers' competence is constructed as a prominent topic, particularly by the SAMS leaders. The possibility of the successful inclusion of new target groups hinges on the idea that much more needs to be done regarding the diversity and competence of SAMS teachers, including when recruiting new employees.

In the policy documents and the group conversations alike, there are arguments for the potential of SAMS to improve the integration of new target groups into society at large. The SAMS system provides society with the opportunity to challenge exclusiveness and elitism, bridge amongst cultures and contribute to democratic participation. The potential of music schools to function as a 'change agent' has also been argued in previous research (see Burnard et al. 2008; Karlsen and Westerlund 2010; Benedict et al. 2015; SOU 2016:69; Björk et al. 2018; Kenny 2018; Di Lorenzo Tillborg 2019); however, for SAMS, strategies to enhance accessibility and to include are also of utmost importance for the continued existence and legitimacy of the schools themselves. As has been argued, governmentally subsidised SAMS are required to be of relevance for all children and youth. Thus, the representation in SAMS of groups of students that for some reason or other are considered to be not only underrepresented in cultural activities but also at risk in society at large is considered a measure of accessibility and ultimately of quality. Therefore, the topics that constitute the problematisation of 'refugees' within SAMS contexts are central to the continued development of SAMS as educationally and culturally legitimate institutions.

The topic of subsidy and financial funding is recurrently enacted in the group conversations, most notably as a lack of such. At this policy level, the problematisation of including refugees in SAMS practices centre on the importance of having external funding and local politicians' support when instigating new inclusion projects. The political decisions of local actors become of utmost importance, and leaders might initiate local SAMS micropolicies and inclusion projects to obtain the attention and support of their local politicians. Grants for new inclusion practices have the function of being policy tools. At both policy levels analysed in the material, 'financial funding', as a concept, contributes to establishing SAMS policy for the inclusion of refugees in a

cyclical process, or ‘policy cycle’ (Bowe, Ball and Gold 1992; Ball 1993, 1994; Braun, Maguire and Ball 2010).

Concluding remarks

In this article, we have argued that investigating processes of problematisation in policy practices entails identifying and questioning how certain ‘problems’ are constituted and normalised; indeed, it entails problematising the problematisations (Foucault [1983] 1999, 66; Ball 2013). By analysing which policies and leadership discursive practices present as ‘problems to be solved’, alternative conceptions, acts and intentions could become possible to articulate, which is in line with the argument of policy researchers Popkewitz and Brennan (1998). This type of analysis might also contribute to constructions of the subject as capable of action, which is in line with Lindgren's (2006) argument.

By giving prominence to the discourse of accessibility, the obligation of society to ‘act to include’ is played down. The accessibility discourse does not have action on the part of the institution at its core but constructs accessibility as enough, which does not enforce an agency capacity for SAMS. While governmental financial support of these schools may contribute to agency for inclusion, as mentioned, the governmental construction of accessibility as a sufficient goal, on the contrary, may inhibit such agency, especially in combination with a monocentric construction of the cultural function of SAMS.

As mentioned, migration involves complex processes of cultural maintenance and acculturation (Karlsen and Westerlund 2010; Kenny 2018). In both Kenny (2018) and Karlsen and Westerlund (2010), the focus is on the immigrants, but we would say that processes of cultural maintenance and acculturation are at play not only for the individuals but also for the SAMS themselves. As society changes, SAMS must change to accommodate new cultures while maintaining their own cultures. The results call for a multicentric view on inclusion (Di Lorenzo Tillborg 2019), where society and institutions have a responsibility to avoid enforcing one group of individuals as the culturally dominant to which all the others should be included. Rather, all different groups of individuals should be acknowledged as culturally relevant, and institutions must make changes on different levels to include all of them. The construction of SAMS as monocentric cultural institutions is then arguably counterproductive with regard to social inclusion.

Furthermore, as the results show, different social constructions of target groups have different implications concerning whether agency capacity is ascribed to a certain group of individuals or not: whether a specific construction of a group allows its members to be viewed as empowered subjects or merely as objects of inclusion. We have argued that the construction of ‘newly arrived’ may belong to the first category, while the construction of ‘foreign background’ and ‘refugees’ may belong to the second. In brief, our investigation shows that the choice of words in policy documents and leader discourses may be far from neutral concerning SAMS’ potential to contribute to social inclusion.

