Been, being and becoming More Music: a critical ethnographic case study of the role and responsibility of a community music organisation in the UK

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

York St John University, School of the Arts

December, 2020

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An extract from the following jointly-authored publication is included in chapter 4 (p. 93):

Currie, R., Higgins, L. (2019). From Problem to progression: Reconceptualising a young people's music program in the UK. In Kaufman, B. & Scripp, L. (Eds), *Music learning as youth development* (pp.95-111). New York: Routledge.

This jointly-authored work includes a case study, written by the candidate, an extract from which is used. Permission to use this has been approved and acknowledged as the candidates on work by the authors.

Acknowledgements

I want to thank my supervisors, Professor Lee Higgins and Dr Rob Wilsmore, for their critique and encouragement. I would also like to thank Dr Jane Rand for her support in the early stages of this project. Lee, your trust and support has been immeasurable, and I am grateful for the opportunities that have been made possible through this process. Rob, your critical perspectives have been thoughtfully offered and responding to your comments has helped me to become more confident.

This PhD would not have been possible without the trust and openness of More Music. Pete Moser's belief that there was more to learn and Kathryn MacDonald's commitment to critical reflection has, I hope, opened the possibility for this project to be a useful thinking tool for More Music. The warmth of the welcome I received from More Music and the people I met in Morecambe will stay with me forever. I am grateful for their invitation to join them, through research and for resourcing this project. My gratitude abounds the space I have to thank.

This PhD opportunity was signposted to me by Dr Alison Daubney, with whom I have worked with and been mentored by since training as a secondary school music teacher in 2009. Ally, thank you for your friendship. Undertaking this project has taken me to amazing places, and I extend gratitude to everyone I have engaged with at conferences and events; you have helped me understand my work in new ways. I would also like to thank all my friends and colleagues from York St John, in particular, Dr Jo Gibson, for her friendship, critique and encouragement.

Without my family and friends, I cannot imagine how this process may have unfolded. My biggest thanks go to my mum, Irene, whose belief in me far exceeds my own. I'd also like to thank Elaine and Georgia for their support and fantastic listening. Ladies, thank you all for being utterly brilliant. To my partner, Greig, for all his love, support and belief in me. I also want to thank my brother David and all my friends, particularly, Karen and Emmeline. I am grateful to you all for your love and support.

Abstract

Community musicians are often understood as having a passion and vision for cultural democracy, underpinned by values privileging access, inclusion and equity as an imperative for being there. In this study, I work with a community music organisation through a critical ethnographic case study to consider the role and responsibility of being a cultural leader within the UK arts and cultural sector. Working with Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and Lee Higgins' conceptualisation of community music as hospitality, I suggest that hegemonic participatory practices that privilege uneven frameworks for decision making have stimulated a culture that positions cultural leaders as gatekeepers between policy and participation and risks distancing them from a pedagogical imperative for being there: cultural democracy. Through this, cultural leaders develop competencies to 'play the game of culture', which contribute to reproductions of top-down decision making frameworks. Despite this, I suggest that when gatekeepers are driven by a passion and vision for access, inclusion and equity, the dissonance of these practices create tensions. Through historical analysis, a literature discussion and three units of analysis documenting fieldwork, I outline ways that these tensions play out and suggest that this opens possibilities to reconsider what the powerful position of cultural leadership can do and why. I suggest that cultural leadership, when considered through pedagogical approaches to community music, may support reflexive and critical positions of strategic leadership. Through this, cultural leaders confront new ways to think about 'why' 'how' and 'with whom', routed through, and more in-step with, their passion and vision. I suggest this is 'critical cultural leadership', an activist process of going beyond established practices, which works towards 'common ground', sites of decision making unfamiliar to all but more representative of the plurality of ways that participation is experienced, in situ, by those impacted by participation policies.

Contents

Detailed table of contents

List of figures

Chapter 1

Introduction

Why is this thesis important?

Community music, as understood within the United Kingdom (UK) community arts movement of the 1970s, can be located as a practice that has been historically on the fringes of public policy and funding for arts and culture. However, in tandem with the inclusion agenda, emerging through the 1990s, there has been a growth in publicly-funded community music activity. A product of this is that community music activity is now more connected to the role of 'cultural leaders', who often drive its design and programming within and through partnership with publicly-funded arts and cultural institutions. Despite the development of both community music and cultural leadership as discreet areas of scholarly focus, there is little collaboration between the two areas of research. Both areas of scholarship are speeding towards a critical turn concerning issues of situating the local within the global, funding participatory activity and positions of power, and, representation. A wealth of arts and cultural sector policy research exists as it pertains to participation and what it is funded to do; as does that of community music. Through this study, I seek to provide part of a scaffold that can critically bridge this open space for scholarly inquiry, focusing on a specific and under-researched component of this discussion: community music institutions. Bridging thinking in community music and cultural leadership is essential for understanding their contemporary contexts. Mainly, as community music activity has become a commonly funded area of participation within policy agendas that seek to increase engagement and support inclusion, community musicians and those who programme its practice are often in strategic leadership positions. They also, akin to contexts of arts and cultural participation across other artforms, work within a dominant rule structure for how participation is valued – an argument I will set forth within this study. Working in this way requires impact reports that can border how participation is communicated and understood. I contend that this locates those representing community music, in strategic positions of decision making, as gatekeepers for arts and cultural participation.

Through this study, I suggest that community musicians in strategic positions of leadership are well placed within the contexts of participation to use their powerful position as gatekeepers to enact 'critical cultural leadership'. I argue that 'critical cultural leadership' is an activist process of strategic leadership that seeks to purposely disrupt hegemonic participatory practices and scaffold to more democratic ways of understanding participation. I suggest that community music 'institutions' (framed through Bourdieu's concept of 'institutional capital') have an

essential role and responsibility in this. Critical cultural leadership, constructed at the intersections of people, policy and perceptions of participation, is a position informed through collaboration and negotiation with others. Furthermore, those operating as critical cultural leaders recognise reflexivity as a responsibility and central tenant of their practice. It is an approach to decision making and leadership which is possibly more in step with the ideological inheritance of community music in the UK, which I illustrate through this thesis to be one with intentions towards a 'passion and vision' of cultural democracy. Through conceptualising community music institutions as critical cultural leaders, I suggest that they can utilise their powerful and historical positions as gatekeepers to work towards 'common ground'. I suggest that this is a space of negotiation that confronts and scaffolds towards the plurality of ways that experiences may frame perceptions of participation. It is an acknowledgement of 'common', through difference, and 'ground', as a site of action which is rooted in a sense of place and responsibility to those that connect to it.

Overview of this study

This thesis documents my time with the community music and education charity, More Music (located in the North West of England, UK). I work with Bourdieu's theory of practice to trace an example of how community musicians' powerful positioning as cultural leaders has developed within decision making structures of arts and cultural policy in the UK. Through a critical ethnographic case study, I use Bourdieu's conceptual tools of 'habitus', 'capital', 'field' and 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 1977; 1986; Robbins, 2000; Gorski, 2013) to better understand More Music's role and responsibility in West End Morecambe (where they are geographically located) as a cultural leader and as a community music 'institution': a term I apply to More Music through this study. I consider these tools and More Music's role and responsibility through Higgins' (2012) conceptualisation of community music as hospitality, through his reading of Derrida. Through the theoretical and methodological framework, discussed in chapter 2, and its relationship to literature outlined in chapter 3, I outline conditions which frame community music participation through institutionalised contexts. With a need to understand the extent that activity in this context reproduces or transforms opportunities to access arts and culture in the UK, I look specifically at how this locates community musicians in strategic positions of power as gatekeepers between policy and people, reinforced through historic, hegemonic perspectives of participation, particularly, ways that these historical

positions can be challenged by working through intentions illuminated as hospitality within community music, through cultural leadership. I question what representing community music at an 'institutional position' may mean, and what implications and opportunities this may foster for those working in strategic positions of leadership within the arts and cultural sector. Particularly, those who identify with, and as, community musicians.

Through chapters 4, 5 and 6, I suggest that when cultural leadership is understood to possess various forms of capital, aspects of decision making about how quality is understood, in relation to participation and programming, may become taken for granted and lead to institutional blind spots; this may contribute to hegemonic participatory practices which are out of step with the intentions that cultural leaders may have for why they undertake their practice. I suggest that cultural leaders recognise the tension in their position, between a 'passion and vision' (Langley, 2010) for why they undertake their practice and the rules of 'playing the game' (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2002) within the structures of policymaking for arts and culture. In chapter 7, I suggest that moving into, and being supported within, more critically reflexive positions of cultural leadership opens an opportunity for the inheritance and conditions of such roles to be confronted and repositioned. Working in this way becomes part of a responsibility towards access, inclusion and equity, through participation and both celebrates and challenges the plurality of its meaning. Through historical analysis, I trace the evolution of More Music and suggest how their role has developed as a cultural leader, doing so, to offer possible conceptualisations of how their role and responsibility may have been performed and understood, opening space to conceptualise what it may become. I identify the way that the capital they accumulate over their long-standing history provides them with a platform to be recognised as a 'beacon' of community music; a phrase traceable through their evolution and imprinted into ways they are supported to 'build confidence and spirit in individuals' (More Music, 2019). Through historical analysis, participant observation and field notes, between 2015 – 2018, I have responded to the overarching research question:

What is the role and responsibility of More Music in West End Morecambe, as a community music institution and as a publicly-funded cultural leader?

As a theory-seeking (Bassey, 1999) and critical ethnographic (Soyini Madison, 2012; 2019) case study, this overarching research question was considered further, through three subsequent

questions that emerged through the construction of the historical analysis (chapter 4) and thematic analysis of fieldwork (chapter 5). The following questions guide the ideas in chapter 6 and the conclusion of this thesis, in chapters 7 and 8:

- How has position-making (as a 'beacon') and position-taking (as a cultural leader) been constructed and what implications might this have for situated community music activity that seeks to work within an emancipatory agenda at an institutional position?

- What are the social and political structures in play, which support community music to operate at this institutional position?

- How might qualities within situated community music activity inform pedagogic approaches to cultural leadership, and support increasingly democratic sites of strategic leadership in arts and culture?

By outlining More Music's journey towards becoming a critical cultural leader, I illustrate a relationship between community music and cultural leadership, doing so by detailing ways that Bourdieu's theory of practice and Higgins' theory of hospitality through community music, can be understood within their practice. I conceptualise ways that their role and responsibility can be understood as a way to challenge the dominant conditions of operating as a cultural leader in the UK. Finally, I question what this can tell us about the conditions within the role and responsibility of being a community music institution and working towards critical cultural leadership, against the backdrop of the UK arts and cultural policy agendas.

Overview of chapters

Chapter 2 outlines the research design through an interwoven theoretical and methodological framework. It sets out parameters through which the exploration of position-making (as a beacon) and position-taking (as a cultural leader) will be considered and makes clear why theory and method as design cannot be separated. In this chapter, I introduce key theorists who guide my thinking and how the critical ethnographic case study will be framed — doing so,

towards possibilities for how arts and cultural partnerships and projects may become more accessible, inclusive and equitable in their design.

Chapter 3 builds on this to consider ways in which inequality may have been reproduced through the arts and cultural sector, focusing specifically on ways in which access, inclusion and equity have been considered within the literature relevant to this study. This is considered through literature on cultural democracy, cultural value and cultural leadership, in relation to discourse of community music as an emancipatory and chameleonic practice. From here, theoretical concerns of bordering and gatekeeping, borrowed from scholarship in communications, media and cultural geography, are discussed to consider the possible tensions for the cultural sector and community music, in the ways they coexist at an institutional position.

Chapter 4 is the first of three discussion chapters – Been, Being and Becoming More Music. 'Been' undertakes a historical analysis of More Music's evolution. It traces their roots, the critical instances that shape the form of their organisation today, and how this constructs a possible 'habitus' that has contributed to their position-making and position-taking.

Chapter 5, 'Being' part 1, is a discussion of my fieldwork between 2016 - 2018. It considers three units of analysis – More Music's West End Partnership Working; The West End Development Worker; and, The West End Lantern Festival. Through which, More Music's position-making and position-taking can be understood through their history and their intentions as an organisation, to contribute to situated transformations through a project called Deeper Local. This chapter details and discusses these units of analysis through 'thick description' of fieldwork, in relation to Bourdieu's conceptual tools.

Chapter 6, ‘Being’ part 2, undertakes an analysis with both Bourdieu and Higgins, as a way to conceptualise a possible role and responsibility of community music at an institutional position, focusing specifically on Higgins' conceptualisation through hospitality. Building from chapter 5, this chapter outlines possibilities for future practice and tensions that may restrict it.

Chapter 7, 'Becoming', discusses the ways that community music at an institutional position may be understood as critical cultural leadership, specifically through the possible destabilisation and reconceptualisation of its role and responsibility. This chapter will outline

possible ways of understanding these positions as sites for collaboration towards the social justice issues of access, inclusion and equity that inform decision making in the cultural sector and in community music activity. Through this, possibilities for future practice are considered, and opportunities to utilise these positions for collaborative action are suggested.

Chapter 8 brings this thesis to a coda. It reflects the key ideas from this study, alongside the future possibilities for its application in understanding the role and responsibility of community music at an institutional position.

Chapter 2

Towards ‘Been, being and becoming More Music’: A theoretical and methodological framework

Fieldwork is full of unexpected opportunities for generosity. You will meet people you don’t like, people you adore, others you will never want to forget, and a few you wish you could. Fieldwork, above all, is relational.

Soyini Madison (2019, p. 2)

Introduction

Two theorists inform my critical thinking through this study. The first theorist is Pierre Bourdieu. I use Bourdieu's conceptual tools of 'habitus' (a history), 'field' (sites of action), 'capital' (what is gained and used in these fields, informed by a habitus), and, 'doxa' (that which is taken-for-granted through an accumulation of these tools) to assist me in framing the role and responsibility of More Music. Specifically, I use the term 'institution' to theorise ways that Bourdieu's concept of 'institutional' capital can be understood through the 'seal of approval', that positions More Music as a cultural leader. The second theorist informing this study is Lee Higgins. Through engaging with Higgins' conceptualisation of hospitality through community music, leading from his reading of Derrida, I seek to identify possible conditions which restrict the intentions to transform. This is important because community musicians often identify 'transformation' as a guiding and emancipatory rationale for making music with others. This study does not critique the music made with More Music, but builds from Higgins' theoretical lens to consider both the challenges to and possibilities of hospitality, when conceptualised at an institutional position; a position where community music is planned and programmed with intentions to transform. In asking 'what is the role and responsibility of More Music in West End Morecambe, as a community music institution and as a publicly-funded cultural leader?' I seek to support critique that illustrates how community music can contribute to a living history of working as part of the arts and cultural sector in the UK, particularly, the tensions that arise through 'playing the game of culture' to enable the work to happen, for a practice that seeks to support access, inclusion and equity. This chapter will introduce the reader to Bourdieu and Higgins and the theoretical intentions of this study and will outline the methodology that puts this theory to work.

Through early discussions with More Music, it was agreed that this study would work towards a 'theory-seeking' case study (Bassey, 1999) as a possible way to understand their role and responsibility as a cultural leader. This case study would consider the 'unique phenomena' (Yin, 2014) of More Music, as the only regularly and most longstanding publicly-funded organisation in Morecambe. However, to only consider how their work manifests in Morecambe was not satisfactory in making sense of the complex relationships at play in how their position as a cultural leader interacted with the social and political structures that support this position. Instead, the specifics of More Music's evolution is one meaningful way to understand the possible role and responsibility of community music at an 'institutional'

position: a position which I will frame through Bourdieu's theory of practice in this chapter. When thinking through the literature considered in chapter 3, the lived experience of More Music as an organisation that has grown for almost thirty years was essential to consider, to understand ways that their work had meaning within policy systems that support it. Understanding this gave rise to questions of the role and responsibility of community music at an 'institutional' position, in connection to narratives of inequality that frame much decision making for funding arts and cultural participation. Blending critical ethnography with case study was identified as an effective approach to responding to this; specifically, because critical ethnography is an approach to being in the research site that, similar to case studies, takes a deep-dive approach and is detailed in its narrative of what happens in a specific context. However, it is also a methodology guided by intentions to challenge issues of social justice (Soyini Madison, 2012; 2019) and seeks to understand the specific, in the context of the systems and structures that it operates within. It was evident in the early stages of preparing this study that More Music had roles and responsibilities that sought to address issues of social justice through their practice within Morecambe. However, the decisions to do so were supported by policy structures that positioned More Music and the power they had to make decisions about how to work with others, towards social justice in Morecambe, that felt possibly misaligned to community musicians' historical commitment to cultural democracy. In this sense, there appeared to be tension between the role More Music played and who their responsibility was best serving. A critical ethnographic case study carved a space through which I could consider the role and responsibility of community music at an institutional position, more generally, through the social and political structures that support it, whilst also understanding the specific intentions of the organisation which operates at this position. With Bourdieu, Higgins and More Music guiding my path, I argue that the conditions of hospitality, when considered at an institutional position, disrupts the passion and vision for cultural democracy, historically guiding community music activity in the UK. I suggest that these conditions position cultural leaders who work with community music as gatekeepers between policy and participation. This position both facilitates and restricts when conceptualised to work with 'intentions to transform'. As such, it is the role and responsibility of a community music institution (an organisation that places people and their access, inclusion and equity in participatory decision making as the central imperative for being there) to resist hegemonic participation practices through reflexive and critical position-taking.

This chapter intends to outline the research design that positions such arguments. I begin with an introduction to each theorist and a rationale for how they support and challenge this study (part 1). I then outline the methodological design with the same intention (part 2).

Part 1

A theoretical framework: Habitus, institutional cultural capital and hospitality

Pierre Bourdieu

Key theoretical ideas

In the UK in 1986, in the wake of the miners strikes and amid Margret Thatcher's preparation to introduce the Community Charge[1], Pierre Bourdieu was revisiting his theory of capital in France. For Bourdieu, the 'social world is accumulated history' (1986, p. 241), which he considers as the 'habitus'. After facing criticism around this time about his construction of 'capital', Bourdieu felt it necessary to reinforce his intent for these concepts. It is important to point out that much of the early criticisms of Bourdieu's work in the Anglophone world are now widely accepted to be influenced by the sequence in which his work was translated (Bourdieu, 1989a; Gorski, 2013; Robbins, 2000; Swartz, 2012). Gorski (2013) suggests that Bourdieu offers three ways to conceptualise power:

[1] The 'Community Charge', which is also referred to as the 'Poll Tax' was a household tax system introduced in Scotland in 1989, under a Conservative government. Scottish people have often felt that this system was trialled on them, before introducing it in the rest of the UK. This system of taxation required every household member to pay a flat rate of tax, irrespective of employment or other socio-economic factors influencing members of a household. In 1993, this system was abolished and replaced by 'Council Tax'. Council Tax has set rates, based on postcodes and specific socio-economic factors. As someone who was an infant in Scotland at this time, the impact of the Community Charge influenced my formative years. It contributed to my family's socio-economic status at the time. As such, in the reflexivity that this study embraces, it is of relevance to note.

> …power vested in particular resource (capital), power concentrated in specific spheres of struggle, such as capital (fields of power), and power as practical, taken-for-granted acceptance of existing social hierarchies (symbolic power and violence).
>
> (2013, p. 21)

Through his *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Bourdieu (1977) constructs a series of 'possible possibilities' that can account for the production of conscious and unconscious engagement in structures that reinforce individuals' current perceptions of their position within a given social context. These perceptions include the 'choices' made within these contexts, extending from experiences and expectations that inform the situation they are in (Robbins, 2000, p. 32). Bourdieu does this through an exposition of different social contexts and the power relations that are reproduced through these, considering class, gender, education and the family as stimuli for the positions people inherit and adopt through our lives. His theory is generated initially through fieldwork in Algeria (Bourdieu, 1962), subsequently reimagined by Bourdieu as his career intercepts different institutional and objective structures, most notably, his acceleration and recognition in higher education institutions (Costa and Murphy, 2015; Swartz, 2012). He considers this specifically in *Homo Academicus* (Bourdieu, 1988) where he considers how capital converts and ways this grant him passage to the 'educational elite' (Medvetez and Sallaz, 2018, p. 2); he particularly grapples with the tension of the institutional capital he gained and the power this afforded him. For example:

> On the one hand the institution strengthened his formal authority and his capacity to hold influential power but, on the other hand, the institution might symboli[s]e an educational tradition which would seem to be at odds with the view of education that Bourdieu had developed in his empirical research of the 1960s.
>
> Robbins (2019, p. 201)

How this positioning interacted with his historical intentions for entering the field of academia and his fieldwork in Algeria has relevance for understanding More Music in this study. Particularly, when considered through Ingram and Abrahams' (2016) assertion that the relationship between where you come from and the positions of power that you gain can cause a 'habitus tug' (p. 146), which produces a tension of purpose and responsibility. Bourdieu may

have used this tension to explore the positions of power for representatives of education and through his theory of practice. Particularly, he aims to bridge the perceived divide between theoretical constructions of social position on the part of the observer, towards how this manifests in practice through the experience of discrete contents, or 'fields' (education, as discussed by Bourdieu, could be one such field). This scaffolds towards his later articulation of how our histories shape our taste in 'Distinction' in 1984, where he critiqued reproductions of class constructions in cultural tastes. Bourdieu appears less interested in a comparative understanding of social phenomena – for example, how one field relates to another - and more in the relative positions within specific contexts and how individual and collective histories may underpin this. Bourdieu's writing's lead us to his understanding that our tastes and the people we surround ourselves with is a product of our habitus and the competencies we accrue along the way.

The concepts within Bourdieu's theory of practice are often understood to offer 'thinking tools' (Gorski, 2013; Swartz, 2012; Costa and Murphy, 2015). When applied to histories and social contexts, researchers attempt to 'understand, explain and disclose inequalities at different layers of society (Costa and Murphy, 2015, p. 3). The practical application of concepts as tools explicitly addresses Bourdieu's intention for their methodological application. However, a significant issue in the application of Bourdieu's theory of practice, particularly in the Anglophone world, is that some of these tools are privileged over others. In contrast, Bourdieu is explicit that they are interdependent and together support critical understandings of how people and institutions are positioned. 'Cherry-picking' of concepts is a limitation of working with Bourdieu. For this reason, I am explicit in my use of these concepts as a way to expose their interrelation, acknowledging their methodological intention. Bourdieu's concepts are widely applied within theoretical contributions to music education and cultural policy research. Given this study's partial location in these research contexts, Bourdieu is both useful and relevant for thinking about contexts connected to community music. The tools within Bourdieu's theory of practice are 'habitus', 'doxa', 'field', and 'capital' (institutional, symbolic, cultural, social and economic). I now discuss each, in turn, before considering more specifically how they relate to this thesis.