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Article IV



Multicentric Policy Practice: Collaboration as a form of policy enactment

Manuscript submitted for publication in the book *Music Schools as Masters of Collaboration: A European Kaleidoscope* by editors M. Hahn, C. Björk, & H. Westerlund

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Abstract

Although there is a growing research body on Sweden's Art and Music Schools (SAMS), collaboration between these schools and compulsory schools is under investigated. Previous research has even exposed a sharp separation between the SAMS discourse and the compulsory school discourse. In recent policy documents, collaboration is not considered to be part of the core of SAMS. The present chapter takes another approach and focuses on collaboration between the two school systems as discussed by SAMS leaders. The following research question guides and informs the analyses: How do SAMS leaders talk about collaboration processes with compulsory schools as a response to regional needs and national policies for inclusion of all children?

The method is qualitative with data from three focus-group conversations with a total of 16 leaders from 15 SAMS. Educational policy theories constitute the analytical framework building on the concept of policy and how it relates to subjectivity. Other central concepts that contribute to analyzing the complexity of policy practice are nested contexts, multicentricity and multivocality.

The results show that collaboration with the compulsory school system is central in the leaders' talk, which challenges the notion of sharp separation between the SAMS discourse and the compulsory school discourses described earlier. The legitimization of collaboration builds on arguments that concern contextual, economic and market driven, and inclusionary aspects.

We conclude that, from a leadership perspective, collaboration has a dominant position in relation to national policies for inclusion of all children and the contextuality of sparsely populated areas in Sweden. The contextual complexities of sparsely populated regions may be internationally transferable, which is why the potential of collaboration needs to be further explored and considered by policy actors on different levels in the international music education society.

Keywords: Art and Music Schools; collaboration; leadership; multicentric inclusion; music education; policy multivocality; sparsely populated areas.

Introducing collaboration, policy practice and multicentricity

The chapter explores collaboration between Sweden's Art and Music Schools (SAMS) and compulsory schools. It does so from the perspectives of leaders in SAMS, highlighting their policy practices. The case of SAMS is unique due to the contextual parameters of Sweden—particularly the sparsely populated areas of Sweden. Just as significantly, however, this chapter also offers insight into the process of how music education leaders can and do engage in policy practice adaptation, how policy practice draws from contextual needs and strengths, while at the same time responding—and potentially contributing—to larger educational policy aims such as those regarding inclusion of children and adolescents. In these terms, we believe this case richly describes one policy context while providing insight into the music education field as a whole.

Policy practice is always contextual. Regardless of the level of action, be it macro or micro, determinants of policy practice—understood here as the enactment of and response to (including resistance) social, political and professional pressures—are shaped by historical conditions and influenced by interest networks. Rein and Schön (1993) have argued that responses by actors in the field, what they call “policy issues,” often “arise in connection with governmental programs, which exist in some policy environment, which is part of some broader political and economic setting, which is located, in turn, within a historical era” (p. 154). In other words, policy practice, no matter where or by whom, is never unidirectional—from “source to implementer” (Ball, 2015)—and more often than not is enacted in distinct terms, within distinct environs, and in response to disputed discourses. This description of policy practice applies in interesting and often idiosyncratic ways to educational contexts, music education not being an exception.

The present analysis focuses on the collaboration processes taking place between SAMS and compulsory schools¹ paying attention to *inclusion* of all children as a driving policy mandate. We were interested in better understanding how such processes emerged from leadership within these schools, and in what ways local policy practices were responsive to regional needs and restrictions, while receptive to larger (national) policy mandates surrounding inclusion. In this chapter, we articulate the potential impact of a *multicentric* (Dei, 1996; Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019) approach when rethinking inclusive policy action. Monocentric views of inclusion tend to implicitly consider a specific group of individuals to be the one dominant center to which all the others need to be included. A multicentric approach (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019) is an attempt to counteract such monocentric views and actively promote the views of all individuals (or groups of individuals) as centers.

¹ *Compulsory schools* in Sweden make up a 10-years school system that is municipally funded and mandatory for children and adolescents from the year they turn 6 years old. In the USA, the corresponding system is a system of *state schools*.

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We detail the collaborative practices of the leaders at SAMS that emerge out of contextual needs and theorize on the potential benefits of policy *multivocality* as a form of *framing disposition* (Schmidt, 2017) that might be useful for empirical analysis of policy practice in music education. We ask: How do SAMS leaders talk about collaboration processes with compulsory schools as a response to regional needs and national policies for inclusion of all children?

Inclusion and Policy History: Sweden's Art and Music Schools

Nearly every municipality in Sweden—287 out of 290—has a publicly funded Art and Music School (Kulturrådet, 2019). The Swedish idea of music schools where any child can learn to play an instrument regardless of their economic background can be said to be a unique cultural and educational policy phenomenon that can be traced to the 1930s (Brändström & Wiklund, 1995). From the 1940s onward, a music school system started to develop independently from the compulsory school system (Gustafsson, 2000; Tivenius, 2008). In the 1980s the term *kulturskola* was coined as music schools expanded, embracing other art subjects (Brändström & Wiklund, 1995) to develop more inclusive schools which would attract and include new groups of children. Today, the term *kulturskola* (referred to here by the English acronym, SAMS) is applied as an umbrella term for schools offering only music and schools offering several art subjects.

The voluntary character of SAMS is defined through the fact that children and adolescents have been able to choose whether or not to participate in after-school activities (Gustafsson, 2000; SOU 2016:69), and by the fact that the municipalities have never been obligated to invest in such schools, and yet, by and large, have chosen to do so (Holmberg, 2010). However, voluntariness has been combined with compulsoriness, as collaborations with the Swedish compulsory school system were enacted, which has been encouraged by The Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SKR, 2021). Collaborations between the two systems are today present in almost 95% of the municipalities (Prop.2017/18:164).

In 2016, a government-commissioned investigation led to the inquiry “An inclusive Art and Music School on its own terms” (SOU 2016:69), which places teaching and projects organized for children and adolescents “during their free time” as constituting the main core of SAMS (p. 48, our translation). In the following proposition (Prop.2017/18:164) approved by the parliament, collaboration between the two systems is described as critical since it leads to accessibility for a larger number of children. In contradistinction to the preceding inquiry, the proposition’s description of the main core of SAMS now includes collaborations with compulsory public schooling:

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...the main core of Art and Music Schools, which is to be a voluntary institution for all children and adolescents and to pursue professional teaching in several art forms *in collaboration with compulsory public schooling* and the local community (Prop.2017/18:164, p. 13, our translation and emphasis).

Focusing on the issue of accessibility for all children, the proposition acknowledges the risk of low participation in sparsely populated municipalities since large distances can be an obstacle for those who depend on school buses.

SAMS activities during the school day are more common in the northern parts of Sweden (more rural) compared to the southern parts (Kulturskolerådet, 2019). Population density and infrastructure seem to play a significant, differentiating aspect here, as figures show that large municipalities provide almost none of SAMS activities during the school day, while 76–79% of the municipalities in sparsely populated regions indicate making such offerings available (Kulturskolerådet, 2019). An investigation co-authored by the National Agency for Education and the Swedish Arts Council acknowledges that both the socio-economic conditions and infrastructure in municipalities can be obstacles for children to travel back to town after the school day (Skolverket & Kulturrådet, 2019). While Skolverket and Kulturrådet (2019) do not use the concept of inclusion in their inquiry, they state that SAMS should be accessible for all children and adolescents, regardless of where they live, the family's economic situation, or other reasons. At the same time, they also argue for the children's right to compulsory education, stating that no compulsory lessons should be replaced by SAMS voluntary activities.