Habitus

Bourdieu draws distinction early in his use of 'habitus', from standard notions of 'habits', particularly that of rituals (Swartz, 2012, p. 115). Robbins (2000) suggests that Bourdieu's appropriation of the term in 1967[2], was a rejection of Panofsky's use to 'explain the affinities between scholastic thinking and Gothic architecture' (p. 26). Instead, he intended to use it as a term to embody not only the habits or learned taken-for-granted aspects of acceptable social life but to construct a concept that could make space to question how these experiences were produced. Specifically, Bourdieu was concerned with how the habitus reappears through different situations in people's lives, and how their historical positioning afforded or suppressed their power in given contexts, including how choices related to the inequality of others (within 'fields'). Bourdieu was interested in what people do and what this can tell us about how to challenge social and cultural reproduction. As the concept of habitus became familiar in the sociological discourse of the late 1970s and 1980s, Bourdieu took the opportunity to refine the theory by reintroducing his articulation of capital. In 'Forms of capital' in 1986, it becomes clear that Bourdieu builds habitus into capital, suggesting that the two cannot be separated, and that 'embodied cultural capital' is '…external wealth converted into an integral part of the person, into habitus…' (1986, p. 244).

Bourdieu asserts that our present contexts are informed through our history. This history is accumulated through experience of social and economic factors such as class, gender, education, and specific contexts that emerge throughout our lives and the extent to which we have, or have not, had access to opportunities through these. Habitus also takes into consideration our traditions and experience. In particular, the family and how this interacts with the social and economic boundaries of our experience. Experience, in this way, creates a conscious and unconscious set of learned systems that inform our interactions within different social groups. Habitus produces a 'system of durable, transposable *dispositions*' (1977, p. 72 original italics) that can operate reflexively in the social contexts ('fields') that people are 'agent' in (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2002). It is through our own experience of norms that we accept and reject, both consciously and unconsciously, the objective structures (order, rules and assumed behaviours) which inform and, at times, govern the way we operate in our present

[2] Bourdieu, P. (1967), 'Postface to Panofsky', *Architecture Gothique et Pensée Scholastique*, Paris: Editions de Minuit.

and towards our future. Our individual and collective habitus reinforces 'strategy-generating principles[s]', in that we see the possibility to 'cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72) based on the assumptions we bring with us of how we adapt and thrive within given contexts. It is this adaptation that impacts our reproduction or transformation of the objective structures of our contexts, brought about by the 'symbolic capital' we have, and how we position ourselves with others and the structures within the 'field'.

The systems of making sense of contexts that individuals find for themselves, and the justifications for the conditions created, are produced and reinforced through an individual's history. This may be through unconscious norms, reproduced through the transference of rules and competencies in the objective structures. Alternatively, it could also be those resisted, through collective action with others, such as the people and places that challenge our assumptions of values, such as judgements of taste and orientation (Bourdieu, 1984). It is not to suggest that these are a binary, but that they are part of the systems that inform actions and decisions. Bourdieu asserts that habitus is reflexive (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), informed through the objective structures we encounter and the experience we bring into these encounters. How these encounters influence our position in different fields and how these relate to the actions we produce is, in part, informed by our resistance or acceptance of the social and cultural norms we bring with us – the habitus.

Doxa

'Doxa' or, 'that which is taken-for-granted' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 166) are the characteristics and expectations that reinforce the objective structures of a given social context, or field. In his discussion of class distinction, where Bourdieu states that '[…] an agent can have at one and the same time the feeling that there is nothing to do except what he is doing and that he is only doing what he ought' (p. 166), he explores the positions of those both dominant and dominated within distinct social contexts. Specifically, he argues that it is the implicit, or 'taken-for-granted', that reinforces the structuring structures (the conscious and unconscious systems of making sense of a given context) that we operate in, which are a product of habitus. On reflexivity, Bourdieu uses doxa as the conceptual mechanism to claim that our history shapes how we reproduce behaviours and characteristics that lead to the reproduction of dominant and

dominated power relations. It is in the taken-for-granted that bias, how we experience fields, and our positions within them, manifest (Bourdieu, 1977).

Field

Bourdieu sets out through his theory of practice that individuals and groups of individuals position themselves, or are positioned, in the 'field' in relation to others. These positions are stimulated by how people have entered the field and interact with others within it, informed by an individual's habitus (our own experience). Habitus subsequently informs what is taken-for-granted, by those with similar capital within the field (the doxa of the group). An example of this is Robbins' (2019) earlier illustration of Bourdieu's relationship with power and education. Bourdieu suggests that through exerting and gaining access to particular forms of capital, individuals or groups of individuals (agents) can push through into new fields by maintaining a dominant position. Utilising that same position, individuals can also transform the rules within the field to enable others to have increased opportunities. This power can also result in individuals, perceived to have less capital, being held at their current position (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2002). These transformations risk reproducing the existing modes of production brought about by the habitus and agents' capital, which limits movement and restricts the position of others in the field. Again, this power can result in 'symbolic violence'. Symbolic violence occurs through agents' capital and positions in the field when it restricts or oppresses the movement of others, through the structuring structures (Bourdieu, 1979). This disempowerment is not necessarily a conscious act on the part of one or more agents towards others. However, the decisions made by those with dominant positions can have implications for others and reinforce doxa. Particularly, how agents use their positions and capital within the structures of the field, or 'rules of the game'.

Choosing to resist the Marxist vernacular of base and superstructure (Bourdieu, 1990b; Swartz, 2012), Bourdieu positions the social world as a series of structures that produce fields, which are brought about not only by their material but also of the symbolic interests driving relationships within a given context. It is in these fields that power relations manifest. Power in this instance is brought about not only by what individuals or groups of individuals have but how they acquire it beyond predominantly economic means; the resistance to align with the Marxist position of power developed through Bourdieu's lesser interest in how structures

inform each other, and how early capitalism and class distinction inform this. Bourdieu places greater interest in the ways that access to markets interacted with how people distinguished themselves within the fields they operate within, as opposed to those they do not – how fields inter-relate.

Capital

Capital is the material and symbolic power that we acquire through exposure to people, ideas, institutions and economies (Bourdieu, 1986); this sociological articulation of power built from the Marxist conceptualisation, although Bourdieu's separation from traditional Marxism is present throughout his writing. Capital - what we have and how we have it - is based on economic capital: the money and access to opportunities brought about through economic class distinctions. From this, economic capital converts into different modes of production, such as culture and relationships (Swartz, 2012). Capital, in the Bourdieusian sense, asserts as a 'social relation of *power*' (Bourdieu, 1989b, p. 375 original italics, in Swartz, 2012, p. 122); in both material and symbolic form, capital can hold their value in different contexts. Value, in this sense, is not always necessary as a direct conversion through economic means. The ways that different forms of capital have value speaks to Bourdieu's reticence towards 'base and superstructure'. He is interested in how different symbolic and material powers interact and intercept each other to produce various forms of capital, which have value depending on their field. Bourdieu suggests that different forms of capital can be converted into each other, holding relational power that is both material and symbolic, based on the habitus and doxa of those engaging within it, within particular fields. Although Bourdieu asserts that different forms of capital have power beyond economic means, economic metrics of value and power are traceable through his writing, particularly how capital 'holds value' or 'converts' (Robbins, 2000). It is his interest in *how* this capital converts and for what purposes, that brings forward the social relationship between power and its form of capital, supported through interrelation with habitus and field, despite a possible reproduction of its economic linage in the author's inscriptions. Bourdieu offers four forms of capital: cultural, social, economic and symbolic. Similar to the relationship between habitus, doxa and field, the forms of capital are interdependent and convert between each other. Their value is given meaning by agents and the rules and that guide their actions in the field.

Cultural capital

Cultural capital has three forms in Bourdieu's theory of capital (1986): embodied, objectified, and institutionalised. 'Embodied cultural capital' is the skills and competencies developed through actions, mainly through engagement in 'institutional' forms of cultural capital. This capital enables particular cultural dispositions, and from this, individuals and collectives of individuals (grouped by similar competencies) hold the means to produce the power. Bourdieu suggests that this embodied state begins in the 'primary habitus' (early childhood) and that how people interact with different fields in relation to socio-economic positions influences how this embodied cultural capital is stimulated[3]. Through embodied cultural capital, individuals have cultural currency – power – in particular fields. Although embodied cultural capital locates the value within actions, which are based on the field, places emphasis on particular skills or attributes associated with embodied cultural capital, agents embodying these skills are privileged. However, other forms of transmittable capital can convert another's embodied cultural capital into their own, if they do not enter the field with the desired skills, through the dominant modes of production such as education or money.

The second form of cultural capital is 'objectified cultural capital': physical resources that have importance or credibility in different fields and that require particular embodied cultural capital to use, such as books, instruments, technology. These objectified resources have more or less cultural capital dependent on their use within fields and the 'symbolic capital' they produce (how it is given meaning within fields).

The third form of cultural capital is 'institutionalised cultural capital'. Bourdieu views institutionalised capital as the certification that comes from engaging in higher education. The 'stamp of approval' of competencies within a particular context can be evidenced by engagement in institutionalised methods of gaining cultural credibility, particularly regarding competencies in the workforce (Bourdieu, 1986). Although for Bourdieu higher education is his illustration of institutionalised cultural capital, this could apply to other dominant modes of production, which bestow certifications or approval of competencies. Institutionalised cultural

[3] Although Bourdieu asserts that cultural capital is not always a result of economic capital, he acknowledges that access to the resources and opportunities to build embodied cultural capital in the early stages of its development is relational to dominant class positions, which are positioned through economic means.

capital is inextricably linked to economic capital, as Bourdieu views the opportunities to develop embodied cultural capital to be dominated by those who can afford the economic means to do so. Whilst all forms of capital can hold value independently, depending on the doxa of the group, cultural capital can convert from other forms of capital, including different cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1990b).

Social capital

'Social capital' is the power wielded and accrued through the networks and relationships that people hold in different fields. Interrelated to all other forms of capital, social capital enables individuals and groups to share and devise cultural competencies that permit them, as Bourdieu suggests, to play the game (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2002). It 'concerns the value of social networks and how people interact with each other' (Dekker and Uslander, 2003, p. i). Depending on an individual's social capital within a given field, individuals can establish themselves as representatives of their group, generating symbolic capital and 'thereby committing the social capital of the whole group' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 251). When Bourdieu rearticulated his argument of capital in 1986, he argued aggressively that within the building of social capital as a 'tool' within capitalist society, the 'personality cult' reintroduced issues of representation and reinforced the opportunities for inequality within society. He warned that:

> Everything combines to cause the signifier to take the place of the signified, the spokesperson that of a group he is supposed to express, not least because his distinction, his "outstandingness", his visibility constitute the essential part, if not the essence, of this power, which, being entirely set within the logic of knowledge and acknowledgement, is fundamentally symbolic power; but also because the representative, the sign, the emblem, may be, and create, the whole reality of groups which receive effective social existence only in and through representation.
>
> (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 252)

Issues of representation are rooted in the questions of reproduction that Bourdieu posits throughout his work, tracing back to his ethnographic fieldwork in Algeria. In articulating social capital, Bourdieu is concerned with why people want to gain certain capital, and how

this is informed through experience within the habitus. Understanding intentions highlights the doxa that informs decision making and may reproduce priorities within the field. Conversely, social capital as a mechanism for collaborative action can contribute to emancipatory practice (Soyini Madison, 2012), if agents within the field value the possibilities of others and work towards collective capital within their fields.

Bourdieu's tools as a theory of practice

It is in their intention towards functionality, operationalising each as a mechanism to make sense of encounters and 'choices', where Bourdieu locates the conceptualisation as tools (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 18). Another move made by Bourdieu, when re-articulation of 'cultural capital' in 1986, is to make clear the different ways the concepts may operate, 'demonstrat[ing] clearly the way in which the function of the concept has shifted over time in order to perform new tasks' (Robbins, 2000, p. 34). For Bourdieu, theory and practice are always in development and inform one another. It is how the concepts interact with each other through people's experience that give them meaning within Bourdieu's theory of practice. However, the metaphor of tools has an implied temporality, which feels disjointed from Bourdieu's intention for the terms: that they interact and evolve through their use, in relation to situations people are in and the positions through which they relate. Despite this, the idea of 'tools' is a set of practically useful ideas for the researcher to use to build a particularly positioned argument for a given social phenomenon.

Bourdieu's theory suggests that we bring our histories and the competencies within it to the way we construct our lives in the present (habitus). Through habitus, individuals use previous experiences to navigate the present day, reproducing specific attributes and behaviours that are known to enable us to function or have power in different social contexts (position in the field). Each field has different rules and competencies: objective structures and their 'structured structures' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72), that have been developed over time and have become 'taken-for-granted' (doxa). These rules are both a product of the habitus (previous exposure and the cultural, political and economic developments this has grown from) and what people aspire to achieve as 'agents' (people) in the field (a given social context). Tools, when considered as an analogy for transformation and reproduction, are useful in making sense of the relationship between the concepts Bourdieu constructs. Habitus, doxa, field and capital as 'thinking tools' can have a wide-ranging application that can construct our understanding of

learnt attributes and behaviours. When employed by the researcher, Bourdieu's thinking tools can be person-powered to help make sense of society, acknowledging the positions held.

However, it is the person-powered positioning of the tools, which leads me to view 'tools' as problematic. There is an implicit temporality and singularity to the metaphor of tools – use them as and when you need them, to help you build something you need in order to function in a given context. This, in itself, is a possible mechanism for symbolic violence. If, as Bourdieu outlines, these 'thinking tools' are interdependent, then the temporality implied by the practical application of 'tools' risks contradiction of their conceptual intention. The thinking tools are not independent of one another, employed then put away. Moreover, the independent use of these terms in social research has been one of the greatest criticisms of Bourdieu's work, particularly the use of 'cultural capital' and 'habitus', which Robbins (2000) suggests 'ignore[s] the genesis and development of the concept[s] (p. 33). It is in this 'one-off' use that makes the conceptualisation of Bourdieu's ideas as 'tools' problematic within the argument which he sets out – that the concepts are dynamic, they are ever-present and inform decision making, an individual's position in the world, and interaction with others. 'Tools' may imply the use of one thing to construct something new, which Bourdieu explicitly rejects in his theoretical exposition:

> …if one forgets that…objective structures are themselves products of historical practices and are constantly reproduced and transformed by historical practices whose productive principle is itself the product of the structures which it consequently tends to reproduce, then one is condemned to reduce the relationship between the different social agencies (instances), treated as "different translations of the same sentence".
>
> (1977, p. 83)

Moving from binary positions, such as agency/structure, or, subjectivism/objectivism, are central to Bourdieu's theory. Instead, researchers engaging with his concepts consider the interrelated and in-between possibilities of these positions and how they manifest (Bourdieu, 1990a). In this sense, my discomfort with labelling Bourdieu's concepts as 'tools' or not, may in itself construct an unnecessary binary of what the concepts are, or are not, and should focus instead on what they do, as Bourdieu intended. However, the semantics of this may turn out to matter, with tools and 'toolkits' working as possible signifiers for a particular kind of cultural

capital in the fields within this study, which are 'more than a matter of mere technological preference' (Goldthrope, 2007, p. 4). Specifically, the notion of tools is problematic when considered within the ways that cultural leaders have been positioned as experts, as I'll discuss in chapter 3 and throughout the study, the ways that 'participation' is given meaning through cultural competencies is problematic: 'tools' is one such example. For this reason, I remain conflicted in the notion of tools. However, 'thinking tools' and the practical application for which Bourdieu intended them, opens the possibility to support practical understanding of the relationship of theory and practice together.

Bourdieu and More Music

Two fields are represented within this study, through Bourdieu's theory of practice: West End Morecambe and cultural leadership. In considering the possible positions of agents in these fields, and More Music's role and responsibility within these, it is crucial to understand the symbolic ways that power manifests; and, what fields or positions within fields, agents aspire to, and for what purpose? Through this study, I refer to More Music as a 'community music insttitution', this is understood through Bourdieu's concept of institutional capital. I suggest that More Music operate as an 'institution', formed by the 'seal of approval' that comes from recognition through institutional structures. Bourdieu illustrates this through the institutional structures of higher education, for example, recognition of a degree award providing pathways to the labour market. In this study, I suggest that this 'seal of approval' can be understood similarly in cultural organisations that are publicly-funded; that their work is recognised and given the resources to be, for example, a National Portfolio Organisation[4]. In the forthcoming chapters, I will suggest that More Music's development through the inclusion agenda of the 1990s through to being a publicly-funded cultural leader today, has enabled the seal of approval of 'institutional capital' which supports their reputation as a 'beacon'.

Public funding is the dominant mode of cultural production for those aspiring to transform the social and artistic identity of the West End. In chapter 4, I outline why I understand this to be so, and though identifying both symbolic and material ways that cultural production manifests, suggest how More Music are positioned in this, at the intersect of fields. In chapter 3, I suggest ways that the field of publicly-funded cultural leadership may become an aspirational

[4] National Portfolio Organisations (NPOs) are organisations regularly funded by Arts Council England.

destination for those who feel they have historically less power to make a case for their work at a national level or to increase funds for participatory projects. For organisations like More Music, situated strategically within national and local fields, it is important to maintain and continue to increase their position in the field of publicly-funded cultural leadership, so they can continue to make a case for West End Morecambe. However, it is by understanding how the case of West End Morecambe is made, to and with whom, which this study is concerned. This will support an understanding of ways that More Music has transformed and reproduced opportunities for local capital to increase, from their position as agents in the field, with symbolic capital within dominant modes of production. Through chapters 4 and 5, I'll illuminate a possible doxa of More Music and how this influences the way they communicate and represent the fields of publicly-funded cultural leadership and West End Morecambe. Doing so, to understand ways that More Music reproduce or resist the structuring structures of the sector within which they work. By having a dominant place in the field of publicly-funded cultural leadership and being the most significantly funded cultural organisation in West End Morecambe, More Music have significant capital in varying forms. Specifically, the 'seal of approval' that they have acquired through their dominant institutional cultural capital, as a representative in West End Morecambe, of the field of cultural leadership. By considering More Music's work through the conceptualisation of Bourdieu's theory of practice, I am confronted with questions that require further investigation:

- Since their inception, how has More Music's cultural capital increased, and how is this signified through the construction of habitus?

- What impact has More Music's cultural capital (particularly, institutional capital) had for the representation of publicly-funded arts and culture in West End Morecambe?

- Does More Music's social capital afford them cultural competencies, accumulated through their long service, to maintain their position in the field of publicly-funded cultural leadership, though a firm grasp of the terminology and doxa required to continue to support their work?

- How does More Music's social capital convert within the field of West End Morecambe? Specifically, do aspiring cultural leaders within West End Morecambe view their position to be an emancipatory power?

- Is More Music's power viewed in conflict, as a gatekeeper, an agent who is holding others at their current position?

Bourdieu recognised that people have a great deal of power, interdependent to their location to others. This is consequently as acts of symbolic violence or possible emancipatory practice. These in themselves do not attempt to reproduce a false binary, but to suggest that there are inter-relating factors that mobilise and restrict the possibilities of transformation and agency. I respond to these questions in chapter 5, as a way to better understand the tension within More Music's positions in the field(s) and the broader question that emerged through the study. Bourdieu's thinking tools offer a way to look closely at specific contexts to understand how the individual and collective habitus of the group can illuminate ways that inequality is inherited and possibly challenged. In this way, the histories informing present actions and decisions inform retention of the status-quo (reproduction) or are resisted and reasserted by adjusting the rules and cultural competencies of the field (transformation). Chapter 4 outlines a habitus of More Music. Bourdieu's assertion that histories and the capital we develop has both restrictive and transformational potential. This is relevant for how issues of inequality are conceptualised, in response to Lee Higgins' (2012) theoretical framework of 'hospitality' through community music in relation to 'institutions'.

Higgins

Key theoretical ideas

Higgins is a British scholar, recognised for his theoretical contribution to community music as a global research field, through his conceptualisation of community music as an act of hospitality. For Higgins, community music can be an act of hospitality through the call, the invitation and the welcome, which he focuses into particularly through consideration of the community music workshop as an encounter between facilitator and participants. An intention for understanding community music through hospitality is that those involved in the development of music-making (including governments and funding agencies) 'take notice' (p. 6) and resist 'an all-encompassing capital system that may provide obstacles to active participation and choice' (p. 168) within community music. Within his framework, this requires give-and-take within the 'flux of daily living' (p. 173) as part of the social and political

conditions that community music operates within.[5] By working in this way, Higgins suggests that community musicians develop a 'cultivat[ed] environment' (2012, p. 159) that seek to support opportunities for agency. Doing so, whilst also recognising a responsibility to respect and connect to histories of community music and conditions with which they interact — within this, suggesting that community musicians can be understood as 'boundary walkers' (p. 6), developed from the work of Kusher *et al.* (2001). Building from this work, Higgins suggests that boundary walkers 'inhabit the margins' with the intention of 'going beyond' (Ibid). 'Hospitality' as conceptualised through Higgins' vision of community music takes the lead from the French thinker, Jacques Derrida. For Derrida, there is unconditional hospitality and that which is conditional. The invitation of unconditional hospitality is itself impossible within the conditions of the spaces we inhabit, including the margins, and the expectations of those within them:

> …for there to be hospitality, there must be a door. But if there is a door, there is no longer hospitality. There is no hospitable house. There is no house without doors and windows. But as soon as there are a door and windows, it means that someone has the key to them and consequently controls the conditions of hospitality. There must be a threshold. But if there is a threshold, there is no longer hospitality. This is the difference, the gap, between the hospitality of invitation and the hospitality of visitation.
>
> (Derrida, 2000, p.14)

However, he recognises and hopes that people and institutions are working towards an opportunity to welcome others, unconditionally. Through this gesture, there is an intention to be open to the unknown. It is an invitation that is unaware of who will come and how they will behave within the space which individuals 'host': this is to act towards unconditional hospitality. Higgins suggests that working in this way, through community music practices, moves towards the possibility of 'cultural democracy', which is 'always to come' due to the conditions that Derrida illustrates (Higgins, 2012, p. 167). Being open to the impossible is to be open to the possibility of what is to come. Hospitality, in this way, operates at boundaries

[5] The phrase 'flux of daily living' appears throughout this thsis. When written, it is in refrence to the ideas set forth by Higgins, as detailed in this section.