Research that has problematized narrow notions of inclusion (see Dei, 1996; Hess, 2015; Laes, 2017) can contribute to the expansion of conceptual understandings of inclusion to be fuller, more complex, ambiguous, and situated, or multicentric (Dei, 1996; Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019), while problematizing views that limit inclusion as simply a matter of access. Our analysis builds on this kind of research by considering inclusion as multicentric (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019) and requiring contextual policy framings practices (Schmidt, 2020). Thus, we argue that “engaging with and developing a framing disposition, where voice and creative agency are built from an informed understanding of contextual complexities” is a professional right and an ethical responsibility (Schmidt, 2017, p. 409). As music curricula in different educational contexts present challenges to music education practice in several countries, we believe that while the results and analysis in this study emerge from a Swedish context, they may inform and contribute to the international music community as a whole.

The Geography of Policy: The Role of Context

Before we move forward, it is necessary to delineate that Sweden is geographically divided into three regions: *Norrland* (northern Sweden), *Svealand*, (central Sweden), and *Götaland* (southern Sweden). Northern Sweden includes almost 60% of the country's area but only 12% of the country's population. As such a large region, Norrland compounds extensive interregional differences with some unpopulated areas, sparsely populated areas and small urbanized areas. Keeping in mind the interregional differences in the north and the fact that the center and south also have sparsely populated areas, it can still be said that the north is a tangibly more sparsely populated region (Lidström, 2012).

Just as significantly, policy practices are conditioned not just by geographical context—with their socio-economic and cultural underpinnings—but also by perceptual and ideological conditions. It becomes meaningful, then, to understand that the SAMS system has been seen in earlier research (Tivenius, 2008) as a *free zone* for music teacher labor, free from national curricula. While more closely aligned to policy today, it is well documented (Gustafsson, 2000) that historically the system maintained a certain distance from compulsory schools as these had to follow regulations established by national policy. Tivenius (2008), in turn, points out that music teachers' general resistance toward policy documents might be an important factor in SAMS hands-off engagement with policy practice.

Regardless of these historic, structural characteristics, collaboration between the two school systems is typical for the north (Kulturskolerådet, 2019; Kulturrådet, 2020). As such, the region seems to align with Bladh and Heimonen (2007) who have argued for closer collaboration as a way of expanding the potential for more democratic and inclusive SAMS while aligning themselves to larger democratic discourses in Northern Europe. The policy practices of these leaders could also be a response to teachers struggling with autonomy in the face of growing market thinking that considered children as costumers to be pleased (see Holmberg, 2010). Holmberg (2010) calls for national strategies that would enable better governance to support SAMS leaders and help teachers to exercise the local policy power that should be theirs. This connects to Schmidt's (2017; 2020) call for policy to be closer to the lives and work of teachers and school leaders. Schmidt (2020, p. 8) argues that "the question of whether or not we should pay attention to or be involved in policy is no question at all" suggesting that the work of music teachers and leaders, also with regards to policy, is consequential.

Conceptual and Methodological Groundings

Concepts from educational policy theory constitute the theoretical framework guiding this chapter. We use the work of Stephen J. Ball (2015) to highlight the intersubjective relation between policy and individuals: *policy* is shaped by individuals while simultaneously producing new policy subjects, shaping their ways of

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thinking and acting. Thus, Ball (2015) argues that “different policies, or more precisely kinds of policy, position and produce teachers as different kinds of policy subjects” (p. 612). However, policy subjects are not only acted upon but are able to enact policy practices themselves and thus carry with them, within their own contextual spaces, an agentic capacity to engage as policymakers—as Di Lorenzo Tillborg (2017a) has argued regarding the leaders at SAMS. We aim to show how this takes place in the case of the leaders at SAMS and why it matters.

Howlett and Rayner (2009) argue that “many existing policies are very complex structures which originated as policy arrangements or regimes developed incrementally in an *ad hoc* fashion over a relatively long period of time and contain a wide mix of policy instruments and aims” (p. 10). This aligns with Rein and Schön (1993) who have described the framing of policy issues as something that “always takes place within a nested context” (p. 154). These standpoints are consequential for this study in two ways: first, by highlighting the nested nature of most policies—working at multiple levels, with certain co-dependence between them—they elucidate and help to dispel the overly rational and strategic perception of policy work; and second, they acknowledge that contextual contingency may require contending paths for action and thus policy adaptation—both in design and enactment. In our analysis, then, we privilege a *multicentric outlook on policy practices*, as it helps to explain some of the actions from participants, while also offering one way to focus on how leaders attend to the complexity of needs and how they can play out within their contexts. This multicentric outlook builds on the understanding that policy practices are, and need to be, enacted by multiple actors in different contexts.