(Still, 2010) and it is at the threshold, or possible margins, of these boundaries, that the hosts and guests gesture towards the possibilities of unconditional hospitality. However, '[e]ven when they have the best of intentions people fail in their attempts to behave hospitably and this adds to the complexity of the hospitable relationship' (O'Gorman 2006, p. 55), underscored by the conditions which inform where and how power is situated. Derrida focused on two broad contexts within hospitality: the interpersonal and the geopolitical. Through the interpersonal, he considers ownership and the negotiation between being open and opening one's home. Through this he is suggesting that conditional hospitality occurs most often at the threshold of the welcome due to the social codes people understand (what Bourdieu may consider as 'doxa'). For unconditional hospitality to take place, the host would welcome all strangers irrespective of reservations and social codes; Derrida suggests that this kind of unconditional hospitality is to come and as such, is a process never arrived at and always in development. Within Higgins' framework, community musicians may work towards cultural democracy, through the intentions of unconditional hospitality. However, this is not a fixed point of arrival, as it has meaning in reflexivity within the 'flux of daily living', within the context of working as a community musician. Within a geopolitical context, Derrida considers borders, immigration and territory as a way to talk about power and the ingrained post-colonial legacies of territory, naming and otherness (Still, 2010), including how these can be interpreted (Derrida, 1988). Such notions of territory have resonance for the conditions through which community music takes place and how those working through it 'take notice'.

Hospitality, community music and gatekeepers

Higgins considers community music which operates towards unconditional hospitality as having an 'intention to transform' (p. 146). Transformations of this nature, for Derrida, are 'connected with the negotiation of the impossibility' (O'Gorman, 2006, p. 54). In this sense, how transformation has meaning is through negotiation with others, within social and political structures. Here, openings towards the unconditional are scaffolded, and opportunities to say 'yes' to the unknown, are framed. In this way, hospitality becomes an ethical responsibility for those connected with community music. When working towards transformation and the possibilities of cultural democracy, Higgins asserts that the boundaries and margins that community musicians cultivate are a 'space to question and challenge dominant forms of practice' (p. 6) that open the possibility of 'going beyond', towards transformation and

unconditional hospitality. This becomes a pedagogical imperative for working through community music, and Higgins suggests that this is a space that needs protection. Within this, through his discussion of giving through community music, Higgins suggests gifting as part of a circular economy; within the intention to transform also comes 'reciprocity and may create binds or debts' (p. 152). As such, Higgins asserts that good intentions of the facilitator need to be 'brought under question' through understanding community music within the contexts and structures of its exchange. He suggests that the music workshop may evoke 'safety without safety' (p. 150): a situation within a code of practice, but that cultivates space to break free from expectations of the outcome. I am concerned with how these intentions towards criticality manifest or are restricted, through strategic positions of leadership for community music. Particularly, to understand if dominant conditions for the community music 'institution' foster such spaces and a sense of 'going beyond'. Higgins suggests that there are two political intersections framing community music through which, future research may understand conditions of cultural democracy:

1. The negotiation between those who take part in the activity 'and those who just might' and,
2. The responsibility of gatekeepers', individuals, organisations and institutions that have a hand in arbitrating funding for music, music teaching and music resources'

(Higgins, 2012, p. 173).

For Derrida, it is how we face the other, as institutions and as individuals, that enables us to ask 'how' and 'why' we come to have meaning in our actions and the competencies we hold within them (Derrida, 1988; 2000). Derrida views this as a process through deconstruction, which confronts responsibility. Reconciling that nothing is guaranteed and that it is in the 'tension between memory, fidelity, the preservation of something that has been given to us, and, at the same time heterogeneity, something absolutely new, and a break' (Derrida and Caputo, 1997, p. 6) that questions arise of what can be possible and how it is has meaning. Through deconstruction, a new truth is not the intention; instead, it invites criticality to how meaning is affixed and understood, including the risk of its reproduction. Stills (2010) reminds us that 'naming can be a way of taking possession' (p. 145). Here, Derrida resonates with Bourdieu as both are concerned with how power is retained in certain places, by certain people or institutions, through how meaning is attributed. Within the possibilities of community

music, it is here that new openings emerge through the coming together of ideas and collective meaning-making; this informs how and why people take part in community music, which commonly intersects particular musical and social aims. Through Derrida, Higgins invites us to consider what haunts community music's legacy and how this informs future practice. Higgins warns:

> …like the traces of community music history, the ghost of Marx continues to spook its practice and cannot be eradicated. In fact, it should remind those who work within community music that they have a responsibility towards its memory, a resistance to an all-encompassing capital system that may provide obstacles to active participation and choice.
>
> (p. 168).

Derrida (1994) recognises traces of Marx in his work with difference, yet commonality, to how Bourdieu acknowledges lines of Marxism (Bourdieu, 1990b). However, both recognise and negotiate responsibility towards the past, as an action within the present and possible. In this way, histories that community music interacts with, when conceptualised as an institutional position, become crucial as a way to respond to and resist against, restrictive conditions within the 'to come', particularly, to understand community music within the field of cultural leadership and the implications this has for situated practice for fields such as West End Morecambe. For Higgins, community musicians and those connected within its practice are continually working towards the possibilities of hospitality, recognising the many intersections that community music and their representatives encounter. At such intersections is where community arts, traditionally on the margins of public funds (Jeffers and Moriarty, 2017) encounters the 'structuring structure' (Bourdieu, 1977) of the UK's centralised mechanism for public funding. In chapter 3, I suggest that cultural leaders have a powerful position as gatekeepers at these margins, and through chapters 4 and 5, I argue that this has both restrictive and transformative possibilities. In chapter 6, I conceptualise how this position may work more visibly towards the possibilities of hospitality as a 'space to question and challenge dominant forms of practice'. I will suggest why this becomes part of a responsibility of operating as a cultural leader of community music and the possibilities of hospitality that can be imagined through it for participation in arts and cultural activity, more generally.

Derrida states that '[m]astery begins, as we know, through the power of naming, of imposing and legitimising appellations' (Derrida, 1996, p. 39). In community music, it is common to refer to 'facilitator' and 'participants' as ways of deciphering who is in the room and the expectations of the role they will play within the session. Through Higgins' conceptualisation of community music as hospitality, the facilitator is always ready, is there to welcome and be welcomed in a collective act of community music. However, the facilitator has a remit, a responsibility to the project's outcomes or organisational aims, that places conditions within the community music activity. They are named, identified and marked out as one instead of another – as a facilitator. As to, have participants. Higgins suggests that opportunity to say 'yes', in attempt to welcome those who take part and those 'who just might' (2012, p. 173) is open to the possibilities of a leap towards the unknown: participants and facilitators, together, within the conditions of the encounter. The community music organisation, connected to but also a gatekeeper between community music activity and its social and political conditions, is charged with a set of responsibilities through its category and, as I will argue, its institutional cultural capital. 'Participants' are positioned, welcomed to take part, yet under categorisation, as is the facilitator and the organisation, by the broader structuring structures that enable their work to take place; specifically, within the context of publicly-funded participatory activity in the UK. These are conditions within margins or boundaries, where the 'negotiation of impossibility' (O'Gorman, 2006, p. 54) is situated, through policy and the face-to-face encounters within community music exchanges. These contexts require careful consideration in the exploration of a community music institution's role and responsibility. I inherit this line of inquiry from Higgins and take hospitality forth, interwoven with my reading of Bourdieu and my time with More Music. Specifically, how gatekeeping practices that may seek to protect community music activity, may contribute to its conditional restrictions.

Higgins and More Music

To understand how community music at an institutional position may operate through gatekeeping practices, the role and responsibility of More Music opens an opportunity to consider hospitality within the process of resourcing the work of the community musician. This acknowledges peripheries of music-making encounters and the borders that maintain a relationship with policymakers, within which, the role and responsibilities of cultural leaders and the fields they inhabit, have significance and power. Higgins calls to future research of community music to consider the responsibility of gatekeepers, within which, he includes

organisations. I recognise this is an under-represented line of inquiry in the conceptualisation of community music through hospitality, and one that may, as Higgins signposts to, require protecting if it is to be a position that seeks to transform towards cultural democracy. In taking my lead from Bourdieu and Higgins, including his reading of Derrida, I consider ways that meaning is legitimised, when community music is operationalised at an institutional position. This includes historical constructions and, how this may influence ways of situating community music as a contemporary practice within emancipatory agendas of participation.

As unconditional hospitality is always to come, a primary tenant of deconstruction is that we are always revisiting and question the categories and codes that have meaning, through re-reading and re-evaluating of legitimising conditions. For a community music organisation who 'seeks to build confidence and spirit in individuals and communities through the arts, especially music' (More Music, 2019), it is important to understand gestures of hospitality. Specifically, how categories and meanings are constructed and understood, by and for whom — understanding this, to consider what possibilities this brings forth when exploring their role and responsibility as a cultural leader and representative of community music at an institutional position. On cultural leadership, Higgins' conceptualisation through a Derridean lens is helpful to explore the conditions of hospitality, commissioned from central mechanisms for enabling the work to happen. This includes factors such as funding requirements and cultural competencies that generate doxa, which may place or reproduce conditions within acts of hospitality. The ethical gesture of the welcome is bound by the structures that enable the work to happen, possibly granting some a more conditional welcome than others. By working with Bourdieu and Higgins, I intend to 'put to work' sociological and post-structuralist ideas of emancipation, relating to restrictive norms that stimulate the fields of play. By understanding hospitality through and beyond a habitus of More Music, conditions contributing to transformation and reproduction of inequality through the arts and cultural sector can be explored. Through this, the tensions and possibilities of their role and responsibility better understood.

Institutional community music and a cultural democracy to come: 'been, being and becoming More Music'

Understanding the role and responsibility of community music at an institutional position through hospitality and the space that this evokes, as a way to hear and collaborate with others, towards transformation, is an important development in understanding the conditions that community music in the UK takes place within. In this sense, my research scaffolds from Higgins' call to future researchers to explore political imperatives of community music, concerning the possible responsibilities of gatekeepers, as a way to contribute to the possibilities of a 'strategic praxis' (Higgins, 2012, p. 173). As I'll discuss in chapter 3, resources allocated to community music projects in the UK have been shaped by cultural policy directions, over the past thirty years. As such, the dominant modes of production are bound in the priorities of the funding received and policies priorities, subsequently put through the filter of the organisation's championed to make publicly funded cultural participation accessible. The 'doxa' required to maintain this position, make decisions in response to national priorities, and situate this within a localised practice, requires investigation. The positions held by More Music in the fields they operate in, and how this is shaped through the habitus, can illustrate possible conditions that interact with intentions to transform, through hospitality in community music. Understanding this, in relation to both cultural policy and community music research, as it unfolds from this theoretical proposition, will support and aim to protect the role and responsibility of publicly-funded cultural leadership through a critical conceptualisation of their position as gatekeepers between policy and participation.

In presenting hospitality within the content of community music at an institutional position, I aim to locate the historical and contemporary analysis to come. In inviting Higgins and Bourdieu to sit at the same table, I ask for a lively conversation that is 'give and take', if not always collegial or in sync. I do so to invite critique towards the possibilities of hospitality, imagined through the figure of the community music institution. This position requires thresholds to be conceptualised and considered. I do not believe that I can look at the fields of West End Morecambe or cultural leadership, without also recognising the trace of community music as hospitality that guides a prominent conceptualisation of community music discourse. Nor do I feel I can speak of the community music institution through hospitality, without calling into question the 'structuring structures' that clasp community music's draw from the margins to the centre of the public funding mechanisms. In looking to established theorists to

make sense of the contexts of community music and its relationship with cultural leadership and cultural policy, many possibilities are available for ways that a conceptualisation of community music at an institutional position can be understood. Bourdieu's theory of practice offers relatable and recognisable contexts through which to explore the institutional position of community music. I position policy and participation within the study in this way, with the intention that my theoretical ideas can scaffold towards accessibility outside of Morecambe; as a springboard to more nuanced critical questions of the relationship between community music and cultural leadership, through theory and practice, together. It is also a recognition of where the study is situated, within the context of a living history between community music and cultural policy. For example, this study does not attempt to suggest that institutional dominance has a role to play in the formation of social and political structures. Such roles are already in play. As such, my focus is to explore a specific context of community music, guided by an emancipatory practice at an institutional position, recognising this as a space that can better understand More Music as an agent in the field of cultural leadership. As such, Bourdieu offers a way to conceptualise the pluralities and possible tensions of histories, as told through community music in the UK, and how this locates community music and cultural leadership today: as part of a living history. Bourdieu's tools are mobilised to set the context for (1) a possible history of community music and cultural policy, and how it locates community music at an institutional position; (2) the fields that such histories give rise to, and the dominant agents and capital within this; and (3) how this contributes to cultural competencies and possible distinctions, held and navigated, at the intersection of policy and participation in the UK. By conceiving of his tools in this way, it opens the door to illuminate possible sources of tension for legitimising meaning in this context, which is where Bourdieu encounters Higgins. This study is a give and take between the social and political conditions of its context; one that both Bourdieu and Higgins are helpful in understanding, whilst recognising that no one perceptive is without its limitations. To situate these theoretical ideas, I look to the participants in my study and the fields that they play in, of which I welcome Bourdieu and Higgins to visit. I also look towards my own voice and experience in these fields, within the research methodology, to ask: what is the role and responsibility of More Music in West End Morecambe? To respond to this question, I consider who they have 'been' (through a historical analysis), are 'being' (through three critical instances, presented as a case study) and are 'becoming' (through a recapitulation of my conceptual framework to discuss what may be to come). I look towards a better understanding of how their practice is possibly both reproductive and transformational of the dominant modes of production in publicly-funded arts and culture in the UK. I also look

towards how this interferes with community music's guiding principles of emancipation (Bartlett *et al.,* 2018; Bartlett & Higgins, 2018; de Quadros, 2018; Howell, 2018; Jourdan, 2020). I ask this to understand to what extent More Music operates towards cultural democracy and emancipation of social inequality in West End Morecambe, through their position in the field(s), their capital and the 'outstandingness' (Bourdieu, 1986) of the host. On reflection of this study, many of the tensions between 'passion and vision' and 'playing the game' of culture that will be illuminated in the following chapters, are mirrored in my own experiences of working in a strategic position of cultural leadership. Specifically, where there has been a responsibility to fund and develop community music activity. The people, often targeted within such interventions, are also akin to many of my formative experiences in developing my identity as a musician and participant; this informs my 'passion and vision' for why I ask the question I ask.

Part 2 Critical ethnographic case study as a research design

Introduction

This study employs two research strategies: case study research and critical ethnography. At the outset of its design, I aimed to work with participants in the study to better understand the existing and developing nature of their work in Morecambe, seeking to develop a theoretical perspective of the context. However, in the initial familiarisation period in 2015 and early 2016, I became interested not only in the behaviours within the case but in how these behaviours interacted with governing structures for the arts and cultural sector. Considering the zoomed-in and out perspective of the context of my research felt necessary when considering responsibility as a community music institution.

Case study researchers dive deep into the unique phenomena investigated. This nuanced understanding affords space to develop a detailed analysis of specific events and behaviours within the context of the research. Often argued to be non-generalisable, findings from case study research are context-specific, and it is this unique and detailed narrative that is distinctive of the strategy. This distinctiveness can be of benefit and limitation to a study, dependant on the researcher's intention for how findings are to be useful. My research needed to be a case study about More Music because their initial commitment to engaging in the research was centred on the premise that it would help them understand their work in the West End of Morecambe in greater detail. Creating a case study ensured that research would remain focused on their practice and their story. However, case study research alone was limited in its design, in relation to understanding structures that may influence the role and responsibility of the community music institution, specifically, if the study was to contribute to an understanding of how social inequality is challenged or reinforced through engagement in community music activity through this position. Critical ethnography is a research strategy driven by action and social change, with the researcher a critical component within this, in collaboration with research participants. Working with participants to make sense of the conditions influencing their work opened up an opportunity to achieve the original intention for More Music's participation: to help them to understand their work in the West End in more detail. However, it also enabled me to theorise the broader influencing factors I experienced as the research developed. As a case study removes the researcher as an active participant in the study, an

amalgamation of both case study and critical ethnography became the interwoven research strategy, guided by the theoretical propositions outlined in this chapter so far. This methodology created space for me to tell a detailed story of the uniqueness of the case, whilst also illuminating broader conditions believed to be structuring the positioning of More Music's work.

Advocating an interwoven approach

Critical ethnography considers researcher positionality and reflexivity explicitly within its core principles of research design. As a methodology that is ontologically rooted in critical theory, it values research as social change, where the purpose of the research is action to disrupt inequality (Soyini Madison, 2012; 2019). Bourdieu and Higgins also identify this as a research priority. Through being within the contexts they are researching, critical ethnographers make sense of behaviours and their location within the social and political conditions of specific inequality. They see specific contexts as ways to make sense of social problems, whilst also contributing to action within the contexts of their research. Case study methodology does not embrace similar ontological roots, and emancipation is not a guiding principle of its approach. This can make case study an advantageous methodological approach. Whilst its methodological purpose is clear, case studies can be applied across a range of ontological and epistemological traditions, to help researchers make sense of the problems they encounter (Yin, 2014). Case study methodology focuses on the articulation of the behaviours presented in specific cases, and its principal aim is to make sense of unique phenomena to illustrate specific contexts. It supports those represented in the case to make sense of their behaviours whilst also generating explanations or descriptions of what happens, making it useful for others outside of the case. This is not to suggest that what is articulated through case study research is generalisable. However, findings can contribute to a broader understanding of behaviours within a particular context. For this reason, although widely applicable, case study methodology is often favoured in traditionally positivist research paradigms or within professional contexts where behaviours need to be evidenced or understood for training purposes.

The research tools employed through both critical ethnography and case studies are often compatible. As such, the amalgamation of methods is useful as a research design when seeking

to know more about a particular context, whilst also better understanding the structures that such context exists within. A common criticism of both methodologies is the large quantities of data that is produced (Cohen *et al.*, 2010). The volume of data collected was, in some ways, a limitation to this study. Specifically, I removed interviews as a research tool, which would have added valuable reflective data for the study, informed in part by the large volumes of data collected. Limitations of large amounts of data are discussed by Yin (2014) as a distinction between case study and ethnographic methodologies, the latter for Yin being at greater risk of such limitation. With case study being an opportunity to support More Music to have another perspective on their work in the West End, connecting to their desire 'to understand complex social phenomena' (p. 4) and to help them deconstruct and review their role and responsibility in the West End. Through my position as a critical ethnographer, I can perform this role and in doing so, explore the nuanced and detailed interactions that take place over time. Through this, I bring a particular position; questioning how their history, articulated through Bourdieu's theory of practice, in the West End and the UKs publicly funded arts and cultural sector has influenced the ways that they work today and the possibilities of what they may become. Specifically, how their role as a publicly funded cultural leader impacts the way that they view and undertake their work, in relation to understanding community music through hospitality. Through locating the case of More Music within a critical ethnographic case study, I have a role to play in not only telling the story but locating this within the broader social and political conditions within publicly-funded cultural leadership. As a case study, this may have resonance for others who work within, or are interested in understanding, community music practices that operate through public-funding. Most importantly, it supports More Music in their attempts to understand the complex position that they hold in West End Morecambe and aims to support them to work with increased access, inclusion and equity through partnership.

Enacting critical theory through a case study enables me to be useful as a researcher to More Music, whilst making my research useful by contributing to understanding the conditions of the UKs publicly-funded arts and cultural sector: interconnecting my institutional capital with that of More Music's, to have a greater awareness of each other, and our doxa, through theories and practices of community music. Power and the inequalities this is at risk of reproducing drives my theorisation of cultural democracy and cultural leadership, which a bounded case alone would be limited to articulate. The study makes 'fuzzy generalisations' (Bassey, 1999) that support situated and relational understanding of More Music and its role as a cultural

leader.[6] Narratives of this nature are under-researched within community music and cultural policy discourse, particularly when considering the role of community music in relation to participatory policies that may inform its design through strategic leadership positions. I will look to each methodology, in turn, before concluding with a summary and conclusion of the interwoven approach to my research design.

Case study methodology

Overview

A case study's researchers' primary objective is to find out what is happening, the relationship between the behaviours and their context, and develop a fair representation of those within the study. Yin (2014) asserts that there are two defining aspects of case study research (1) it investigates something/someone (phenomena) in their real-life context, and (2) is distinctive in its design and data collection methods. It is generally agreed, despite varying terminology, that there are two main 'types' of case studies: case studies that explore and question the way that the phenomena are constructed, to build a theory or further hypothesis; and, case studies that explain what is observed in the context, connecting to existing theory or hypothesis. Bassey (1999) describes these as 'theory seeking' and 'theory testing', 'because it makes perfectly clear what the theoretical intention of such case studies is, and how one leads to the other' (1999, p. 62). Further distinctions of case studies exist, which are often discipline-specific. This study uses the distinction of 'exploratory' and 'explanatory' to frame a discussion of the contextual nature of cases, their use and generalisability, and merit and limitations in their design.

[6] Reconciling both an outside position (through the telling of a More Music story), and an inside position as part of the research (in my reflexive position as a critical ethnographer) has been an essential component of constructing my positionality in this study. Although not specifically necessary to detail as I explain my methodological approach, my positionality is an important signifier of how I developed the methodology in the way that I have and how I developed my critical perspective as a researcher.

The highly contextualised nature of case studies

A benefit of undertaking case study research comes from its location within a specific social phenomenon. The case study researcher collects rich and detailed contextual data that is 'strong in reality' through an interpretation of the social phenomena in action (Adelman, 1080; Bassey, 1999; Cohen *et al.* 2010; Struman, 1994). Case study methodology is a way to construct a detailed narrative of a contextual phenomenon and draw specific conclusions that open the possibility for further investigation. For Bassey (1999), possible further investigation through case study research can be made through 'fuzzy generalisations', drawn from the specifics of the case, which also resonate with other contexts. He defines fuzzy generalisation as '...the kind of statement that makes no absolute claim to knowledge, but hedges its claim in uncertainties' (p.12). In his context of educational research 'fuzzy' introduces uncertainty and takes account of the 'many variables which determine whether learning takes place' (p. 51). Bassey asserts that this is not to suggest the research design is frail and cannot state observations with confidence. Instead, findings located in a particular case identify likely exceptions and human complexities enmeshed in the study. As such, 'fuzzy generalisations' acknowledge the highly contextualised nature of the data collected, locating the case study narrative within the possibilities afforded by the ontological position of the study itself. For Yin (2014) 'analytic generalisations' are a way to expand and generalise theories from their located contexts. Terminology varies considerably in case study literature. However, they are linked, as Bassey (1999) suggests, by their application and ways of presenting propositions through the narrative. Despite this, it is important to pay attention to the different ways that terms are applied. Types of cases can also be linked by their key principle of making sense of highly contextualised phenomena. In doing so, case study participants develop or challenge understandings within their contexts. One of the roles of the case study researcher is to communicate this to others with whom the context resonates; how findings from case studies are useful for people in other contexts is a concern that case study researchers need to consider (White *et al.*, 2009).

Limitations in case study research

As with all methods of inquiry, case studies have limitations. In particular, Yin (2014) suggests that good case studies are 'difficult to do' (p. 22). He asserts that one's ability to engage in this

methodology effectively is often unknown at inception.[7] When employing case study methodology, it is essential to acknowledge the limitations in the generalisation of findings. Particularly regarding their highly contextualised nature, which contributes to a lack of generalisability. The bounded and highly contextualised nature can mean that some specific instances documented in this case study may not be generalisable. Being 'strong in reality' enables case studies to facilitate deep-dive inquiry and through this, produce a detailed representation of the unique phenomenon explored. Case study researchers do not attempt to imply that findings can be directly applicable to other contexts, however, the behaviours within contexts may have relevance to others. The job of the case study researcher is to find both the subtle and dominant links between participants and their context and from this, make propositions towards further lines of inquiry, evidenced within the case. Ragin & Becker (1999) suggest that 'all cases are hypotheses' (p. 122), which resonates with Bassey's (1999) notation of fuzzy generalisations and their possibility for further exploration.

The kind of questions asked inform the type of case study design that is applied (Yin, 2014). For the context of my research, I am undertaking an 'embedded case study' which Yin describes as a single case that has 'units of analysis at more than one level' (p. 52). I will discuss this in more detail in the 'methods of data collection' section. When case study research refers to 'units of analysis' it refers to the specific individuals, groups or activities within the overall case itself. My case is 'More Music's role and responsibility as a community music institution in West End Morecambe'. Within this, there are three contexts that I identified as my ‘units of analysis': The West End development worker (an individual); The West End Development Partnerships (groups); and, the Lantern Festival (an activity). Through these specific units of analysis, I propose fuzzy generalisations of More Music's role and responsibility as a cultural leader in the West End, as a way to consider their position within social and political structures within the arts and cultural sector. However, by focusing solely on what happens within the case itself, through its units of analysis, I am unable to discuss More Music's role and responsibility in a

[7] It is worthy of note that Yin makes claims to absolutes that is not necessarily in keeping with the theory-seeking nature of this inquiry and is an example of reproduction of values of who can and cannot engage in arts or educational competencies. He states: 'People know they can't play music; they also know when they cannot do mathematics beyond a certain level, and they can be tested for other skills, such as the Bar examination in law. Somehow, the skills for doing good cause study research have not yet been formally defined' (2014, p. 22).

way that illustrates the structuring structures of their practice. This limitation is why case study methodology alone was not an effective way to undertake this study.

Critical ethnographic methodology

Overview

Critical ethnography is 'concerned with the exposure of oppression and inequality in society with a view to emancipating individuals and groups towards collective empowerment' (Cohen *et al.*, 2010, p.186). Growing from, whilst also rejecting aspects of traditional forms of ethnography, critical ethnography investigates the real lives of specific groups. It aims to illustrate their behaviours and how they relate to broader social and political contexts (Gubo and Marciniak, 2011; Soyini Madison, 2012; 2019). However, unlike traditional forms of ethnography, critical ethnographers locate themselves and their construction of the ethnographic narrative within the study. Scholars of critical ethnography advocate that a central component of this strategy is action towards emancipation from specific power inequalities. Drawn from critical theory, this position is often guided by the work of Carspecken (1996) and Habermas (1981).[8] Critical ethnography is committed to reflexivity. Central to this is the researcher's ability to move between the deep-dive contexts of their research and the broader contexts that situate it. It is a strategy that requires the researcher to be open to the unknown and be willing to have their position informed through the process of undertaking the research (Davis, 1999). Such positionality is fitting for the theoretical framework, which challenges the reproduction of fixed meaning and positioning. Methods employed through critical ethnography emerge in response to the needs of the participants, the research site, and how these interact with the researcher's question (Whitehall, 2004). Unlike case study research, critical ethnographers do not look in from outside – a central distinction from the early ethnographic and anthropological traditions – they are involved.

[8] It is important to note that some tension exists between these scholars and their epistemological positions, with those who support my theorisation through the critical ethnographic case study. However, all recognise ethical responsibility towards justice and emancipation as a critical framework and a resistance to dogmatic rules and structures that can govern meaning.

Positionality and representation in critical ethnography

Whitehall (2004) refers to research participants engaged through ethnographic research as the 'ethnographic hosts'. He suggests by being within the 'ethnographic hosts worlds or cultural systems', 'the ethnographer learns to become comfortable with appearing unknowledgeable or ignorant of the world about which [they are] learning' (p. 18). 'Host', in this way, is not suggested within the Derridian conceptualisation of hospitality (Derrida, 2000). However, gatekeeping conditions considered through this study interplay between my position as a researcher - invited in - and More Music's position as a host. In this way, I made conscious decisions at points through the research to opt-out of particular activities during my time with More Music, particularly, activities which risked pushing the boundaries of my position as an independent researcher. However, 'ethnographic host' is helpful as it is a reminder that, despite the researcher's commitment to reflexivity, in the context of researcher participants' living world, I am a visitor and as such I am required to operate, where appropriate, within the conditions of my invitation. Critical ethnographers have a fluid approach to their position; being subjective but malleable in their position held, through reflexive interaction with participants. This positionality acknowledges researchers themselves as an important part of the study and that how they construct the narrative holds a great deal of power in the representation of people and place (Brewer, 2000; Davis, 1999; Richardson, 1990; Van Maanen, 1995; White *et al.*, 2009; Whitehall, 2004). Soyini Madison (2012) invites critical ethnographers to question how they arrive at their decisions as researchers and how they represent their position within the study.

1. How do we reflect upon and evaluate our own purpose, intentions, and frames of analysis as researchers?
2. How do we predict consequences or evaluate our own potential to do harm?
3. How do we create and maintain a dialogue of collaboration in our research projects between ourselves and others?
4. How is the specificity of the local story relevant to the broader meaning and operations of the human condition?
5. How – in what location or through what intervention – will our work make the greatest contribution to equity, freedom and justice?

(p. 5)

'Being in' and being adaptive as a researcher influences my position in the field with the ethnographic hosts (Davis, 1999). How I represent what I experience through the narrative construction of the story has an ethical responsibility to the people and places involved (Cohen *et al*. 2010; Van Maanan, 1988). As with White *et al*. 's (2009) concerns about how case study findings are utilised in other contexts, questions of representation are pertinent for both case study and ethnographic designs. Critical ethnographers aim to make sense of, and challenge, inequality in a specific context. However, this inequality is likely not unique to the research site itself. There are likely others who will want to build on the experiences within a case to collaborate against inequality; as such, representation through the research requires constant attention. Returning to the proposition that 'all cases are hypotheses' (Ragin and Becker, 1999), a critical ethnographic case study has dissemination as a fundamental part of its reflexive accountability. The study narrates a particular moment, and although a critical theoretical perspective will locate this in its historical conditions, the study itself still represents people in a particular time and place, suspended as a moment (Davis, 1999; Soyini Madison, 2012; 2019). It is the researcher's job to be clear and consistent in the narrative to locate the ethnographic hosts at this moment and represent them fairly. This is particularly important when working with Bourdieu's sociology, as critics have brought to question his positioning of the research participants in the narrative of his analysis.

Approaches to critical ethnography within the study

Ethnography is as much about understanding the processes undertaken, by both ethnographic hosts and the ethnographer (Davis, 1999), as it is about the 'corresponding actions, behaviours, and beliefs [that] are examined within the cultural and societal context in which they take place' (Whitehall, 2004, p. 15). Gobo and Marciniak (2011) further reinforce this, discussing that observing behaviours offers greater stability than observing attitudes and opinions. Behaviours, observed over time, draw inference within the specific social context of the ethnographic hosts. In contrast, attitudes and opinions can be 'volatile' and 'change from one day to the next' (p. 115). For the critical ethnographer, this also takes into consideration the broader social and political contexts of behaviours. This distinction within the methodology aligns to some extent with Yin (2014) who advocates that case study researchers should focus on specific, concrete units of analysis, such as partnerships and individuals, as opposed to less concrete units such as decisions or relationships. However, the less concrete units Yin identifies are usually the

contexts where the behaviours are most interesting and relevant to the critical ethnographer, as these can indicate towards social and political problems or inequalities. In this study, I intentionally lean into this instability.

Considering representation of the ethnographic hosts, within the writing of the research, led me to think more deeply within the methodology about how More Music has become located in the literature and networks of community music more generally. Questioning this stimulated a rationale for undertaking historical analysis, to articulate a habitus of More Music. In this, I recognise Higgins' assertion that 'any present condition of community music must be aware of the memory of the past' (2006, p. 9). Flowing from this were questions of power; particularly, how positions of power manifested, within conceptualisations that located community music as an emancipatory practice. Further to this, it drew me to frameworks within critical ethnography as they privilege the social and political origins of the ethnographic host's contexts in their conceptualisation of power. Carspecken's (1996) five-stage model of social inquiry was particularly useful in locating these questions within the context of my research.

As discussed, the case study context is important, because More Music wanted to understand their work in the West End from an outside perspective. It was also important for me to explore an empirical example of how a publicly-funded cultural leader may operate through a community music institution; specifically, through hospitality. The specificity of the phenomenon through a case study enabled this kind of inquiry to take place. However, the specific context alone did not satisfy the social and political positioning of my question. It was clear in my early visits to the research site that I needed to dislodge and disrupt my increasingly inside position with the ethnographic hosts, stimulated, in part, through the conditions of being invited in and how this echoed historical practices. I needed to be able to offer my subjectivity as an outsider, through my critical perspective, to support ways of seeing their contexts. By engaging reflexively through my research question and with ethnographic hosts, I began to approach historical analysis as a means to understand (1) how More Music had developed as an organisation; (2) the contexts within which this development had taken place, both in Morecambe and in the wider UK arts and cultural sector, and (3) how inscriptions in and beyond community music could inform how I locate the research as a moment within the ethnographic host's broader ecology. Through engaging in the process of 'validity-as-reflexive-accounting' (Altheide and Johnston, 1994; Brewer, 2000), the early familiarisation process in the research context enabled me to align with a critical ethnographic paradigm. Through this,

my voice and its position within the research design satisfied my need for the situated to be relational to the social and political contexts sounding the boundaries of the case study (Brewer, 2000; Davis, 1999; Gobo and Marciniak, 2011; Maxwell, 2000; Soyini Madison, 2012; Van Maanen, 1995). Soyini Madison's critique of critical ethnography guides my practice. She states:

> …critical ethnography is always a meeting of multiple sides in an encounter with and among the Other(s), one in which there is negotiation and dialogue towards substantial and viable meanings that make a difference in the Other's world.
>
> (2012, p. 9)

In considering my theoretical framework for this study, the inherent reflexive and malleable position of the research design reinforces the inclusion of a deconstructive approach to considering the structures of the *fields* through which More Music operate. My understanding is always in development. The role and responsibility of More Music is always in process, is always 'to come' and through this critical ethnographic case study, I propose some 'fuzzy generalisations' (Bassey, 1999) – possible possibilities – for what this becoming might seek to achieve.

Limitations of critical ethnography

Agar (1986) suggests that written communication can be ill-fitting as a way to learn through social research and acknowledges ethnography as particularly problematic in this sense. Van Mannan (1988) also acknowledges that writing ethnographies can be problematic, and as such, the inscription is not exhaustive. Ethnographic literature often discusses the value placed in the experience of the researcher and their inscription of the social and cultural phenomena that they encounter (Emerson *et al.*, 2011; Geertz, 1963; Richardson, 1990; Van Maanen, 1995; White *et al.*, 2009; Whitehall, 2004). The role of the critical ethnographer is to recognise their own bias and place in the story, collaborating with ethnographic hosts and representing their time together, through the narrative, within the broader social context of their work. Reflexivity is sought at every stage of the research, so, as such, critical ethnographers traverse the boundaries of their positionality and the contexts of their study. This is an attempt to be collaborative, yet distinct, from those with whom they work. Van Maanen (1978) suggests that ethnographers

are 'part spy, part voyeur, part fan, part member' (p. 346); an uncomfortable reminder that their presence, however well-intended, is disruptive. As such, reflexivity is an ethical responsibility within the research relationship, particularly regarding representation and authenticity.

A critical ethnographic case study: A rationale, revisited

By disrupting the bounded constructs of case study methodology and integrating it as part of a more flexible research design, I have been able to take account of what is happening in and around the specific context of More Music. The boundedness of case study methodology does not always sit comfortably within ethnographic discourse, although overlaps can exist in the methods employed and their contextual narrative approach. However, distinct to critical ethnography is the research's representation in the study. The parameters around 'units of analysis' imply the construction of a story by another and does not consider the narrative voice and position of the author/researcher (Stake, 2005). Soyini Madison (2012) argues that the researcher's voice is ever-present and can be utilised through critical ethnographic research, as it seeks change through the experiences collaborating with the people within the research. Through critical ethnography, the opportunity to illuminate inequality or political problems through individual cases allows for a 'thick description' (Carspecken, 1996; Geertz, 1973). A detailed description is also facilitated through observational data from case studies. Yin's (2014) assertion that the researcher's ability to employ case study methodology is unknown until they start suggests that their skills develop reflexively, through the act of undertaking the research. This malleability is a guiding principle for the positionality within critical ethnography. Willis (2007) suggests that there are more that align than are detached between case study and ethnographic strategies, in that they both present the detailed and nuanced description of a particular phenomenon and aim to represent this through the lived experiences of the participants. However, as mentioned previously, Yin draws criticism of ethnography as a method due to its longitudinal observatory nature, suggesting that the method is often confused with a case study. White *et al*. (2009) also seek to distinguish the strategies. They suggest that although overlaps exist – particularly when employed through interpretive frameworks - the way that others use findings often serve different purposes. In the context of critical ethnography's pursuit of emancipation, this distinction is pertinent.

As Davis (1999) suggests, ethnography is as interested in the process of data collection as in the data itself. In contrast, case study methodology is focused primarily on what the case illuminates. However, as Yin (2014) asserts, one of the defining characteristics of case study research is also how the case is constructed. 'Fuzzy generalisations', and their location in human complexity, again has resonance for critical ethnographers who look to explore broader social and political contexts, through the lived experience of particular localised groups. Designing research through these complexities is relevant when considering the conceptual tools of Bourdieu's habitus, capital, doxa and field. This complexity also resonates with the conditions within the 'flux of daily living'. It brings not only researcher reflexivity into view within case study research, but also that of the social conditions, or fields, that the case operates within.

Methods of data collection, ethics and analysis

The discussion and analysis of my time with More Music is framed in three stages: 'been', a historical analysis of More Music's evolution between 1993 – 2016; 'being', three contexts, understood through critical ethnographic fieldwork and, 'becoming', a discussion of becoming a critical cultural leader. I will outline the data collection and analysis process, the development of participation in the study and conclude by revisiting the theoretical and methodological framework as a whole.

Been: A historical analysis

Inheritance affords individuals greater or reduced agency and social mobility amongst others within a field. This agency creates conditions to transform from or reproduce inequality through how positions are used and negotiated with others. Included in this is how individuals or institutions are held at positions by others (Bourdieu, 1986). Through historical analysis, I explore the positions within More Music's development, investigating how they may be constructed and how meanings and categorisations have emerged through their institutional practice. Chapter 4 details this historical analysis. I undertake archival analysis (Calhoun, 2013; Charle, 2013; Fox and Wilkerson, 1999; Gorski, 2013; Moore *et al.*, 2016), using a range of primary and secondary sources (Cohen *et al.*, 2010) that connect to More Music's evolution, between 1993 – 2016, when fieldwork commenced. Through this, I outline a possible 'habitus' of More Music, which scaffolds to the analysis of fieldwork, represented in chapter 5.

Being: critical ethnographic fieldwork

Chapter 5 represents my critical ethnographic fieldwork, which takes place over eighteen months between 2016 – 2018. Over these eighteen months, I visited the research site through bi-weekly field trips and two-week-long research trips. The data collected consists of observations (Soyini Madison, 2012; Tedlock, 2005), participant observations (Jorgensen, 1989; Spradley, 2016), and regular field notes (Emerson *et al.*, 2011; Geertz, 1963), documented through thick description (Carspecken, 1996; Geertz, 1973). Three embedded 'units of analysis' (Yin, 2014) arise from the research site and are the focus of the critical ethnography: West End Partnership Working (a group); the West End Development Worker (an individual); and, the West End Lantern Festival (a project). Through thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2013; Guest, *et al.*, 2012) themes within the data collected were coded and categorised as a way to make sense of my time with More Music in relation to their role and responsibility as a cultural leader and their institutional position. A criticism of both case study and ethnographic methodologies is the large volumes of qualitative data they produce, and this was a challenge within the study. However, overall this was not a limitation, despite the time implications for the research methods used. The thick description within ethnographic data facilitated a detailed narrative of a moment in time that is nuanced within the 'flux of daily living' as a cultural institution, which is a discourse not widely discussed in either community music or cultural policy literature. In this way, the thick description and large amount of data produced enabled More Music to offer a unique insight into this underrepresented area of discourse.

Participants and ethics

Participants in this study volunteered to take part and the overall consent for the study came from More Music management, which was reviewed annually through the project. With public money and strong artistic identities at play, the nature of relationships between participants and the structures they are operating within can, at times, be political and strained. As such, managing participants engagement was complex, as too was my location as the researcher within this. As such, care must be given to the expectations of those taking part and theoretical ideas carefully handled in response to the lived experience of those participating. Throughout this study, relationships have been carefully developed. This is particularly important because

as I constructed my historical analysis, it became apparent that both More Music and local people in the West End had been subject to much short-term research, particularly so-called 'impact case studies', often used in arts and cultural evaluation. Investigation of this nature, as well as other forms of social research, often centred on the West End's socioeconomic profile, has produced very few outcomes for people in reality. Despite the low return on investment for local people, use of these sources of data have been used as a powerful advocacy tool to lever increased attention into the local area, and the impact organisations in the community can have. An implication of this is that West End Morecambe is at risk of being over-researched (Clark, 2008), whilst systemically under-resourced.[9] As such, in the early familiarisation period of this project, when visiting Morecambe, I was explicit that my purpose was to better understand More Music's role and responsibility as a cultural leader in West End. Furthermore, my intention was not to contribute to the histories of short-term, low return, research and evaluation activity, of which, many local people had given their time. Over my time in Morecambe, I came to know many of the local people who lived and worked there, and them me. Although participation in the research was voluntary, I invited those I observed to be key stakeholders, concerning my research question, to be part of the study. In doing so, I was permitted to be with research participants and to document our time together through observations, participant observations and detailed field notes. The decision to work discreetly with the 'West End development team' was made early in the study. It was important that those giving significant time to the research could utilise the data collection process to feed directly into their critical practice; throughout the fieldwork, being together in the field supported reflexivity for all involved. It was also apparent in the initial familiarisation process that this group of individuals were developing community relationships that were less engaged with other parts of the organisation's activity.

Identifying participants has been two-fold:

1. From my initial familiarisation process in the research context, where I did not collect data with participants, but attended events and undertook the archival analysis. Through this stage, I identified the core participant group from More Music;

[9] Clark (2008) explores how researchers understand over-researching and how it relates to participant engagement in research studies. He highlights participant apathy and limited perceivable change due to participation as crucial factors for researchers to consider.

2. Through fieldwork with the core participant group, I began to document who were key stakeholders outside of More Music. I was introduced to them as I followed the activity of the core group. Having become more familiar to key stakeholders through regular field trips, I have been able to establish relationships with local people and More Music partners, who gave consent for me to make field notes.

Since beginning the research project in 2015, I meet regularly with the lead contact at More Music to review the intentions of the research and discuss the data analysis process. I invited my lead research supervisor to be part of some of these discussions particularly as there were early misunderstandings for why the research was funded. These meetings were also helpful to support expectations within the timeframe for the delivery of the thesis. I also presented work in progress to members of the More Music workforce and their board. Within the critical ethnographic design, I informed the West End Development team of my developments, and theoretical ideas were discussed, as part of the reflexive process. Consent is sought and given for all audio recorded through the fieldwork before data collection is undertaken. This is in line with the ethical approval of this project from my research institution.

The theoretical framework and the critical ethnographic case study

The methodological approach for this study is a critical ethnographic case study. This methodology, alongside locating the researcher's voice as a thread within the narrative developed, seeks to respond to identified social inequality in an attempt to work with research participants to bring about collective social change (Soyini Madison, 2012). The questions I pose speaks to the core of the methodological and theoretical enquiry I pursue – What is the role and responsibility of More Music in West End Morecambe, as a community music institution and as a publicly-funded cultural leader? Through this question, I seek to better understand the specific through case study as a way to make sense of the social and political conditions that may influence what takes place in this context.

Bourdieu and the critical ethnographic case study

The Bourdieusian lens is concerned with how people can resist the structures that frame decisions, and that through reflexivity we challenge the positions we are in, coming face to face with the inequality that we experience and enable. Bourdieu encourages the social

researcher to recognise themselves in the reproduction of fields and also warns, as is long-standing in ethnographic research, of issues of representation that in themselves may imprint on the *fields* in question (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu's rejection of binaries encourages questions on how meanings and positions have been arrived at and how they play out in the encounters within the field. Negotiating binaries also have relevance for the Derridean perspective, drawn on by Higgins.

Higgins and the critical ethnographic case study

Higgins conceptualises community music to have the capacity to act towards unconditional hospitality. He recognises that it is the representatives of community music who evoke this spirit, despite the political contexts they navigate to enable the work to happen, which stimulate conditions for their intentions to transform. Higgins offers a new opening to challenge the 'macro' political power of community music, to understand its conditions further. He suggests that cultural democracy, which community musicians often site as the catalyst for their involvement, is an impossible dream always in progress, always to come. When considering the role and responsibility of a community music institution, questions of a cultural democracy 'to come' bring into focus the social and political structures that may govern its perception of participation. Responding to this through consideration of how power is formed and stimulated, through Bourdieu's sociological perspective, opened space to critique and better understand this problem, through critical ethnography. Further to, through the spirit of generosity that community musicians often show towards hospitality, More Music welcomed research into the worldview of their practice, with the intention to transform. Through chapters 4 - 6 I will explore the philosophical tensions this evokes and dislodge some of the cultural competencies that may hold those engaged in the arts and cultural sector at institutional positions of strategic leadership at their current position.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have introduced the theoretical perspectives that underpin my research question and a conceptual framework that guides it. I have called on Bourdieu to help me understand the different positions More Music holds in the contexts they work, and the way that they may have inherited capital to do so. Situating this, through Bourdieu's conceptual

tools, is interplayed with Higgins' conceptualisation of community music as hospitality, to understand how positions of this nature intersect with intentions to transform that seek to work towards cultural democracy. Through the methodological design of a critical ethnographic case study, the theoretical propositions that stem from being with More Music can be understood more clearly and be responded to, within a specific situated context of an organisation, whilst also illuminating broader issues of inequality.