Next, we expand the multicentric outlook on policy practice that influences the data context for the case explored in this chapter, by drawing from and connecting it to the notion of policy multivocality. Specifically, the intersection between these two notions helps us place a similar nested set of characteristics found in larger policy structures and environments, to the practices of the policy actors themselves—in this case, Arts and Music School leaders. Multivocality is found in educational research as well as in studies concerned with articulating networked and collaborative (or co-constructive) environs. As Della Sala (2001) has articulated:

The perception of the erosion of the state's monopoly of political authority has generated another trend: a concern with the notion of governance. The emphasis here is not simply on institutions of governing but on the processes and range of actors involved in making decisions that determine collective goods. It reflects a multiplicity of sites and levels of decision-making (p. 134, emphasis in original).

While multivocality is meaningful to this investigation as a representation of the multiplicity of decision-making, as Della Sala explains, multivocality also emerges from research practices concerned with

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articulating educational environments as potential critical sites, placing the voices of practitioners as both needed and credible in policy analysis.

Lastly, the concept of multivocality follows Ball's (2016) concern with the potential for artificiality when we consider only "levels" of action—macro, meso, micro—placing them "as distinct boundaries of political activity and the global and local as a binary" (p. 550). Aligning to that concern, we want to consider different levels of policy as not mutually exclusive but connected and interdependent. Our aim is to "emphasize the interdependency of actors and the movement of ideas in the framing of problems and policy directions and *conceptions*" (Ball, 2016, p. 550, emphasis in original). This resonates with Schmidt's (2020) call for music educators to be seen as policy workers and with Ball's (2015) approach to policy as constituting teachers as policy subjects.

By applying the concepts of multicentricity and multivocality, we aim to understand how policy practices are enacted by the leaders at SAMS in connection to actors in other contexts, to national and local policies, as well as to local and regional nested realities.

The data for the chapter are constituted by excerpts from three focus-group conversations with a total of 16 leaders from 15 different SAMS². The conversations were conducted in each of Sweden's regions and the municipalities were chosen to search for variation and possible deviant cases. They represent schools offering only music and schools offering several art subjects; in small, medium and large municipalities; as well as privately and municipally administrated (all municipally funded). The leaders invited to participate in the three conversations had a previous common background since they had participated in an earlier survey (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017b). Only the data with relevance for the aim of this chapter are included in the analysis. All conversations were moderated by the first author, but with minimal intervention and no pre-defined interview guide, allowing the participants to set the priorities³.

Arguing for Collaboration

We will next detail the ways in which leaders at SAMS emphasize the importance of collaboration with compulsory schools by stating the gains for students, for both school systems as well as for the teachers. Those gains will be described in terms of four categories: (1) framing policy in nested contexts, (2) employability, (3) achieving the goals at the compulsory schools, and (4) inclusion.

² The focus group conversations were conducted between 2016 and 2017.

³ The ethical considerations that steered this research study have been the work of Wiles (2013) and the research ethical principles sponsored by the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet, 2017). Principles of voluntariness, informed consent, confidentiality, and the responsibility to do good and avoid harm guided the research process. To reassure the leaders' confidentiality, they are not presented with their real names in the present chapter but with other names of their choice.

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Framing Policy in Nested Contexts

When introducing themselves, leaders from northern Sweden mentioned collaboration with compulsory schools as a “natural” part of their work and in many cases also as the largest part. In northern Sweden, the leaders also talked about collaboration as contrasting to the two other regions in Sweden since they proportionally and statistically “reach far more students in the voluntary activities” (leader Petter) mainly because of the close collaboration with compulsory schools.