This chapter has also sought to address the tensions between case studies and critical ethnography and my rationale for combining them as the research strategy for this study. By discussing the possibilities and tensions within both methodologies, I assert that the theory seeking and narrative capacity of both methodologies are viable for the context of this study. However, the 'unique phenomena' (Yin, 2014) within case study alone, is not satisfactory in making sense of the complex relationships at play in the present day within More Music and West End Morecambe. The aspiration to drive action and social change, through critical ethnography (Soyini Madison, 2012) must also be considered very carefully when interplayed with peoples lived experience, particularly, in a context where research subjects have willingly welcomed a researcher into their community, knowing that the narrative constructed will be forward-facing and shared across their networks. Combining both strategies enables me to talk specifically about the behaviours and contexts that More Music operates in, whilst also theorising this within a broader social and political context that may make sense of why some of these behaviours and contexts manifest in the way that they do.

Chapter 3

Literature discussion

As long as the inequalities that characterise both workforce and audience remain unaddressed, the positive contribution culture makes to society can never be fully realised.

Brook, O'Brien and Taylor (2020, cover copy)

Introduction

Seven areas of literature inform how I explore the role and responsibility of a publicly-funded community music organisation and the structures it operates within: cultural democracy, cultural value and cultural leadership; community music as a chameleonic and emancipatory practice; and, bordering and gatekeeping. The first five are discussed in relation to opportunity and inequality in the cultural sector, the role of cultural leaders and representation, and, notions of access, inclusion and equity. The fourth and fifth, which emerge through media and geographic discourses, are concerned with ways that the role and responsibility of a publicly-funded community music institution may be positioned. Taking my lead from Mantie (2018), I aim to 'trouble the waters' of dominant discourses in community music in the UK and its relationship with cultural policy research. This chapter explores how ideologies constructed from 'emancipatory agendas' (p. 552) may contribute to binaries and distinctions in participatory policy in the UK, which are dislocated from a 'passion and vision' (Langley, 2010, p. 68) for cultural democracy. Specifically, how these may be reinforced through narratives which privilege access, inclusion and equity within the cultural sector, through established narratives and power structures. In the context of this study, 'access', 'inclusion' and 'equity' are understood as fluid concepts, influenced by the social model of disability. They are fundamental rights which may be restricted by 'society's placing of barriers to different types of access in all facets of civil and social life through attitudes, the physical environment and institutional norms' (Drake Music, 2018).

Histories documenting the evolution and conditions of working within the arts and cultural sector in the UK are well established and embedded in participatory arts and public policy research. Specifically, discourses of policy and participation (Belfiore, 2012; Gilmore, 2013; Jancovich, 2011; 2014; 2017; Jancovich & Bianchini, 2013; Jancovich & Stevenson, 2019; Legunia & Miles, 2017), the evolution of the Arts Council of England (Hewison, 2014), economic models of measuring impact (Dàvila, 2012; Deane, 2018; Henley, 2016; Klamer, 1996), and, inequalities and reproduction within the cultural sector (Brook *et al*. 2018; 2019; 2020a; Lonie, 2018; Durrer *et al.*, 2019; Durrer & Henze [2020]; Gilmore *et al.*, 2019; Taylor and O'Brien, 2017). These areas of inquiry connect with an explicit concern for the social impact of the arts (Belfiore & Bennett, 2008; Matarasso, 1997; Merli, 2002), including discourse of cultural value (Belfiore, 2015; Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016; McCluskie & Reynolds, 2015; Miles & Gibson, 2016) cultural leadership (Burns & Wilson, 2010; Hewison,

1995; Hewison & Holden, 2016; Langley, 2010) and the often discordant debate between cultural democracy and the democratisation of culture (Evrard, 2010; Graves, 2005; Hadley & Belfiore, 2018; Jeffers & Moriarty, 2017). Community music, as a discrete field of research, is underrepresented in cultural policy discourses, despite grappling with similar issues of power and representation. Cross-pollination of these research fields would foster critical and constructive collaborations through conceptual approaches to challenging inequalities of participation.

The development of community music research in the UK, including its role and relationship in policy (Deane, 2018; Lonie, 2018; Rimmer, 2009) education (Higgins, 2016; Higgins & Willingham, 2017; Veblen *et al.*, 2013), in contexts of wellbeing (MacDonald *et al.* 2012; Wood & Ansdell, 2018), and its emancipatory roots from the 1970s community arts movement (Higgins, 2012), are also well documented and embedded areas of inscription and inquiry. Furthermore, examples of community music research that supports multidisciplinary perspectives of participation can be traced in music-making within ecologies of leisure and recreation (Mantie & Dylan-Smith, 2017) and health (Stickley & Clift, 2017; Sunderland *et al.*, 2018), if not specifically within cultural policy scholarship, including, but also beyond the dimensions of community music in the UK, community music research brings to light questions of intention, privilege, emancipation and justice (Bartlett *et al.,* 2018; Bartlett & Higgins, 2018; de Quadros, 2018; Howell, 2018; Jourdan, 2020). Many who come together worldwide to celebrate and better understand these worlds of community music often have shared visions of improving access, inclusion and equity. Possibilities and intentions towards 'transformation' through community music activity is also a guiding principle framing community music.

A priority that resonates between community music and cultural policy is to challenge how outcomes and participant experiences are documented and how this relates to perceptions of participation. As such, it is important to ensure that space is supported, both theoretically and practically, for tensions to emerge within the ideologies of community music and the arts and cultural sector. This is essential for supporting ways to challenge reproductions of doxa that may mask hegemonic decision making practices reinforcing particular perceptions of participation. Cultural policy and community music research are well-positioned through their shared and divergent historical discourses, to come together to conceptualise such issues of participation in the UK. Furthermore, these positions can be contextualised and challenged in

pursuit of social justice understandings of their use within the arts and cultural sector; a task which I embark on through this study.

Established and emerging areas of interest in the Arts and Cultural Sector

'Participation' in publicly-funded arts and cultural activity is subject to commodification, as 'audiences' have been since the establishment of the Arts Council of Great Britain in 1946, and 'social impact' long before that (Belfiore & Bennett, 2008). In recent times, this has been stimulated through the inclusion agenda from the 1990s and the rise of 'place-making'. Through varying forms of capital, it is possible that frameworks for valuing participation through a 'social return on investment' have positioned those working towards visions of access, inclusion and equity by the rules through which they are funded (Belfiore & Bennett 2008; Mantie, 2018). This legitimises the positions of practice, within the arts and cultural sector. Camlin (2018) suggests, he is yet to 'meet anyone working within the cultural sector who believes that they – or their institution – are part of the problem. And yet some of us must be' (para 4). Irrespective of the intentions that bring people into arts and cultural occupations, how funding is attributed to the roles and institutions to undertake participatory practices is inextricably linked to why the arts and cultural sector was established: a resource to entertain the masses (Hewison, 1995; 2014). Langley (2010) refers to intentions as cultural workers' 'passion and vision' (p. 68). This legacy has enabled established arts and cultural representatives to thrive through distinctions of taste and perceptions of class, including the retention of western-classical art forms as the dominant vehicle in this distinction (Bourdieu, 1984). Langley (2010) also suggests that cultural leaders can lose connection to their passion and vision as they escalate through arts management structures, and Durrer & Henze (2020) call for an increasing critique for the meaning made in these contexts. These are not new problems for those who work in arts and culture, specifically when working towards visions of transformation through the arts. However, they are problems which continue to contribute to the stratification of who works in culture and who does not, which Brook *et al*. (2020a) suggests is influenced by formative participation in arts and culture, including publicly-funded activity. This stratification may also have implications for how 'participation' is valued and framed; despite the good intentions of those seeking funding for participatory practice. Brook *et al*. (2020a) suggest that historical, middle-class, representational dominance in the cultural workforce has reproduced cultural competencies. Particularly, competencies that enable descendants of art workers to play the game of culture and gain greater mobility in

creative occupations than those from working-class backgrounds, whose families have not historically worked in or engaged regularly in arts and culture. Durrer & Henze (2020) suggest similar issues of cultural competencies and their influence on how 'knowledge, habits, traditions, language and values' (p. 4) are shared and reproduced in the field of arts management, within which cultural leadership is situated. It remains critical to consider the role of arts and culture in people's lives and through public policy, particularly regarding claims of 'social impacts', how they are framed, to whom, and why. Understanding how histories relate to both participation and policy are essential, so as to not to succumb to articulating this as a new problem, reinforced by Hadley & Belfiore (2018) who assert it 'is the vanity of every age to consider itself in crisis' (2018, p. 218). Belfiore & Bennett (2008) suggest intellectual distinctions of 'high' and 'low' culture are entrenched in Western conceptualisations of values, such as the neo-liberal agendas of arts and cultural policy. Through their historical analysis of the social impact of the arts, they discuss commonly cited narratives of 'social impact', specifically, within the UK context through the establishment of the Arts Council. Their study also traces ways that these doctrines are evidenced significantly further into historical representations of the role of the arts in society. 'Social impact', as it pertains to possible investment, has risked converting well-intended practitioners with a passion and vision for the benefits of participating in arts and culture, into an army of arts-workers that respond to deeply engrained neoliberal policy agendas. The arts and cultural sector are not alone in this. However, the neoliberalist conditions that sustain narratives of impact can be veiled by intentions to transform and economic metrics for growth. This risks further colonisation of the arts and cultural sector, which those seeking to enact 'great art and culture for everyone' (ACE, 2019) perform within, in order to ensure participatory practice continues and is resourced.[10]

[10] At the time of writing, the Arts Council of England launched their new 10-year strategy, moving from a tagline of 'great art and culture for everyone' to 'let's create'. The former is now less visible on their site. The strategy places more emphasis on local contexts and nurturing talent and audience development from more geographic areas. It remains, like its predecessor, a strategy rooted in deficit, despite some shifts in language that resonates with the new place initiatives developed as part of the 'cultural cities' report, led by a seconded employee of Virgin Money. More information here: https://www.corecities.com/sites/default/files/field/attachment/Cultural%20Cities%20Enquiry%20%5Bweb%5D.pdf

Cultural democracy and the democratisation of culture, today

In 2018, Arts Council England released a 'how to' resource, created by 64 Million Artists[11] to support 'chief executives, boards and staff of arts organisations' (p. 3) in the UK to enact cultural democracy through their institutional programming and design. On cultural democracy, the resource advocates:

> A set of practical steps that arts organisations might take on a journey towards nothing less than a cultural revolution in this country. We will argue there is an economic, social and political case for this revolution; and that the risk of ignoring it may be that formally defined arts and culture becomes increasingly irrelevant in a society that wants to be actively involved in everything.
>
> 64 Million Artists & ACE (2018. p. 3)

Cultural Democracy [original capitalisation] came into the strategic gaze of the Arts Council, in part, through their commissioning of 64 Million Artists to undertake a scoping review of 'everyday creativity' (2016). Through this, ACE recognised that what they understood to be cultural democracy took place prominently outside the publicly-funded sphere of arts and cultural activity. ACE defines Cultural Democracy as 'an approach to arts and culture that actively engages everyone in deciding what counts as culture, where it happens, who makes it, and who experiences it' (2018, p. 2). Much of this activity took place in the 'cold spot' areas of activity where a great deal of public investment has been directed over recent years, through the Creative People and Places programme. The report suggested that this programme is 'proving that engaging communities, participants and audiences in decision making processes is enabling deeper participation with arts and culture, particularly in places with traditionally low levels of cultural engagement' (p. 3). However, Gilmore *et al.* (2019) suggest that focus on 'the local', through research and policy design, may 'legitimate activity that is of debatable benefit to the places and practices imagined by its invocation' (p. 265). Durrer *et al*. (2019) also suggest that, despite different funding mechanisms for 'local' practice, across the four arts

[11] 64 Million Arts is a social enterprise with five members of staff, founded in 2014 by the former Head of Strategic Development and the former Joint Artist-Director of Battersea Arts Centre. More information here: https://64millionartists.com/about/

councils of the UK[12], its connection relies on 'networked governance' which 'risks reproducing national interests' (p. 317). The Cultural Democracy report attempts to minimise the risk of institutions 'becoming increasingly irrelevant' (64 Million Artists & ACE, 2018, p. 2) to the communities they are commissioned to serve, particularly, if content development with local representatives is not rooted historically as part of their institutional practice and 'cultural democracy' is perceived as a new way to connect with demographics historically outside of the grasp of public policy. Access to decision making at these positions resonates with the kinds of cultural privilege I discussed in the opening to this section. The notion that decentralisation of public funds should be more inclusive of local representatives need not be a reproduction of national governance. However, critical questions require addressing if such reproductions are to be challenged. The promotion of cultural democracy is reminiscent of the centralisation of community arts programmes in the early 2000s. This centralisation recognised that those working in dislocation from established cultural institutions could meet the perceived participation divides of central policy, specifically, as their practice often developed through a commitment to cultural democracy and emancipatory agendas for the arts. This created an opportunity to upscale the work and profile of the community practitioner in a move that is sometimes understood within community music to be considered 'boundary walking' (Kushner *et al*. 2001) and part of a 'chameleonic practice' (Brown *et al.*, 2014). This move from the fringes to the centre of funding for the arts welcomed the advent of 'access' through New Labour and the National Lottery, which saw community arts drawn closer to the centre of public policy (Deane, 2018; Jeffers & Morriarty, 2017). Although the calculation of these outputs can lead to increased participation in arts and culture through such agendas, the mechanism of 'Cultural Democracy' at such centralised positions, maybe, as Mantie (2018) suggests, 'a wolf in sheep's clothing' (p. 545).

Further to questions of the instrumentalisation of community arts, which Matarasso's (1997) 'Use or Ornament' played a significant role in making more visible within the sector (Matarasso, 2002), there are questions of the relevance of the cultural democracy born from the activist arts of the 1970s in today's cultural sector discourse. Hadley & Belfiore (2018) suggest there may be a need to 'revise, regenerate and re-fashion a conceptual understanding

[12] 'Arts Councils of the UK' refers to the four policy bodies that distribute public funds for arts and culture in the UK: Arts Council England, Creative Scotland, Arts Council of Northern Ireland and Arts Council of Wales.

of what "cultural democracy" might mean and look like in the present historical moment' (p. 221). In particular, considering that:

> [t]here can be no true exploration of cultural democracy without the acknowledgement that hierarchies of cultural value have always been, and always will be, imbricated in questions of power and authority: any future research agenda that disregards this connection will fail to make a contribution to both scholarship and to the encouragement of reflexive creative practice.
>
> (p. 222)

With the turn of the decade has come a convenient pivot point for reconstructing historical narratives. This has seen a rise in organisations, specifically funding bodies, compose timelines of their institutional evolution.[13] These timelines have become a useful way to manoeuvre into the next decade for long-standing institutions. However, Hadley & Belfiore's question of the relationship between power and authority and the histories of movements, such as cultural democracy, remain unaddressed and in need of attention. Evolutionary timelines also appear to be predominantly written in silo. Methods of documenting these evolutions through a shared, plural, timeline may address part of Hadley & Belfiore's call to future research: to help make sense of distinctions such as the democratisation of culture and cultural democracy, within contemporary arts and cultural policy and practice, particularly if the intersections of power and authority, connecting grassroots and establishment, are to be better understood in policy and participation. Furthermore, this requires addressing to support ways in which conceptualisations of power concerning access, inclusion and equity can be strengthened theoretically, through and alongside, reflexive practice.

Locating contemporary discourse of cultural democracy as part of historical understandings in its (mis)use through policy remains critical when considering its application as a concept. Jeffers (2018) suggests that literature considering the evolution of cultural democracy and the community arts movement is under-represented as a discreet area of research, suggesting it is viewed as 'too easy to dismiss as politically and socially inconsequential' (p. 4). Such views

[13] With both the National Foundation for Youth Music and the Arts Council England composing such timelines, these historical inscriptions in themselves are a useful example of cultural policy trends. In 2020, More Music also constructed a timeline of their development.

do not resonate through community music literature. Literature considering the community arts movement and cultural democracy, which is not art form specific, is discussed and reported on differently from its representation within community music literature. In this context, particularly over the last decade, a great deal of attention and credibility has been reserved for the fields of civic foregrounding (Brown *et al.*, 2014; Higgins, 2012; MacKay and Higham, 2011; Moser & Mackay, 2005). Few examples of literature around the community arts movement that are not art-form specific appear to include discussion from the perspective of community music researchers. Furthermore, contributions to the discourse of the community arts movement and cultural democracy in relation to community music's ecology appear to take place predominantly in silo. Community music's often-cited location as an area of music education and its ties with education and formal learning contexts may influence its proximity to wider cultural sector discourse of cultural democracy. Community music research and its historical perspectives find its connections most resonantly articulated through democratic processes in education, such as informal and non-formal learning (Green, 2002, 2008; Higgins and Willingham, 2017; Veblen & Waldron, 2012), musicking (Small, 1998) and resistance to neo-liberal music education (Horsley & Woodford, 2015). However, the extensive literature which considers the evolution of the publicly-funded arts and cultural sector and the conversion of community artists to those engaged in 'socially engaged commissions' through institutions (Hope, 2017) requires re-consideration of how cultural democracy is understood within contemporary community music, particularly if it is to contribute within the context of contemporary cultural policy. ACE is arguably a dominant 'hierarch[y] of cultural value' (Hadley & Belfiore, 2018, p. 222) that influences the direction of both community music and other forms of participation within the arts and cultural sector, mainly due to their proximity to central government and the significant decision making powers they hold. With this in mind, documents such as 'Cultural Democracy in Practice' (64 Million Artists & ACE, 2018) require careful consideration, particularly through the histories of the community arts movement and the historical formation of public funding for arts and culture in the UK. Shared, plural, historical narratives may contribute ways to understand these complex power structures through participation. Through doing so, possible ways to confront the risk of being further colonised by dominant mechanisms of cultural production in the UK, as a means of symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), may be better understood within the context of community music and its relationship with policy. It may also avoid aggravating further unhelpful distinctions between what is publicly-funded and what is considered 'grassroots', in discourses of participation and cultural value. However, ACE's suite of funded institutions may

'want to be actively involved in everything' (64 Million Artists & ACE, 2018, p. 3), stimulated by a need to survive and pressure on ACE to diversify how it evidences a social return on investment (Hewison, 2014). As such, understanding cultural democracy, as Higgins (2012) positions it, as an 'impossible dream' (Higgins, 2012, p. 171), brings into focus a hegemonic condition within his conceptualisation of hospitality. This may influence the disruption of the passions and visions for participation that community musicians espouse, particularly when operating within the context of institutions, and the 'rules of the game' of culture, which locates them in particular positions of power through their historical shifts to the centre of participatory policy. These tensions must be confronted, and understanding how emancipatory agendas are mobilised through institutional positions contribute to this. Higgins (2012) suggests cultural democracy 'becomes an affirmative opportunity to exert a passion for the impossible' (p.177), which is 'underscored through the traces of community music past'. This resonates with Hadley & Belfiore's (2018) call to future research contributions to take account of the hierarchies of value and power that are embedded within cultural democracy. As such, understanding the conditions framing the roles and responsibilities of those programming and providing opportunities to participate in publicly-funded arts and cultural activity, where there is an intention to impact issues of access, inclusion and equity, demand attention and critique. Higgins calls to those engaging in community music research to concern themselves with 'community music's political ambitions', specifically 'the relational interaction between individuals (music facilitator and participants)' and 'those who attribute funding for music, music organi[s]ations and institutions' (p. 167). Despite disconnected discourses of cultural democracy between community music and cultural policy research, the traces from both demand exploration concerning the role and responsibility of community music at an institutional position. Jeffers (2017) proposes that its outliers in the 1970s were 'mostly formally trained in the arts […] emerg[ing] from theatre schools, art colleges and universities' (p. 5). Jeffers' suggestion that these outliers predominantly emerged from established routes may present many more questions about the histories and practices of cultural democracy and how it is framed within the cultural workforce. These histories require examination in relation to the emancipatory agendas embedded in perceptions of participation that connect with and value, cultural democracy, and the possible institutional capital that may influence their positions.

Cultural value

Discussions of cultural value has shifted over the last decade from the binaries of categorisation to considerations of the many ways that people's participation in arts and culture can be understood (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016). This is partly due to recognition amongst cultural policy researchers of New Labour's role in bringing the instrumentalisation of the arts into the core of policy development for 'better understand[ing] and engage[ment] with life, and as such is a key part in reducing inequality of opportunity' (Jowell, in McCluskie & Reynolds, 2015, p. 1950). In a move to more pluralist perspectives of value, it has been important to question how instrumental policy agendas have shaped value discourse, particularly, through the critique of who is involved and represented in articulating cultural values. Such representational concerns become more important still because of the restrictions that reporting structures impose on the public voice when gathering evidence of cultural value (Jancovich, 2017; Miles & Gibson, 2016). Within this, recognising that inquiry into perceptions of cultural value needs to take into account a range of limiting factors, including the possible over-representation of already engaged participants (Jancovich, 2011); the funding outcomes that shape the questions asked (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016; Deane, 2018; Stupples, 2014); the social stratification of participation based on 'classic drivers of inequality, such as class, status, gender, ethnicity or disability' (Merli, 2002, p. 29); and, the over-representation of the institutional voice within value narratives (Jancovich, 2017; Jancovich & Bianchini, 2013; McCluskie & Reynolds, 2015; Miles & Gibson, 2016). All of which contribute to bringing 'public opinion closer to the centre of […] strategic decision-making' (Lee *et al.,* 2011, p. 295). This is one possible example of how the signifier can take the place of the signified; a critical issue in Bourdieu's concept of social capital, which he suggests can lead to over-representation through the 'outstandingness' of those with the power to use their capital as a way to represent particular groups (Bourdieu, 1986). Over-representation of outcomes is also another condition that has implications for visions of transformation, understood through hospitality. In 2016, the AHRC funded Cultural Values Report advocated that those considering the value of the arts in and for society should give increasing recognition to cultural participation in everyday life. Specifically, that value is acknowledged in how everyday culture informs the UK public's choices (Currie & Higgins, 2019). Decisions at a funding or policy position that seek to work within these more open parameters of value may make more space for less visible forms of engagement to thrive. However, as illustrated through the 'Cultural Democracy in Practice' report, when this becomes the ambition of centralised mechanisms of support for arts and

cultural participation, it may risk contributing to 'a climate in which the primary business is to adapt in order to survive' (McLuskie & Reynolds, 2015, p. 147). As such, understanding representation in decision making remains a crucial issue that established decision makers for art and cultural participation, must face towards, particularly regarding 'capital'. Reporting structures do not always raise the voices of those who take part or those who 'just might' (Higgins, 2012, p. 173), signifying power through symbolic violence within the dominant modes of production, regarding how publicly funded arts and culture is accessed and positioned. Further to this, modes of evidencing cultural value are bound in the cultural assumptions of the cultural sector workforce – what Bourdieu (1977) would consider the 'doxa': that which is taken-for-granted. Taylor & O'Brien (2017) and Brook *et al.* (2018; 2019; 2020a; 2020b) suggest attitudes within the cultural workforce underpin this and that these may reinforce social inequality, through a reproduction of how cultural sector occupations are accessed. Inequality of access towards professional pathways in the arts and cultural sector emerge in ACE's own evidence in 2016, 2018 and most recently, in the 2020 report of diversity across their NPOs. The report recognises significant under-representation of minority groups in the cultural workforce, e.g., only 4% of employees from within ACE funded institutions in England identifying as disabled (ACE, 2016), which rose to 6% in 2020. This style of reporting subsequently raised the profile of issues of access, inclusion and equity regarding representation in the cultural workforce. There is also some small-scale, organisation-led research that suggests workers may not disclose information about themselves in the data collected. For example, workers may conceal their disability status due to concerns for how they would be perceived in their role if their disability was known to their employer (Drake Music, 2017).[14] Jancovich & Bianchini (2013) also recognised that attitudinal barriers, such as those discussed by Brook *et al.* (2019), were not widely considered in evaluations of cultural value relating to participation. The issues raised by these authors cast light on issues of power and attitudinal barriers not just concerning those who engage with cultural institutions to take part as participants, but also for working within the sector that such institutions represent. Understanding cultural competencies that may legitimise these issues can support ways that participation and its value can be understood and negotiated. This includes those working through community music, where the practice is resourced through dominant governing structures, reinforced by the conditions of funding. Overall, cultural value is embedded in the

[14] In the 2020 diversity report, ACE recognised that there are still issues with reporting on diversity within their NPOs, as they 'continue to see high levels of "not known" for sexual orientation and disability data' (2020, p. 6).

lexicon of cultural policy and in evidencing impact through arts and cultural activity. However, how it is discussed and reported on as a way of representing public opinion and priorities for participation are limited by the intentions and instruments used to create meaning from them. Both centralised narratives of cultural democracy and cultural value are problematic, as they seek to make sense of nuanced democratic ideas, traditionally outside of their reach, to programme and evidence impact. This may create tension for those who are employed, often with good intentions to work towards transformation (Higgins, 2012) in publicly-funded arts and cultural institutions: the cultural leaders.