When framing national policies into the nested realities of regional and local needs (Rein & Schön, 1993), the leaders argue for the importance of collaboration by stating the gains for SAMS themselves. One main concern of the leaders in the north was the fact that the inquiry (SOU 2016:69) considered the voluntary after-school activities to be the core of SAMS. The concern is in line with recent statistics (Kulturskolerådet, 2019) that expose how SAMS activities during the school day are most common in the northern parts of Sweden (compared to the other parts).

Leaders explained their positioning against the focus on voluntary activities by highlighting that collaboration with compulsory schools is such an important part of their work, consisting of up to two-thirds of their work in some cases. One leader (Petter) argued that if SAMS are to become exclusively “after-school” as an adjustment to a possible future new policy, there is a risk of losing “maybe 30–40 thousand students in Sweden.” Political and economic preoccupations similar to the mentioned here have been exposed by previous research (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a; Jeppsson, 2020).

Another concern by the leaders about the inquiry regarded its focus on specifying pedagogical approaches to be prioritized by SAMS. They commented on it, with a critique of how the inquiry focused on group teaching.

Petter: In all the similar and comparable legal frameworks in Sweden, the State states what is to be achieved; that’s a basic rule number one that it is the municipality that decides how to organize it, the delegation right is always for the municipality to organize it so it fits the municipality.

In this statement, policies for SAMS are compared to other national governmental policies, which commonly state national goals, while municipal policies state and regulate suitable pedagogical content for each municipality. Another leader, Lisa added that variety is the strength of SAMS. The argument against detailing pedagogical approaches on a national level most likely implies that leaders trust the pedagogical and professional autonomy of their employees.

When the leaders express their concerns with national policies and create local policies, they act as policy workers, using their framing capacity to connect different levels of policy. In this way, the policy

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practice of these leaders connects to and exemplifies notions of policy practice articulated by Ball (2016) and Schmidt (2020) regarding the leaders as policy workers being constituted as policy subjects in interdependency with different levels of policy.

Employability

Employability is a theme that leaders often returned to when they discussed policy changes, as policy changes can and often have an impact on the teachers' employability. Here, leaders' statements focused on the gains for teachers at SAMS as well as gains for both school systems (SAMS and compulsory schools). The geography of the sparsely populated region of northern Sweden is pointed out by the leaders as a possible obstacle for teachers to get full-time employment, which is one of the reasons why these leaders tend to privilege policies that allow teachers to be part of both systems. National and local policies for compulsory schools together with national and local policies for SAMS make up a nested and complex network of policies, in line with the nested contexts described above (Howlett & Rayner, 2006; Rein & Schön, 1993).

Concerning teachers' employment, collaborations between SAMS and compulsory schools, depend on how actors in different contexts work with the nested network of policies therein. This invites a multicentric outlook that takes into consideration the multiple policies at play. The leaders stated that a way of offering better work conditions for their employees—and consequently becoming more attractive as employers—is to offer combined full-time positions, employing a person to both the SAMS and to the compulsory school(s). Most leaders from northern Sweden stated that they are responsible to hire music (and other subjects) classroom teacher(s) for the compulsory school(s). This kind of arrangement leads to music teachers belonging to the staff at both schools, referred as “combined employment” by the leaders. Even the leaders from northern Sweden who are not responsible to hire teachers for the compulsory schools emphasized the close collaboration between the systems, “as a resource in the compulsory school” (Britta) working together in projects. The approach of such leaders can be interpreted as an example of local governance, or local policy practice; collaboration processes take place between the two school systems as a consequence of local needs for the specific region of northern Sweden. Leader governance takes place, in a way that is similar to what Holmberg (2010) suggests for teachers. Furthermore, according to SAMS leaders, compulsory schools too can lack the economic conditions to employ full-time music teachers on their own. A music teacher working exclusively with classroom teaching in a typical northern Sweden municipality would probably have part-time employment and lack colleagues in the same subject, as explained in the following excerpt.

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Jonas: It would not be any good if each school would take care of its own recruitment, it would lead to a lot of small part-time employments and they [the music teachers] would be quite alone. They actually were quite alone also, those music teachers who were working in the compulsory school before they got into a larger context, a collegial body. It's a huge difference.

The description shows how compulsory schools gain from such collaboration, but also how collaboration between the two school systems often provides general music teachers with better working conditions through the combined employment structure. Another aspect of working conditions that was discussed by the leaders refers to teachers' working hours, which leaders consider to be better in collaborative environments; even when combined employment is not the case. They claim that if collaboration were not possible, most teaching would need to take place after-school, shifting teacher labor mainly into the evenings.

Achieving the Goals at the Compulsory Schools

Following another line of argument in favor of collaboration, leaders state that participation in SAMS can help students achieve learning goals at compulsory schools. Even though the topic is not as dominant as contextuality, employability or inclusion, several leaders in northern Sweden engaged in this kind of argument, hence building on the gains for students as well as compulsory schools. The policy practice of the leaders, once again, links multiple contexts for their benefit. Multivocality (Della Sala, 2001) and multicentricity (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2019) are at play when the SAMS leaders consider students, leaders, and teachers, as well as national and local co-constructed policies for SAMS and compulsory schools.

Leaders in all regions spoke of collaboration as beneficial to the compulsory school. They assured that compulsory schools too are satisfied with mutual collaboration. To support this position, they cited several cases of projects and activities initiated at the request of the compulsory school, such as string classes and wind classes mentioned by Selma. Another kind of oft-cited collaboration involves employers from the compulsory school, for instance, the principal or the school nurse contacting the leaders at SAMS to get a particular student who is considered to be "in trouble" to start taking music lessons: compulsory schools can initiate a partnership with SAMS and encourage students with apparent difficulties in the compulsory school environment to participate when they show an interest in musical activities. In several cases, the leaders mention feedback from students and/or parents, with testimonies of improved school results. The leaders associate such testimonies with the close collaboration between the two school systems.

Some leaders at SAMS in northern Sweden state that they work in close collaboration with upper secondary school programs with music as a subject. According to the leaders, such collaboration provides

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good opportunities for the students to achieve the goals in upper secondary school, and also for the teachers to assess the students' results since there are more meetings between the teachers and students.

The following kind of connection between SAMS and compulsory schools was only mentioned by one of the leaders:

Britta: Our teachers are responsible for further education [of the teachers in the compulsory school] and this is work in the evenings and weekends and so on, so we are very flexible.

In this case, SAMS teachers are, along with their leader, described as flexible by the leader herself since they arrange further education for the compulsory-school teachers in uncomfortable working hours.

Inclusion

Much of the leaders' discussions follow the logic of student gains as a consequence of collaboration toward inclusion of all children. Their arguments concentrated around two discursive nodes: one that equates inclusion with access and another where complexity and multicentricity are considered. In the first discursive node, accessibility emerged as a necessary and possibly sufficient characteristic of SAMS, a characteristic that can be achieved through collaboration with compulsory schools. The second discursive node did not display the same limitations but emphasized the contextual complexities and the need for a multicentric outlook.

When arguing for collaboration for inclusion, leaders in northern Sweden mention the compulsory schools for children with learning disabilities and the compulsory schools for children with severe learning disabilities.⁴ They claimed that children in these specific schools are not usually part of the voluntary SAMS activities, which can change when SAMS collaborate with the compulsory school system: When SAMS have established deeper relations with the children in their own spheres (the compulsory schools), the children feel comfortable to apply to the voluntary activities, which in turn fosters mutual access between SAMS and the children.

Geographical distance is one of the contextual complexities that the leaders take into consideration when arguing for collaboration for inclusion of all children. They explain that, by offering instrument lessons in the compulsory school buildings, SAMS provide the same opportunity to every child since the children do not depend on parents to regularly drive them to instrumental lessons. In some municipalities, leaders state that it is possible to do so during the school day, while other leaders mention how they struggle with local policies that do not allow instrument lessons during the school day, even though some compulsory school

⁴ In Swedish: *grundskolor* and *träningsskolor* (Skolverket, 2020).

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principals “know the value” of SAMS, as Cecilia put it. In all the municipalities represented by the leaders from northern Sweden, students were said to be allowed to take a break from the compulsory school regular classes to have instrument lessons in the same building during the daytime.