Cultural leadership

Those identified as cultural leaders within the arts and cultural sector embody significant capital in their role and the contexts they operate. This relationship is never equal, and those in dominant positions of power are often identified as 'experts'. Lukes (2005) suggests that this often causes an imbalance in decision making, particularly when decision making, or any kind of 'co-creation', takes place once funds are agreed, and plans have been made (Jancovich, 2017). In the context of cultural value and its narratives, the power in decision making is problematic for those seeking to work collaboratively within emancipatory agendas, such as community musicians in strategic leadership positions, notably, regarding who is identified as an expert and how this is framed. Taking into consideration such issues of cultural value and policy doctrines that govern it, being a cultural leader is a position that needs to be continuously negotiated. This process is important when prioritising practice towards access, inclusion and equity, as has been conceptualised through issues of democracy and social justice in music education (Benedict *et al*. 2015). Cultural leaders (specifically, leaders of cultural institutions) may be required to navigate what Hewison & Holden (2016) identify as the misunderstandings about the organisational responsibilities of 'not-for-profit'. Such misunderstandings may have implications for how cultural value is attributed and understood in these contexts. They suggest that:

> What 'not-for-profit' really means is 'not-profit-*distributing*', where the profits that are made are ploughed back into the organisation in order to sustain and develop its creative activity. It is the result of that creativity – performances, exhibitions, individual works of art and all the different ways in which a cultural organi[s]ation gives pleasure and encouragement to its audiences and visitors – which is the true profit.
>
> (p.1)

The ideology of cultural leaders as cultural entrepreneurs is rooted in the neo-liberal design of the UK's twenty-first-century arts and cultural sector. It is bound within economic models for not only the social return for investment but the return on cultural value. The same authors believe this to be the 'true profit [… that cultural leaders] generate' (p. 2). However, who are the cultural leaders that straddle these positions of operations and creativity, whom Cray *et al*. (2007) identify as having 'dual rationalities of aesthetic judgement and organisational efficiency' (p. 296)? Although I would argue not for dual rationalities, but questions of plural rationalities, resonating with Brown *et al.* (2014). They suggest a 'chameleon practice', where individuals embody multiple roles, which require different approaches for different stakeholders. With the development of the Clore Leadership Programme in 2003[15], and higher education training in arts management, pedagogies of cultural leadership have emerged which seek to 'inspire and equip leaders to have a positive impact on society through great leadership of culture' (Clore, 2020). Within this, there are increasingly accepted qualities of leadership in the arts, including some ambiguity of its meaning, which marks it as distinctive from other areas of leadership research (Langley, 2010). However, although Cray *et al*. (2007) also consider cultural leaders in the arts to have distinctive qualities, they identify that there is limited research considering these roles, at the time of their writing. As a term that was not common in policy and training literature until the establishment of programmes such as Clore (Price, 2016), it is reasonable that the emerging nature of the concept of cultural leadership rendered it difficult to research. Further to this, early articulations of what cultural leadership encompassed were varied, and cultural leadership quickly found itself to be a contested concept

[15] The Close Leadership Programme is a charity that 'provides outstanding leadership learning, enabling cultural leaders to have a positive impact on our sector and society' (Clore Leadership, 2019). The programme emerged from a report produced on behalf of the Clore Duffield Foundation by Hewison & Holden in 2002, the same authors who produced The Cultural Leadership Handbook a decade later. More information here: https://www.cloreleadership.org/sites/cloreleadership.org/files/task_force_final_report_full.pdf

(Langley, 2010). This may have been, in part, due to its interchangeable relationship with arts management (Hoyle, 2008). However, much inquiry into cultural leadership around this time was 'presented through articles and think tank groups' (Burns & Wilson, 2010, p. 87), and also coincided with the formation of the cultural sector, in its contemporary form. Developing through New Labour policy, it was an opportune moment for cultural leaders within the sector to flourish (Hewison, 2014). This entrepreneurial spirit embodied many of those from the community arts movement. It gave rise to the institutionalisation of their practice, through the social agenda for the arts (Deane, 2018), and a political mandate which inflated its capital in a new field. As such, those embodying positions of cultural leadership may have found themselves in positions which create tension. This tension manifested both internally within the organisational contexts that they operate - as cultural leaders became managers, which signifies them from their organisational peers, and through the tension between the 'passion and vision' of the role of culture (Langley, 2010). Such 'movement away from th[is] ideology' (p. 68), manifested through the power dynamics at play, could play a significant part in the tension within the role and responsibilities of cultural leaders who seek to work within emancipatory agendas of access, inclusion and equity. Again, a deeper understanding of the interplay between these structural and ideological positions is required, particularly increased cross-pollination of community music and cultural sector histories, as a way to understand the plural rationalities that influence emancipatory agendas within cultural leadership practices. For community musicians, the role of the cultural leader is keenly discussed as a 'chameleonic practice', which recognises the community musician's ability to move between contexts and to speak to different 'audiences' (Brown *et al*. 2014). The prevalence of those from within the community arts movement who moved into leadership positions within the cultural sector gave rise to the chameleonic practice within community music that followed.

Intersections of interest within community music research

Community music, as a research discipline, has evolved with rapid acceleration since the early 2000s. Through a widely acknowledged commitment to the role of music in people's lives, issues that face access, inclusion and equity through music have become more visible, stimulated through increased global connectivity (Higgins and Bartlett, 2018). This supports community music research to be connected, and intrinsically rooted, in practice, particularly the divergent contexts through which ideologies of emancipation and social justice can be

shared, challenged and developed. One way that the field continues to develop is through the continual meaning-making and resistance to definitions of its practice, which is explored conceptually through multi-authored volumes considering community music. Specifically, by Veblen *et al*. (2013) who discuss definitive notions of community music as 'fluid' (p. 1) and Bartlett & Higgins (2018) who discuss definitions of community music as possibly 'too specific or too general to be of great use to practitioners' (p. 14). This is not to say that there is consensus in how community music is framed, but there is recognition of the plurality of contexts that influence its meanings. The latter volume also considers how methods of conceptualising community music have highlighted tensions in the definition discourse of community music, specifically, through Higgins' (2012) reading of Derrida and conceptualisation of community music as hospitality, which works towards possibilities of unknown transformation. Given the use of Higgins' theoretical framework through this thesis, it is important to draw on this specifically, here. Met with wide-spread inclusion as a theoretical framework for articulating contexts and possibilities of community music as an inclusive practice, it has also been resisted as feeding critique of community music's ambiguity, through its philosophical positioning (Kertz-Welzel, 2016). However, considering community music in this way, as discussed in more depth in the previous chapter, has provided a dialogic space to push against for the many ways in which an emancipatory agenda of community music may be understood and reconceptualised, specifically, Higgins' call to future research to consider community music's political power. Questioning the situated role of community music in practice and policy is one such space where conceptualisations of community music's political power can be explored further. This is particularly important when in pursuit of increased understanding and awareness of power dynamics in and around community music activity, such as at an institutional position. Leading from the discussion of the cultural sector ecosystem presented thus far, which much community music in the UK finds itself beholden to and possibly stimulating, I now focus on two areas pertinent to understanding the intersections between community music practice and policy: how it is framed as an emancipatory practice and often understood in the UK as a 'chameleonic practice'. From here, I will consider the borders that these contexts may reinforce, presenting a conceptualisation of the role of gatekeeper that community musicians – as strategic leaders or in institutions – may be positioned in.

Community music as a 'chameleon practice'

Brown *et al.* (2014) assert that community music is a 'chameleonic practice' despite recognising the conflicting opinions of definition and contested need of a definition of community music, as a specific field of practice. As outlined, this is a recurring issue entrenched in community music discourse (Higgins, 2012; Higgins & Willingham, 2017; Bartlett & Higgins; McKay and Higham, 2012; Mullen, 2017; Rimmer 2015; Velben *et al*. 2013). In the 2014 report 'Whatever happened to community music?' Brown and colleagues synthesised the perspectives of invited community musicians operating within the UK, through an AHRC-funded project. This project aimed to discuss the ways that community music was represented and practised within the UK. Specifically, to 'improve understanding of the historic, current, and potential roles that community music […] can play in promoting community engagement' (p. 2). The term 'chameleon' which gained traction within community music literature, identifies its use as a way to describe some of the tensions within the practice of being a community musician (see: Deane 2018a, 2018b; Howell, 2018; Rimmer, 2015). The original report suggested that it was a way for community musicians to make malleable the parameters of their practice, to satisfy policy shifts. Deane suggests that '[t]he clever community musicians are the chameleons – those who take on the colour of the particular job that needs doing at any particular time. Adjusting their techniques, learning new skills and relating to different agendas and contexts [….]' (2018b, p. 6). Often discussed in this way, community music as a chameleonic practice celebrates such responsiveness. However, whilst suggesting this as such, Deane (2018a) also cautions towards such practice, by suggesting there may be a 'price to pay' (p. 329). Brown *et al*. (2014) also recognised the possible dislocation the term brings about from its past-practice, within the context of the community arts movement of the 1970s. It was also situated amongst many voices discussing the neoliberal arts and cultural sector at the time (Bennett and Belfiore, 2010, Harvey, 2013; Hesmondhalgh *et al.*, 2014; McGuigan, 2005). The report considered the primarily social agenda of community music practice and the ways that it has found prominence and pathways for development through the evolution of publicly funded arts and culture since the advent of the National Lottery. However, such pathways present a crisis of both representation and infrastructure for community musicians, particularly regarding sustainable funding opportunities and burgeoning reporting requirements (Deane, 2018a, 2018b; Lonie, 2018; McKay and Higham, 2011; Rimmer, 2015; 2018a, 2018b). Unique to the report was the notion that those taking part shared conceptualisation of their work as a 'chameleonic practice'. This

was considered a ‘wilful strategy based on the need to access the resources necessary to secure survival’ (p. 17). It was discussed as a way of exploring community music’s contemporary contexts (at the time of its writing), without attempting to embark on the reductionist discourse of definitions (although this was recognised in the report as an ongoing issue for community music and its practice). As a term, it responded to the plurality of contexts community musicians are required to adopt, in order to undertake their practice within these funding and policy contexts. It also recognised limitations in this, such as community music appearing unclear for those ‘looking in on [community music] from the outside’ (p. 11).

The chameleon-like nature of the practice, as it has adapted through centralised funding over the past decade, has seen adaptability and responsiveness of practitioners flourish in positions as policymakers, music makers and advocates. This position has been stimulated, in part, through a growing network of practitioners who connect through shared ‘passions and visions’ for the transformational impact of their work; such networks may contribute to shared cultural competencies of the value and role of community music within publicly-funded participation. Camlin (2018) considers this as a possible contribution to a rationale community, stimulated by good intentions, and suggests that it risks becoming a site of symbolic violence. Lonie (2018) adds to such warnings, suggesting that the evaluations which become the basis for such visions are at risk of over-claiming the outcomes of participation. Jancovich (2017) also resonates with this proclamation, within broader contexts of participation. The ‘sophisticated ways in which policy stipulations, including those relating to evaluation, are negotiated, repurposed and applied in situ by practitioners and others involved in providing participatory music opportunities, rather than “blindly” applied’ (Lonie, 2018, p. 282) again raises tension for community musicians who operate as cultural leaders in strategic positions, particularly, through a chameleonic practice; where malleability to fit within dominant policies of participation is a conscious pedagogical decision at this strategic position. Predating the notion of ‘chameleonic practice’, community musicians have also been conceptualised as ‘boundary walkers’. ‘Boundary walking’ leading from the work of Kushner *et al.* (2001), implies occupational precarity and ability to move between professions by ‘tak[ing] their music’ (p. 4) into these settings. Higgins suggests that ‘the margins […] provide a position of strength for community musicians’ (p. 6) and that this is an important position for community musicians to protect as a position of resistance to ‘dominant forms of practice’ (Ibid). The chameleon practice offered an opportunity to present community musicians to policymakers as well-placed to link together agencies and agendas with social values. It is essential to challenge the

tensions within a chameleonic practice. However, it has also afforded opportunities for those with emancipation as a foregrounding aim, to be part of the cultural workforce in strategic positions. This also calls in to question if such positions of boundary-walking as resistance, have, as Higgins suggests is required, been protected at an 'institutional' position. Understanding this within the plural histories of community music and cultural policy remains critical if community music is to be understood at an institutional position, as part of an emancipatory practice. The report by Brown *et al.* (2014) is widely cited and has possibly become a catch-all mechanism to explain the nuanced ways that community musicians work in diverse settings. However, it also risks appropriation of community musicians' pedagogical flexibility, through the reporting structures which enable the work to happen. Community music as a 'chameleonic practice' may also have afforded the field of community music the 'fresh coinage' (Price, 2016) of terminology, through which to discuss and present the complexities of its practice. This is similar to how Hewison and Holden's (2002) report cleared the path for the establishment of cultural leadership: both reports, and terms within them, convert to capital that can be spent on evidencing dominant narratives, which, as previously discussed, may be viewed as the value and 'true profit' that cultural leaders hold (Hewison and Holden, 2014).

Rimmer (2018b) suggests that disenfranchised groups (who are often the targeted beneficiaries of participation) can pay the price for the decisions which cultural leaders have had to make in pursuit of sustainability. This may be part of the cost, which Deane (2018) warns of, for community musicians in strategic positions of leadership. Particularly, after the steady flow of central investment aggressively faced austerity cuts, after the financial crisis of 2008, despite narratives that presented a strong social return on investment. This further underscores the issues of reporting, identified by Lonie (2018). Such under-resourcing is another tension that those undertaking a chameleonic practice need to negotiate between policy and participation. In this way, it is a further condition which influences intentions of working towards cultural democracy. Another tension in these positions, more systemic still, is cultural policy rhetoric which positions participation from a perspective of an assumed deficit, particularly through distinctions between how the work is valued by those undertaking it, and how this translates into policy. As Lonie (2018) goes on to suggest, it is not clear how reporting on outcomes has impacted the ways that money is spent, and policy shaped. However, it is reasonable to suggest that the metrics required in reporting, such as those I discuss in relation to 'cultural value', contribute to the validation of deficits as an indicator of impact. When considering community

music through hospitality, at a position of cultural leadership, the malleability of the chameleonic practice raises questions; specifically, does this malleability benefit the status quo within arts and cultural funding, manifested through its well-intended need to survive? Such questions, when considering community music at an institutional position, highlight the importance of understanding the risks of reproduction in positions of cultural leadership, articularly to understand possible reproductions of social inequality, through attempts to advocate for the unique transformational capacities in community music activity, that may satisfy broader policy agendas in the 'national interest' (Durrer *et al*. 2019). However, they are problematic. As too might be the stratification of community musicians as cultural leaders, from others inheriting the community arts movement and its activist roots within other art forms, through dislocated critique. Considering community music uniquely as a chameleonic practice may be an unhelpful distinction. However, understanding it as part of a plural history of cultural leadership and community music's relationship to this remains necessary, particularly when seeking to understand how hospitality through community music unfolds at an institutional position and the conditions this intersects.

Community music as an emancipatory practice

The transformational capacities which are advocated through community music are historically evidenced in documentation and self-reporting (Bartlett & Higgins, 2018), and rooted in a community musician's 'passion and vision' (Langley, 2010), including those represented in strategic positions of leadership, who are often responsible for reporting. This often situates community music as an emancipatory practice (Bànffy-Hall, 2019; Bartlett & Higgins, 2018; Dean 2018a; Higgins, 2012; McKay and Higham, 2011). Stemming from the community arts movement of the 1970s, the role of musicians in communities, within the context of the UK, sought to work with people towards increasingly empowered, representative and inspiring opportunities for self-actualisation. These roles evolved from resistance to reinforced imbalances of power. Although there are neoliberal constructs legitimising contemporary practice, one of the rationales stemming from the community arts movement was a resistance of the democratisation of particular kinds of cultural production (Deane, 2018a; Hope, 2011; Jeffers and Moriarty, 2017; Higgins, 2012). These imbalances signified those who had and had-not, regarding access, inclusion and equity in arts and cultural resources. As an attempt to challenge this, community artists engaged in community organising and local activism through their practice: one such mode of activity was community music. In this sense, those seeking to

work in this way, within contemporary settings - who inherit its seemingly democratic intentions - do so in a belief that music has a role to play in understanding or addressing perceptions of deficits. Such intentions of challenging deficits of access may be more commonly recognisable today through more centralised policy, as indicators that influence the kinds of community music activity that takes place and with whom (Deane, 2018; Deane & Mullen, 2018). Tensions between the ideological intentions of community music practice, the contexts, and agendas within which this takes place, are increasingly recognised as areas where further consideration is required; specifically, concerning issues of 'power, control, and privilege' which demand 'to be critiqued and unpacked within the musical exchange' (Bartlett & Higgins, 2018, p. 15). This critique is vital, to ensure that contemporary mechanisms for undertaking community music activity in the UK do not become of themselves 'another coloni[s]ing endeavour' (p. 6). In particular, those forged through the evolution of public policy for arts and cultural participation with those who have the capital to play the game of culture to enable the work to happen, reinforced through cultural competencies. Despite the possible discordance between policy and reporting (Lonie, 2018), projects designed to widen access and participation continue to be of interest for policymakers. The increase and recognition of project activity which works in this way may have contributed to the position of community musicians (as well as their counterparts in other participatory arts contexts) as cultural leaders within the inclusion agenda of cultural policy. Despite finding temporary shelter within such agendas, visions of emancipation remain at risk of becoming absorbed into the deficit culture through which the funds are generated and distributed (Jancovich & Bianchini, 2013; Miles, 2007). Such passion and vision are further jeopardised by the 'inequality talk' (Brook *et al.*, 2019), which can be prevalent amongst cultural sector management. Such tensions need to be continually reviewed and considered not only regarding power-dynamics 'within the musical exchange' but at the borders of contexts where community music is represented. In order to understand issues of cultural value concerning community musicians as cultural leaders, there is a need to develop an understanding of the community organising contexts where they are situated. Included in this, is their historical positioning in today's world through the policies and the plural rationalities that may stimulate doxa. Understanding power dynamics within the *musical exchange* may be further contextualised through a more nuanced understanding of a possible *rhetoric exchange* that enables community music as a chameleonic practice to exist, in contemporary UK contexts. Over the preceding decade, community musicians, as Deane (2018) suggests, had to decide if the price of participation within the realms of public funding was worth paying. Constructing these emancipatory and empowering practices within the

confines of a social return on investment requires those representing community music at institutional or leadership positions to speak across diverse stakeholders, adjusting the terminology accordingly (Brown *et al*. 2014). This creates, or at least plays a part, in a possible rhetoric exchange around community music activity which has distinguished the activity from the policies of community music, whilst enabling each to flourish. Community musicians operating in these positions could be regarded as gatekeepers (Shoemaker, 2017) and they have a powerful role to play in the conditions through which community music has been able to operate and flourish. Controlling the narratives at the borders of practice and policy may be an assumed aspect of the suite of responsibilities that the community musician may be required to fulfil. Doing so may be to safeguard intentions of transformation or emancipation in situ, in an attempt to subvert objective structures that surround it. However, these clashing rationalities may be reinforced through notions of a 'chameleonic practice', and as such, the powerful position of the community musician in these strategic positions may present a dislocation from such intentions.

Gatekeeping, bordering and alternative conceptualisations of the intersections between community music practice and policy

The preceding sections in this chapter have been concerned with the historical narratives of both cultural policy and community music. I have aimed to explore how these narratives can interact, to support understandings of how concepts are positioned within specific contexts where they have become established within the cultural workforce. Considering this, with a specific interest in community music at an institutional position and the tensions this may frustrate for cultural leaders who seek to work towards transformation; specifically, when participation in music is understood to have a powerful role to play in people's lives and that community musicians and cultural leaders have a responsibility to contribute to its transformational possibilities. The following section considers some ways of understanding these tensions, through an alternative lens: of gatekeepers and bordering, borrowed from media and geography scholarship respectively. From a discussion of these ideas, I will then turn to my own theoretical and methodological framework to bring this chapter to a conclusion.

Gatekeeping

Gatekeeping, as described by Shoemaker (2017), is 'deciding which messages to send to others and how to shape them' (p. 348). Gatekeeping theory, which is predominantly situated in communications and media literature, is concerned with who has access to information and how that information is shaped and communicated. Furthermore, it is concerned with how this impacts the ways that social realities are interpreted, informed and reproduced. Gatekeeping theory also takes into consideration how people are positioned in these contexts, particularly, who has access to decision making. It is at this juncture where gatekeeping intercepts field-theory (Shoemaker, 2017; DeIuliis, 2015), which has relevance for those employing conceptual ideas of position-taking, such as those working with Bourdieu. Gatekeeping as a concept may be well-placed for development as an area of theoretical inquiry within the discourse of community music and its relationship with policy, specifically when considering the ideological and structural tensions within the UK, discussed in this chapter. However, it is important to handle these concepts with care, due to the negative and in some instances, deep-rooted ideological tensions, that notions of gatekeeping may aggravate within international contexts of community music, particularly those which take place in settings of peace-building, reconciliation, and decolonisation. These contexts confront issues of bordering, otherness, oppression and disadvantage, through unequal distributions of power and access. They are the modus-operandi for the resistance work of community musicians in a range of international contexts, working within emancipatory agendas (Bartlett & Higgins, 2018; Higgins, 2015), including, to some extent, the UK; although interventions of this nature tend to take place within the policy contexts outlined thus far. However, histories of community music and public policy for the arts, as well as the history in the discussion chapter to follow, make clear that there is a border between community music activity and policy within the UK. At this border, community musicians in institutional or strategic leadership positions have privileged access rights and an ethical duty of care in the representation of people, place and their ideas. These access rights influence what information is shared, how this is shaped, and this is connected to their role in advocating for the continuation of their practice. As such, despite its disruptive connotations, the position of power that community musicians have as cultural leaders and how this may relate to gatekeeping, cannot be ignored. To do so would be to fall short of the calls to future critique, made by Hadley & Belfiore (2018) and Higgins (2012) concerning the power relations within cultural democracy. Beyond the role of advocate, conceptualising community musicians in strategic leadership positions as gatekeepers may also act as a shield: a way to

deflect the practice from the deficit culture that prescribes it. It is at these points of tension, where community music at an institutional position of cultural leadership, may embody traits identified through gatekeeping theory and notions of bordering (Cooper & Perkins, 2012). How these access rights are understood in negotiation between emancipation and symbolic violence is the central concern within this study. Gatekeeping can support this to be understood within the context of community music's roots and activity, as a way to comprehend the tensions manifested through plural rationalities.

Bordering

Bordering, as an area of geographic interest, crosses the diverse contexts through which geographers consider the world and society. Border studies, akin with the discourse of community music, is recognised for its diverse meaning-making and does not subscribe itself to one all-encompassing definition or theoretical framework. It has also raised dissensus through attempts to define its meaning too specifically and Cooper & Perkins (2012) suggest that the term 'border' is 'a place holder for a number of processes' (p. 57). Such place-holding may have resonance for some of the definition discourse of community music. In the multi-authored volume by Wastl-Walter (2011), which considers geopolitical, spatial and relational perspectives of borders, she states that:

> …borders are still ubiquitous, are manifested in diverse ways, and have various functions and roles. They can be material or non-material and may appear in the form of a barbed-wire fence, a brick wall, a door, a heavily-armed body guard or as symbolic boundaries, that is, conceptual distinctions created by actors to categori[s]e components of belonging and exclusion. Such manifestations of borders affect people in their freedom of action and are perceived differently by different actors and groups.
>
> (p. 2)

Through the polysemic positions and perspectives of borders, 'there is no longer necessarily a consensus as to where the important borders lie' (Cooper and Rumford, 2011), manifested through the different meanings that they hold in different contexts. Particularly, that all borders will be experienced differently by different groups, with various perceptions of importance (Cooper & Perkins, 2012; Rumford, 2008). Further to this, Cooper & Perkins (2012) suggest

that institutions play an essential role in the formation of such borders and the normative functions and processes which manifest through them. They suggest that institutional borders create 'institutional facts' and are a power which is 'both constitutive and strategic' (p. 57). These facts rely on rule structures, through which meaning will be embedded. 'Institutional facts', when considering the way narratives of access, inclusion and equity are framed through the cultural sector workforce, have implications for doxa and how cultural competencies are generated. Drawing on the work of Giddens (1984), Cooper and Perkins suggest that rules, functions and processes are 'both restrictive and facilitative. Importantly, they are polysemic and overlap while retaining different sources of legitimacy. This means that agents can have different strategic perspectives on a given border, depending on the rule structure they are drawing on in order to make legitimate claims about what the border produces.' (p. 57). Considering community music practices at an institutional position as 'gatekeeping' may illuminate the tensions and possibilities that are both restrictive and facilitative, towards transformation. By considering how community music practices may be involved in reinforcing borders, it draws attention to the pluralities for how community musicians, as cultural leaders, are situated in their roles, particularly, the responsibility they may have to protect 'the space to challenge dominant forms of practice' (Higgins, 2012, p. 6). To understand community music at the borders of policy and participation, questions of power and the tensions that arise through this are vital components of understanding the role and responsibility of a community music institution. This position will be perceived differently across its borders, depending on what 'sources of legitimacy' are being drawn from to create meaning (Cooper & Perkins, 2012; Wastl-Walter, 2011). By conceiving the role of cultural leaders as gatekeepers, they are positioned as having access rights, granted through established rule structures as a way to legitimise how public policy for participation is actioned. This opens possibilities to understand the tensions within these positions and the possibilities of what they may become. By asking questions of power within the relationship between policy and participation recognising it is one which is never equal, it creates possible ways to understand the role and responsibility of a community music institution, when conceptualised as a gatekeeper.

Conclusion

Through this chapter, I have shared perspectives of arts and cultural policy discourses; specifically, how they have been positioned and have evolved, in relation to both community

music and the wider arts and cultural sector. Throughout this, I have been specifically interested in how this can illuminate the role and responsibility of cultural leadership and its relationship with community music at an institutional position. I have considered ways in which established doctrines of access, inclusion, and equity have been framed within some of the most commented-on areas of cultural sector discourse: cultural democracy, cultural value, and cultural leadership. Also identifying disconnections between how these are discussed within community music and cultural policy literature, particularly in the case of cultural democracy. Increased connectively between these areas of inquiry may be helpful to support collective understandings of the plural histories through which cultural leaders operate. Some of the terms commonly applied within the sector raise issues when conceptualised through ideas of cultural democracy. This includes how these terms have been positioned and by whom, particularly where the rhetoric of participation and the inequalities connected to it, are also, at times, mirrored in the inequalities of the cultural workforce. This has implications for how agendas of emancipation are enacted, experienced and represented. Many cultural leaders in strategic leadership positions may have emerged from the community arts movement. As such, there is interest amongst scholars for how arts and cultural policymakers may have appropriated emancipatory agendas; this requires critique, which includes community music. There is also interest in how cultural leaders may have accepted such appropriation as a bi-product of playing the game of culture within the established social and political conditions of the UK arts and cultural sector, particularly as ways to evidence impact within wider social and political agendas. However, the development of these positions has also promoted opportunities for community musicians in leadership positions. As such, community musicians within the cultural sector have an increased voice in these agendas. Despite this, voices of participants remain under-represented and, at times, misunderstood within the contexts that cultural leaders report within. The literature considered suggests that inequalities and hierarchy stimulate this within cultural sector reporting. This may include the pressure faced by cultural leaders to ensure funds are retained for their projects. As such, it is difficult to gain a clear picture of how reporting influences decision making at a policy position; however, cultural leaders may be well placed to provide a different perspective on this picture. Much of these issues and contexts within the cultural sector have, in part, manifested in a ‘chameleonic practice’; where those working in cultural leadership contexts require plural ways of responding within the rhetoric exchange of policy and participation. This is specifically discussed through the literature concerning community music. However, the tension this creates can also be likened to that of the cultural leadership, more generally. The plurality of the roles and responsibilities of cultural

leaders requires further investigation. This plurality manifests through complex and interlocking histories of ideology and agendas, including ways of positioning strategic decision making within institutional contexts. Further investigation is required to understand how information and participatory experiences are communicated and constructed, specifically, to whom, for what purpose, and the implications this has on the work and those participating in it. These tensions raise questions of power, which could be considered through conceptualisations of gatekeeping and bordering in relation to the role of cultural leaders, particularly in the context of institutional cultural leadership and community music. Despite narratives of co-creation, and ways of understanding issues of access, inclusion and equity have historically been framed through pre-designed directions of travel, towards particular policy goals and assumed deficits. Within this, such agendas for change are often identified through centralised mechanisms for supporting arts and cultural participation. This creates tensions for cultural leaders who work towards visions of emancipation. Further understanding is required to make sense of how decisions are made, within the multi-dimensional rhetoric exchanges between policy and practice. Cultural leaders, specifically in institutional positions, are well placed to interpret this through their possible positions as gatekeepers. However, this brings about its issues of power and representation, and these issues demand attention. Studies of bordering suggest that these parameters can have a dual function: they may facilitate, and they may restrict. In the case of community music at an institutional position, this may be to protect and sustain its practice and infrastructure, however, as has been discussed through the literature within this chapter, at what cost? Understanding how decisions are made in relation to this, will help make sense of the tensions of being a publicly-funded community music institution, today: one which works within an inherited emancipatory framework and a conflicting arts and cultural policy system.

Conceptualisations of borders and gatekeeping are often associated with state-lines and negative representations of access, inclusion and equity. For community music, these conceptualisations sit aggressively disjoint from the aims of its practice. Despite this, the borders and gatekeeping processes outlined in the following discussion chapters demand attention, particularly, if the rhetoric exchange of hegemony and community music is to be negotiated, these contexts need to be delicately traversed. The issues of participation and policy discussed in this chapter are widely recognised within contexts where community musicians and organisations come together with policymakers. This may stimulate, as Bourdieu suggests, common cultural competencies between those with the capital to play the game of culture. For

Bourdieu, such networks become at risk of acting as tools for symbolic violence. For Higgins, the power those working with community music practices may retain in these positions frustrates tension for how hospitality through community music is understood at an institutional position. Together, cultural leadership within the established rhetoric exchange between participation and policy may give legitimacy to hegemony, which risks holding others at their current or reduced positions, despite the emancipatory agendas that many working in the cultural sector set out to achieve. It is important to ask questions of the meaning-making that conceptualisations of gatekeeping and institutional bordering may bring about, for understanding community music in contemporary UK contexts. This includes facing its history to consider new meanings presented through its past practices. Doing so brings into focus ways that cultural democracy may be understood and legitimised within the context of community music. This invites new openings to understand the complexities of how community musicians work in strategic positions of leadership, particularly, the tensions of operationalising their practice in institutional contexts. In the following discussion chapters, I will address these points through a conceptualisation of being a community music institution today.

Chapter 4

Been: a historical analysis of More Music

‘The name…appears just once. It inscribes itself…’

Derrida, 1994, p.3

Introduction

This chapter offers a historical analysis of More Music, focusing on their evolution from inception in 1993 to 2016 when fieldwork commenced. Reports produced by More Music have been reviewed as primary sources, made accessible by the then Artistic Director, from the organisation's archives. Reflective conversations have also taken place with members of the organisation, and reports and archival material relevant to the socio-political context of the organisation's development have been retrieved as secondary sources. As histories of arts and cultural funding in the UK exist and are well documented (as discussed in chapter 3) this chapter focuses on the specific developments of More Music as an organisation, regarding significant landmarks of policy shifts through the last 30 years. This is a way to illustrate how More Music has positioned itself and also been positioned over their 27-year history. This historical analysis has two parts. Part 1 traces the key developments in the organisation's history and identifies critical questions, which guide the discussion into part 2 (these questions are found at the end of sub-sections). In part 2, I explore a possible habitus of More Music which scaffolds to chapter 5. This chapter considers how a habitus of More Music has created tension through their role as a cultural leader in West End Morecambe. It does so through exploring More Music's position in the field(s) that they operate in, aspects of their historical practice that may stimulate doxa, and, how their history interacts with the epistemological position of critical ethnography.

When landing on the More Music homepage of their recently redesigned website, it states that they are 'one of the longest running and most highly regarded community music and education organisations in the UK' (More Music, 2019). Representatives of the organisation are well-established in both the UK and international communities of community music. They also have a long-standing history of working strategically in music education in the North East of England, as well as being represented on national educational working groups. As such, naming themselves as both a community music and an education charity are meanings familiar with those in these respective fields and are meanings which representatives of More Music have worked hard to affix to their institutional reputation. From a 'residency' to a 'community music company', to a 'community music and education organisation', More Music have adjusted how they represent themselves and the messages they promote as they have evolved. In this sense, they are not unfamiliar to other kinds of organisations and businesses – rebranding and refining messaging to ensure what they do is communicated effectively and to the 'right' audience. In

for-profit sectors, this is a common approach, with developments of this nature often signifying a buy-out or merger. It is also not unfamiliar for musicians themselves, as professional performing artists, to change their name or their image to fit or express a different aesthetic; often stimulated by their ideology or interests and in some cases, changing commercial music markets. Profit, market shares and aesthetic preferences are important indicators of the direction and success of a commercial venture, and some of these indicators may be identifiable when tracing More Music's growth. Understanding the influence of economic metrics of this nature and aesthetic preferences in relation to a social return on investment is important. Particularly, regarding the possible implications of these economic models of value and the 'structuring structures' they produce for arts and cultural participation, concerning More Music's position in the field(s), particularly, how this interacts with conceptualisations of hospitality through community music at an 'institutional' position. This chapter sets the context for these discussions.

More Music is an organisation that undertakes continual meaning-making, which takes place through the process of naming, reviewing and rearticulating who they are and what they do, in response to the changes in the cultural context that they are part of. This is part of the 'flux of daily living' which situates conditions within community music. Through this historical analysis, I outline moments where meaning has been articulated in line with changes within their fields of play: publicly-funded cultural leadership and West End Morecambe, respectively. I will do so through a discussion of how meaning is made and how it is positioned through terms, categories and binaries that signify what meaning is, and what it is not. Through illuminating these possible categories, I will illustrate how More Music may have arrived at today's articulation of who they are. I suggest that this is an intentional act, to ensure there is a vibrant musical offer available in Morecambe and a resilient workforce to carry on their work. I also suggest that More Music have positioned themselves as an 'outstanding host'; in chapter 5, I discuss the implication of this, for the mobility of others, in the field of West End Morecambe. This chapter will outline some of the complexities and philosophical problems and possibilities of institutionalising and dividing community music and music education. Through a Bourdieusian perspective, I will explore how this may locate the organisation in relation to others, encountered through their work and the possible implications this may have for their role as a cultural leader in West End Morecambe. I will suggest that More Music have accumulated sufficient social and cultural capital to undertake strategic meaning-making, representing themselves in the way that works best for their next and necessary manoeuvre

within these fields — doing so, as a way to build institutional capital, with a commitment to making music as a method of social change. Through this chapter, I will identify ways that their history also seeks to strengthen their position in their fields to become a 'beacon', as an established cultural leader of community music and education.

Part 1 Critical instances in More Music's evolution

Welcome to More Music and Morecambe

> More Music is a community music and education charity […] We make music every week with hundreds of people, whether they are young, old, tiny. Whether they have no skill and are just starting, or they're really fantastic musicians who are on a path to stardom.
>
> (More Music, 2015)

Pete Moser is always with More Music. When I stopped ethnographic fieldwork in 2018, Moser also retired after 25 years of leading the organisation from a musician-in-residence project through to a medium-sized National Portfolio Organisation. He did so, at a point where they had twenty members of staff and four years of core funding to steer More Music into its next chapter with Loz Kayne, the succeeding Artistic Director. This historical analysis considers the evolution of this organisation up to 2016, drawing a particular focus on the early developments of the organisation between 1993 - 2006.[16] Project delivery in Morecambe was first commissioned in 1993 by Lancaster County Council as an artist residence project, which saw Moser develop and design time-bound, project-based work for 'targeted beneficiaries' (More Music, 2004). This was, in part, a decision to cease touring as a performing artist. It was also a desire to find somewhere locally where he could utilise his skills and experience as a musician. In 1993, a project was agreed between Moser and the local authority; this would be

[16] More Music did not become a registered charitable organisation until 2001. Before this, it operated as a residency with project-based funding from local, and towards their conversion to becoming an organisation, national funders. Almost all recent documentation and promotional material cite More Music as an organisation who have been operating for 25 years.

to facilitate music-making activities across the county, based in Morecambe. Morecambe was underserved in its music provision, comparably to its neighbouring area, Lancaster, which already had a range of arts-based organisations established. It was also one of a suite of possible locations where Moser might establish a residency programme (Moser, 2018b). Despite a possible convenience-based decision to locate the residency in Morecambe, Moser's commitment to participation was rooted in the ideology of the community arts movement through which Moser had emerged in the 1980s with Welfare State International (hereafter, WSI).

Figure 1 - Location of Morecambe within the UK

WSI influenced Moser as he positioned the residency into what would become More Music. This influence haunts decision making in policy and musical choices across the evolution of the organisation. Morecambe was still considered a resort at the arrival of the residency in the early 1990s, although the traditional seaside entertainment culture had long since elapsed. The following section is taken from Currie & Higgins (2019, p 97-98), to contextualise the residencies musical arrival in Morecambe and the organisation's socio-political geography.

Morecambe: A geopolitical perspective

Morecambe is a seaside town on the North-West coast of England, from which the bay looks west towards the mountains of the Lake District, where English folk traditions and countryside remain two of the area's key tourist draws. To the east, Morecambe joins Lancaster, the city that connects across the wider district of Lancashire, where a medieval castle stands proud on the hill as you enter from Morecambe by train. Morecambe itself is a traditional English seaside town. Its industry until the mid-1980s was a seaside holiday destination for British tourists. As global tourism and international travel became more accessible for British vacationers, the traditional seaside resorts became less frequented, and subsequently, many, including Morecambe, fell into disrepair. This led to a significant decline in the town's entertainment facilities, and many of the independent hotels were forced to close. Despite its decline in industry, the centre of Morecambe remains popular in the summer months with local day-trippers keen to play in the sand and walk along the promenade.

To the south of the bay lies Morecambe's West End, an area that once boasted many of the independent bed & breakfasts that many of the touring artists called home at the height of Morecambe's time as a seaside resort. As in many small towns in the North of England, Victorian terrace properties have remained the property of government housing or have since been sold to landlords, often oversubscribing their capacity. Morecambe is a town in the top 10% of the UKs multiple social and economic deprivation index (MSDI), which measures national statistics of indicators such as employment, health, education and crime. Morecambe, specifically the West End, has seen successive governments promise to redevelop the area, advocating increased opportunities for local residents to grow their social and cultural capacities. Community funds and new social housing developments repeatedly raise aspirations for local provision. More often than not, these fail to fulfil promises made and thereby deplete the energies and aspirations of the local community and their resilience for regeneration. Morecambe, as part of the district of Lancaster, voted in 2016 to leave the European Union (EU) and currently operates within a local town council that is led by a Conservative party representative. Morecambe has been governed by a small Conservative party majority since 2010, succeeding a Labour party majority from 1997 which prior to this was regarded as a 'safe' Conservative seat.

A legacy of Lanterns: Welfare State International and the transition into the Morecambe Music Residency

> I may be the catalyst, but in many cases I will no longer have to be the main protagonist.
>
> (Moser and Bell, 1995a)

Returning to More Music's earliest articulation, the arrival of what would become the More Music in Morecambe residency coincided with the decreasing local tourist industry and the early stages of regeneration attempts, which would take place in the early 1990s. Moser recognised the possibilities for the development of an arts programme in this area, coupled with the regeneration initiatives in the town and, as Matarasso (2013) suggests of WSI, 'living in a community was itself a political position' (p. 218). At the residency's inception in 1993, there was no designated physical space to host activities. Facilitators, usually Moser and invited artists from his network of practitioners, worked in community centres, schools and in hired rooms in the local area to facilitate activities. In the early stages, the project operated from a small garage unit. This was predominantly a storage space for the growing volume of carnival and street-band kit required to equip the emerging participants in Moser's street parades, which were a core tenant of his directorship of More Music.[17]

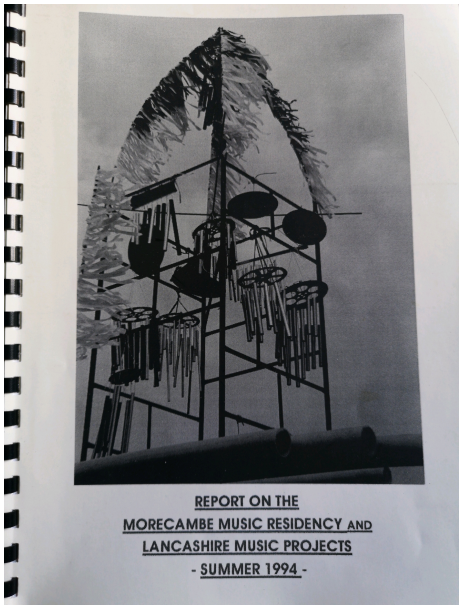

Figure 2 - Image of an early residency report from the first year of the residency

[17] The Baybeat Street Band remains part of their core programme as well as an identifiable characteristic of their brand today.

This pop-up approach in established community spaces remained until the residency moved into the ground floor of the Hothouse (a then snooker hall in the West End of Morecambe and previously a music hall) in 1996; leading the way to being converted into a charitable organisation in 2001.

Figure 3 - Image of the Hothouse, More Music's venue

The newly established 'community music company' operated as 'More Music in Morecambe' from 2001 and before this, the Hothouse was predominantly used as office space to meet the administration needs of the residency's growing project commitments, developing through their local authority partnership. Devising pieces together with artist-practitioners and creating new work stimulated by participant experiences and significant events in the lives of those living in the local area[18], was a core component of the residencies work. This approach to facilitation, later articulated in Moser & MacKay's 'Community Music: a handbook' in 2005, was reminiscent of the ways of working which WSI had stimulated. Through archive footage, reflective conversations and documentation considered for this historical analysis, it is reasonable to deduce that this was a philosophy which Moser and, subsequently, the

[18] For examples of the style of projects and large-scale events that the residency was becoming known for by the early 2000s, see More Music's YouTube channel, specifically, 'The Long Walk' a concert and fundraising project that responded artistically to the Morecambe Bay tragedy of 2004.

community music company 'More Music in Morecambe', inherited and embraced. It was a WSI residency in the neighbouring coal-mining town of Barrow-in-Furness that partly directed Moser's attention to Morecambe as a destination for the residency. It is in these early projects that we see a clear correlation between the residency and Moser's time within WSI, evident in the footage of both organisations, projects documented through the reports and reflective conversations with Moser.[19]

WSI themselves could be seen as a training ground for More Music, with their own publicly-funded venue, The Lanternhouse, closing in 2005 which was around the time where More Music in Morecambe was cementing its place in West End Morecambe through their earlier arrival and subsequent developments of the Hothouse, their own increasingly publicly-funded venue.[20] WSI, similarly to More Music in Morecambe had focused their work into areas of urban regeneration, a creative nod to the post-industrial politics that shaped the philosophy of the organisation and influenced Moser's approach to participatory practice. Lantern making and the coming together of local people to illuminate their streets in winter through processions and celebration were prevalent within Welfare State. This was born out of inspiration from

[19] WSI are a collective of artists that produced site-specific theatre in the UK between 1968 and 2006. Welfare State established themselves as a '*collective of radical artists and thinkers who explored ideas of celebratory art and spectacle between 1968 and 2006.*' (Welfare State International, 2016). Their commitment was to site-specific art where artists with a shared philosophy could come together in:

> *seeking a culture which may well be less materially based but where more people will actively participate and gain power to celebrate moments that are wonderful and significant in their lives.*
> (ibid)

Welfare State was known for large scale, theatrical performances that brought a multi-disciplinary perspective to the work. As their work progressed, Welfare State was granted Arts Council England funding to create a physical space to house their work, named Lanternhouse. This had five years of ACE funding.