The leaders from SAMS in northern Sweden talked about the contextual complexities and regional needs, affirming that collaboration with different partners is needed to encompass a variety of activities. Detailing it further, some leaders mention that it is possible to offer lessons on a broad range of musical instruments due to the combined employments of teachers working for both school systems, as several teachers with different qualifications become available to the SAMS.

Samuel: So, we can basically have all kinds of instruments with this small group that we are by having this kind of combination employments.

In other words, according to the leaders, even though they might have a small group of teachers due to the size of the municipality (and consequently the number of potential students), the institution can hire teachers specialized in a diversity of instruments since the same teachers can get full-time employment by working at the compulsory schools. The model is an example of what Schmidt (2020) would describe as contextual policy framings practices.

Diversity was also spoken of concerning children and their individual differences. Lisa, for instance, explained that diversity is an important foundation of SAMS “because children are so different,” as she put it, and she explained further:

Lisa: So having this combination of groups, work in the evenings, work with the after-school centers, work with individuals, work with special needs, this whole range, this is the strength and this should not be taken away, it would be silly.

Central to this excerpt is the notion that collaboration with the compulsory schools, along with other kinds of collaborations and different methods and specializations, is directly related to diversity.

Drawing from our analysis, collaboration is enforced and legitimized by inclusive aims when contextual complexities (Schmidt, 2020), multivocality (Della Sala, 2001), regional needs (Rein & Schön; 1993) and individual differences are considered by leadership when framing policy.

Concluding remarks

The results show how collaboration with the compulsory school system is central in the leaders’ talk as a response to regional needs and national policies for inclusion of all children, which challenges the earlier described (Di Lorenzo Tillborg, 2017a) notion of a sharp separation between the SAMS discourse and the

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compulsory school discourses. When the conversation with leaders in the north is analyzed together with the conversations in the center and the south of Sweden, a resistance against the antagonism between a SAMS discourse and a compulsory school discourse is exposed. Arguments presented by the leaders point to inclusion of all children as well as to contextual, economic, market driven and inclusionary aspects that altogether contribute to enforcing the idea of collaboration between SAMS and compulsory schools as important and necessary. Indeed, the results add to and problematize previous results by adding the dimension of collaboration as a central one. This also challenges the national inquiry (SOU 2016:69) with its exclusive focus on after-school activities.

Our analysis is in alignment with considerations developed by Ball (2015), who outlines the impact of policies and how they produce ways of thinking and being, saying. These ways of conceptualizing policy collaboration or lack thereof seem to “frame” the leaders and their ways of acting, and of course, also frame how the courses, activities, and even the pupils are envisioned by leaders at SAMS.

The critique of the 2016 inquiry can be interpreted as a reflection of how leaders see the impact of policy and the potential risks for the inclusion of children. So, it can be described as a framing issue, both from a government perspective and from a leadership perspective. These groups of leaders react to and try to anticipate policy, or, in Rein and Schön’s (1993) terms, they frame policy into the nested realities to the regional needs. This can also be interpreted as an example of the impact of building a framing capacity, where agency builds on the understanding of contextual complexities, in line with Schmidt (2017). Regarding multicentric inclusion, policy subjects on different levels can benefit from considering contextual complexities, individual differences, and regional needs when framing policy.

We conclude that collaboration has a dominant position from a leadership perspective in relation to national policies for inclusion of all children and to the contextuality of sparsely populated areas in Sweden. The contextual complexities of sparsely populated regions may be internationally transferable, which is why the potential of collaboration needs to be further explored and considered by policy actors on different levels in the international music education society.

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Music Education and Democratisation

This thesis explores the role of politically regulated art and music schools in Sweden (kulturskolor, in Swedish) in securing all children's cultural rights. By analysing conversations with leaders from such schools and policy documents, it exposes discourses of inclusion and exclusion, offering possible pathways towards the democratisation of music education through engagement in policy processes.



Photo: Leif Johansson

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Malmö Academy of Music

Lund University, Faculty of Fine and Performing Arts
Studies in Music and Music Education
ISBN 978-91-88409-27-0
ISSN 1404-6539