[20] By the time of the company's first formal business plan in 2004, they had secured some small - medium sized public grants for their work, some targeted towards specific demographics. Up until this point the residency had produced development plans and project reports; its first wave of formalisation in 2001 with the establishment of More Music in Morecambe as a 'community music company' created the need for business planning and the longer-term strategy development which would take place through the mid-2000s.

Japan and WSIs early lantern festivals in Ulveston, UK, as well as through their own residency as part of Glasgow's City of Culture in 1990.[21]

Figure 4 - Image of WSI Lantern festival as part of Glasgow City of Culture 1990.[22]

Lanterns also became a prolific aspect of the More Music programme. They formed an essential part of their commitment to the local area of West End Morecambe, establishing the West End Christmas Festival[23] in the early 2000s, which became the More Music Lantern Festival later that decade. The festival was subsequently gifted back to the local community in 2017 through More Music's rebranding of it as the West End Lantern Festival. However, the power of their

[21] In 1990, Glasgow, as with many post-industrial cities, was facing a wide-range of socioeconomic challenges. The award of the City of Culture was an attempt to regenerate specific areas of the city and its reputation. However, the City of Culture was met with criticism, particularly from workers unions (Mooney, 2004). Although it is also documented as a successful legacy for Glasgow by García (2005), who suggests 'that the effect of regeneration on local images and identities is the strongest and best-sustained legacy of Glasgow's reign as City of Culture 15 years on (p. 841). However, in a critical reflection of these events, Mooney (2004) suggests that 'flagship cultural events can do little but gloss over and divert attention away from the major structural problems which characterise many ex-industrial cities' (p. 327). The tensions of cultural activity as part of regeneration projects remain in play today through activities such as 'City of Culture' bids (Cunningham and Platt, 2019; Pratt, 2010) and is a tension that More Music inherits.

[22] Image retrieved from 'Unfinished Histories' Available at: https://www.unfinishedhistories.com/history/companies/welfare-state-international/all-lit-up/

[23] The West End of Morecambe has historically received less investment in festive decoration than other, more broadly visible, areas of Morecambe.

decision making to do so cannot be under-estimated. The legacy of lanterns is one imprinted on More Music, as too is the tradition of carnival and celebratory participation, which is carried on through More Music's Baybeat Street Band. The traces of WSI are visible through much of More Music's early work. Dissimilarly to WSI, however - as McKay discusses in his case study of More Music in 2005 - the formalisation of the residency in the second half of the 1990s articulates the development of a more 'corporate-style mission statement' than that of WSIs 'manifesto' (2005, p. 76). McKay notes the latter to be revolutionary and also suggests that one is an evolution of the other. This development in the residency's articulation of what it is and what is does coincides with the advent of the New Labour government in the UK. Although the traces of WSI are present in More Music's evolution, their iteration of this took on a different shape. In this way, it is one that changed over time to perform different functions in an attempt to 'challenge the perceptions and produce evaluations that will convince politicians, teachers, businesses and other social agencies and the general population of the value and fun of the work' (More Music 2004). The organisation's mission statement carried them into the new millennium, and the formalisation of the residency, which saw More Music in Morecambe become a registered company and soon after, a charity in 2001.

Throughout the early 2000s, More Music wrestled with the structural shifts of becoming a charitable organisation, as they scaled up their work from a project-based residency to a publicly funded organisation with charitable status and increasing arts-management responsibilities. In tandem, aligning themselves with the structural shifts of the arts and cultural funding structure that was shape-shifting in parallel, specifically the formation of the Youth Music Action Zones in 2000 and Arts Council England in 2003 (the latter which reformed as a central organisation through the amalgamation of the pre-existing ten regional arts boards). Moving into the mid-2000s was a complex time for More Music. One such complexity was raising capital funding for the acquisition of the Hothouse in 2007, which required significant infrastructural shifts for the organisation, both in their workforce and strategic design. The mid-2000s indicate towards the operational and personnel changes regarding becoming a charitable organisation (with significant investment from public funds) and an emerging agenda for their activity which pointed in two distinct directions: education and working more closely with their 'local community'. This is discussed in documentation produced by and about Moser at the time of his retirement, and business planning documents from the mid-2000s.

Question 1 - *How does the activist position inherited from WSI and the broader community arts movement interact with the neoliberalist ideals increasingly becoming embedded in the field of cultural leadership that the residency was responding to from the mid-90s to the early 2000s?*

Permanency and 'belonging to a change' in Morecambe: Turning towards the Hothouse

In the early residency, reports were produced that presented the outputs of project activity to funders. Throughout the reports, the language used to refer to and describe the work changes as the residency increases its strategic relationships and public support for its work. A consistently strategic and more formal writing tone appears abruptly in 1996 and is solidified from their first business plan in 2004. These early reports and early strategy documents frequently discuss the aim of using the residency as a means to populate Morecambe with those interested in taking part in arts activities, sometimes through festivals, the street bands or performances, and to contribute to and enhance the lives of those living in Morecambe. In 2004 More Music in Morecambe recognise themselves as an emerging leader in the area as part of their longer-term strategy for their role in the West End of Morecambe, which has a specific link to their leadership role within the West End Festival (More Music, 2004). Press and promotional documentation of projects from the early residency offer messages of aspiration for Morecambe, such as 'putting it on the map', 'show what we have', 'bringing vibrancy' and almost all promotional material states that 'all are welcome'.

Figure 5 - Image of a promotional flier from 1995 for the project 'Morecambe Streets'

Despite the seemingly open nature of their promotional material, More Music was committed to some particular funding requirements from their growing funding infrastructure, which required them to work specifically with 'targeted beneficiaries': a model which subsequently becomes the nucleus of their funding. Working within the 'local community' is stated as an intention of the residency's engagement throughout the early project reports and archive media from local communications at the time. The focus of the West End as targeted beneficiaries comes with the advent of the Hothouse, with More Music in Morecambe recognising a responsibility to cater for and be part of the local West End community from 1995, 2 years into the residencies work. The new arrival of the residency in the mid-1990s and short-term, project-based work that responded to the agenda of, primarily, the local authority, in its early stages amounted to some ambiguity about who the 'local community' was. Writing in the 1995 report, Moser and Bell expressed: 'I want to make sure that each individual gets something out of their participation which makes them feel special. I think everyone involved feels they are belonging to a change in Morecambe' (1995a).

'Change', similarly to 'local community' remains a distinctive theme within the work of the residency and the formalisation into More Music in Morecambe that followed. Specifically, festivals and a need for celebratory events in the West End are identified and advocated in the early residency. This is one area of their work that very clearly indicates where they recognise

responsibility as a leader in the local area, evident in the language of the subsequent business plans, and the early reflections of the residency. In 1995, their report stated that '[t]he residency is rooted in the West End and it seemed essential that we became involved and use the extensive local and regional contacts to help boost the festival' (Moser & Bell, 1995a). More Music later goes on to manage and curate the festival in question, working in partnership with other community partners. After Bay Beat Streetband, the West End Festival is recognised by More Music as their longest-running project. The implied temporality of the residency was quickly challenged by the increasing permanence of the project work and dedication of the small but growing project team. Over seven years, it moves from the 'Morecambe Music Residency' in 1993 to 'More Music in Morecambe' in 1995 with the 'in Morecambe' dropped from the name, becoming More Music around 2005 (although the two are sometimes interchangeable in the mid-2000s). The 1995 report reflected on the first years of activity and suggested that there was a need to build trust between the project delivery team and the local people who were the targets of their participation, which included the 'local community' of West End Morecambe. Negotiating and understanding their role in the local community of West End Morecambe raised questions from the early days of the residency. The residency's increased strategic involvement and permanency in the area indicated towards a belief from those leading the project that the intervention was of benefit. Particularly, it was necessary to raise the profile and quality of arts and cultural engagement within the local area, supported by the reports which discussed perceptions of the need and value of the work. Ensuring 'high quality' art has a presence in Morecambe becomes embedded in their strategic vision in the early 2000s. At this time, the company begins the process of becoming a regularly funded organisation by the emerging core funders for music activity in England, such as Arts Council England and the National Foundation of Youth Music. The language used in reporting, alongside reflective conversations, indicate that More Music believed themselves to offer an aesthetic distinction from alternative or existing creative activity in the area and that their increased involvement could enhance the quality of the work in Morecambe. Statements of the need for the residency and the benefit it will have can be clearly identified within the documentation of their work, particularly the reports prepared for their funders. With the self-appointed leadership and an awareness 'that there are some misunderstandings about the role it plays within the district's community' (More Music, 2004), More Music has wrestled with their identity and their leadership role in West End Morecambe throughout their evolution. Project funding in 1996 that solidified the residency's work in Morecambe was through a Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) grant and a Capital Lottery grant; this enabled the move to the Hothouse. The language

used in the 1996 and subsequent reports and project documentation made it clear that representatives of the residency - usually Moser - were increasingly required to speak to new audiences within and beyond the local authority. At this point, the position of the project takes on a distinctive advocacy role, both for participation in the arts more generally, and the specific need for the work of the More Music Morecambe team. The 1996 report was the first report to be solely authored by Moser, instead of being presented collaboratively with the local authority.

Question 2 - *Did More Music's increasing position in the field of cultural leadership, and their sense that they were 'belonging to a change in Morecambe' lead to a distinction of who they were in relation to the 'local community' they had committed themselves to?*

From delivery to embedding strategy: Workforce development and focusing into education

Training and workforce development are a core element of the residency's early work, which has carried on throughout their practice. Today, More Music is well-established and recognised as leaders in workforce development within the UK arts sector, evident in their awards[24] and repeat-funding from a suite of funders, including arms-lengths government funding streams.[25] Early examples of training through the residency included activities such as six-month action training placements in the 'local community' and working with unemployed groups in Morecambe. The reports identify a desire to continue this type of work, with the 1993 report – the first report published by the residency - stating that the training opportunities for local people were '…training people for future work possibilities within the town…' (Moser & Bell, 1995a). This is further articulated through a statement in a newspaper article included in the report that states '…next year could see Pete set up his own office in Morecambe for work with long term unemployed people'. Although this does not convert into a specific strand of

[24] In 2006, More Music was awarded the Arts6 award, which was their first formal award from the Arts Council and signified an acceleration into the field of cultural leadership, their most significant acknowledgement since becoming part of the Lancashire Youth Music Action Zone in 2001.

[25] In 2011, More Music became a National Portfolio Organisation (NPO), and in 2015 they continued their strategic relationship with Youth Music, becoming a Youth Music Fund C grant holder. Both awards have a focus on (amongst other requirements) regional 'capacity building' and workforce development.

workforce development activity at the Hothouse, a strategic commitment to training is consistent throughout their organisational developments. However, people experiencing unemployment are not explicitly sought for training, although it is reasonable to suggest that some people who trained with More Music may have been in this situation. In 2016, the Hothouse was made regularly available for community groups and services to use the space to meet. Further to this, access to the More Music programme has long offered a subsidy for those with restricted access, due to household income and a range of factors that impact Morecambe's Multiple Social Deprivation Index (MSDI) profile.[26] The Hothouse premises were not used as a public engagement space until after 2000 when More Music took over the full ground floor of the premises. Some sessions were delivered in 2000; however, the emerging community music programme did not offer workshop sessions in the building until around 2003.[27] Even after this point, some projects did not take place in the building, which may have influenced how the Hothouse was viewed from those not crossing, or invited to cross, the threshold (Currie & Higgins, 2019).

The residency, alongside its increasing workforce, transforms into its more permanent iteration in 2000. Its workforce was, in part, converted from keen participants from the early More Music projects who showed an interest in developing their experience as workshop facilitators. By 2004, the management team asked themselves: 'How can the team grow in responsibility if the company doesn't grow bigger?' in response to the development plans for personnel in the 2004 - 2007 business plan. It is at this time that there are significant shifts in the funding infrastructure for arts and culture, which have implications for how the project is delivered. This period in their development reinforces perceptions of 'need' for their role as a leader in the 'local community'. It is also around this time that More Music stops being referred to as a 'community music company', preferring instead to recognise themselves as a community music and education organisation. In this, it is their festival and Hothouse workshop programme that is understood as 'community music', and the emerging strategic partnerships

[26] Morecambe's West End MSDI profile is frequently referred to in the deeper local work that would emerge from 2015 onwards, as a way to discuss those who might participate in More Music's activities within the local area of West End Morecambe

[27] With the arrival of the Lancaster Youth Music Action Zone in 2001, More Music began to deliver their core young people's sessions 'Stages'. The mid-2000s saw the Hothouse and young people from the local area collide, and More Music developed a project that attempted to respond to the violence directed at the Hothouse and staff (see: Currie and Higgins, 2019).

through education networks such as the Youth Music Action Zones and the growing programme of local primary school workshops, the 'education'. Following on from the Youth Music Action Zones in 2000 and the reformation of Arts Council England in 2003, another stream of strategic investment in the arts would significantly influence the direction of More Music's young people's programme and the distinction between community music and education over the following decade: the Music Manifesto. The Music Manifesto is believed to have been significant for More Music and their partnerships with schools. Shifts in educational policy brought about through the Music Manifesto created new possibilities for More Music to plan 'to increase numbers of projects and schools and integrate more fully with curriculum work' (More Music, 2007, p. 13). Alongside the 'Sing Up!' strategy that followed in 2007, the manifesto led the way towards the National Plan for Music Education in 2011 — by this time, taken over by the newly formed Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government. This same year saw More Music achieve their first 'National Portfolio Organisation' funding award, which took them into phase-one of their redevelopments of the Hothouse, prior to its completion in 2013. Opportunities in education are identified as one of the key areas of growth in More Music's 2007 - 2012 business plan and recognised funding routes that could help More Music embed their offer within the work-stream of partners, such as the Lancaster Music Service. This enables More Music to 'go beyond previous delivery, so that relationships are strategic, not just delivery' (More Music, 2007, p. 22). The 2007 - 2012 business plan illustrated More Music's increasingly strategic vision for arts and culture in Morecambe, which had been in development since the sole-authored report in 1996. One decade on, both More Music and the funding infrastructure that surrounds them have moved into new positions, brought about through refined agendas and new strategic partnerships, including 'achieving great art for everyone' (ACE, 2019). The 2007 - 2011 business plan, which also paved the way for the funding that enabled this PhD research, prepared More Music for the significant capacity increases that would follow. At this point in their development the corporate-style mission statement is reasserted through its aims, born out of working throughout the preceding decade within funding for 'regeneration initiatives [that] have been key to the development and growth of More Music since 1996' (More Music, 2007, p. 15). As observed by McKay (2005), this was a shift from the ideological manifesto of WSI. More Music mobilised their most significant operational shifts in both funding support and strategic direction around this time. They also solidified their conversion from delivery to a strategic partner in 2012 with the arrival of the newly established Music Education Hubs. This saw More Music become a core partner in the Lancaster Music Hub, a key objective of the organisation's

2007 - 2011 business plan, following from their role as 'the force behind the Lancashire Youth Music Action Zone' (More Music, 2007) since its inception in 2001.

In 2000 when Youth Music established the Youth Music Action Zones[28], More Music was the lead organisation in this funding for Lancashire, which created a cluster of strategic partners to deliver a youth engagement strategy throughout Lancashire and the North West. This leadership position subsequently converted into their membership of Youth Music's 'Fund C' programme, after a long-standing relationship with Youth Music and other local partners throughout Morecambe.[29]

Question 3 - *With More Music's increasingly strategic position as a cultural leader, how might the way that 'change' is positioned, influence the direction of their community music and education programming, relating to the West End?*

Hothouse and moving towards today

From its inception in 1993, the evolution of More Music was shaped by the ambition of the emerging leadership team. This quickly strengthened to be more than Moser and affiliated representatives from the local authority, to a governance board and inclusion of a Company Manager, who became the Communities and Engagement Director and most recently, succeeding Kayne as Executive Director in 2020. Finance and Operations Managers followed around 2011 as did a small team of project managers, as part of the restructuring that is most familiar to their current iteration. Many of the workforce within this restructure were working

[28] The Youth Music Action Zones were a 'network of organisations providing music-making opportunities in some of the most disadvantaged regions nationwide' (Youth Music, 2019).

[29] Fund C is strategic funding for 11 organisations over three years, converted into AMIEE: Alliance of Musical Inclusion in Education in England. More Music was also awarded this funding, which provides four years of funding to organisations until 2022. Today, with their second round of Youth Music Fund C in full swing, More Music is offering small grants to those devising exciting new opportunities with young people across Lancashire More information can be found here: https://www.lancashiremusichub.co.uk/site/news/music-announce-innovate-funding-2019-20/. Arts Council England also changed their NPO funding structure in 2018, awarding organisations in four-year rounds, where previously they funded for one, three year-round. More Music was also awarded this funding.

for More Music in different roles throughout the mid-2000s. Alongside those who had evolved with More Music in Morecambe from within the Hothouse, the emerging, alternative, cultural activities and local services in the area also began to influence how More Music worked strategically, and with whom. Despite more recent visibility of cultural partners in the West End, More Music is recognised as the 'cultural jewel in the crown' in a mapping report in 2015 for the newly awarded West End Million project, with other arts and cultural activities recognised as 'nothing of any great scale'.[30] Whether or not these partners realised or recognised the significance of their role in the evolution of More Music is unknown, and although reflective conversations allude to the recognition of this from within More Music, the more public attribution of this is unclear. Of other influence was the path shaped by the funding bodies, the working groups for music and the arts, and the emerging networks of professional-kin who worked with and intercepted More Music within the broader arenas of music education and community music networks.

The generically termed 'young people' have always been an essential group that More Music has aimed to work with, which was in-line with much of the funding infrastructure that More Music accessed. Strategic work with adults, particularly older people, had presented itself in the early, more mobile, programme of activities the residency offered; possibly because of the encounters with such groups through their use of community centres and places where people may have already been. However, it was not until later, outside of the timeframe considered within this historical analysis, that More Music more strategically re-engaged with services for adults, as part of their evolving remits and agreements with funders and local agencies. Making music with people of all ages, from across Lancashire (including but not limited to, Morecambe) often involved adults through More Music's festival and events programme, as well as the community music workshops offered as part of their core programme in the Hothouse from the mid-2000s. It is clear from documents considered for the analysis, including business plans and evaluation reports, that 'education' is distinctive of the organisation's work in and with schools, except for the Lantern Festival. The Lantern Festival has always sat within the 'community music' strand of activity, specifically the festival programme, despite its lead partner being a local primary school. Festivals have an important role to play both in the

[30] West End Million is funded by 'Big Local' funding. It is 'a resident-led community partnership working to help improve the West End area of Morecambe through tackling problems and working with others to provide a voice for the local community on decisions which affect the area' (West End Million, 2019).

identity of More Music and the strategic direction of their perceived role in the 'community' of West End Morecambe.[31] This direction may also have been inherited from their WSI lineage. Around 2017, More Music rebranded two of the events within their suite of festivals, the More Music Lantern Festival and More Music West End Festival, to become the West End Lantern Festival and West End Festival. I will discuss this in chapter 5. Until this time, the design, programmes and coordination of events are undertaken by the More Music events team, which broadly sits within the community music workforce of the organisation from the mid-2000s. The design process of the events remains similar in the present day. However, a more public acknowledgement and connection to a broader community-led partnership in West End are attributed, in part, to the increased community-interest companies and working groups established since More Music's arrival. The festivals and Hothouse workshop programme became commonly regarded as the 'beacon' and model of good practice for those seeking examples of community music (Higgins, 2012; McKay, 2005; Moser, 2018a; Schippers, 2010; Schippers & Letts, 2013), as well as extensively in the organisation's own documentation.[32] A self-commissioned marketing evaluation in 2013, which influenced the 2014 - 2017 business plan (which focuses more strategically onto West End participation) also reinforced the notion of More Music as a 'beacon' and necessity for the people of Morecambe.[33] Their emerging

[31] The term 'community' in historical documentation of More Music most commonly refers to those living within a distinct postcode area.

[32] From 2010 the term 'beacon' appears regularly in More Music's funding applications. Specifically, as an intention that More Music would become a beacon for community music and education, as well as for the North West of England. By 2012, this is presented as an affirmation of their practice, stating in their business plan that they are 'a beacon for the power of music and culture to transform people's lives' (More Music, 2015). This is subsequently reinforced in Moser's contribution to the Oxford Handbook of Community Music in 2018, where he states:

> I offered the local council arts team the beginning of a solution through culture – community music projects that could deliver both personal and civic confidence to the place and its people. From this context and with a growing sense of place More Music has become a beacon for the power of music and culture to transform lives.
>
> (p. 220)

[33] The report was collated from information shared from active members of the More Music community, including workshop participants, audiences, stakeholders and staff. Amongst a range of factors, the 2013 report identified those living in higher MSDI contexts were in the minority of those who engaged with More Music (although they represented a quarter of their engagement). With under-represented groups historically

status as a ‘beacon’ marked out and gave credibility to the work of More Music as a ‘striking narrative’ (Schippers & Letts, 2013, p. 292) of a community music and education organisation. Furthermore, ‘Community Music: a handbook’, published in 2005, had become a resource for those engaging in community music training, and a resource for the organisation to communicate its work. Through their growing international networks, predominantly represented by More Music leadership, the workshops and festivals in the West End of Morecambe became widely known; particularly, through the story of More Music’s evolution and impact in the West End, through which the international networks became a stage to promote West End ‘in a global context’ (More Music, 2015).

The old snooker hall that became ‘The Hothouse’ is commonly recognised as an established feature in the West End of Morecambe today. In the mid-2000s, as their young people’s programme was developing, the Hothouse was targeted by vandalism. The response to this, strategically from More Music, turned out to be a catalyst in the development of their young people’s programme; driven, by the passion and vision of those leading the young programmes at the time, notably, the Friday Night Project.[34] Reflective conversations indicated that the disruption of this period might well have been a mutual exchange. More Music disrupted the West End by arriving in the snooker hall and repurposing it for the arts and cultural venture which they recognised as being of future benefit for the area. The tension navigated at this point appears to have been an important moment in More Music’s evolution and also experienced its peak as More Music was increasing its status as a cultural leader, supported by their NPO award in 2011. Little documentation is available about these local relationships at this time, outside of business plan documentation and a single case study of the Friday Night Project.[35] With the 2007 - 2011 business planning at this time focused into education, little strategic attention is attributed to the development of the Friday Night Project, outside of their

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experiencing access issues to cultural activities, this is a possible indicator of More Music’s relationship development with some of the ‘targeted beneficiaries’ within their programming. The engagement level may also reflect the stratification of socio-economic groups within arts and cultural participation, as well as More Music’s commitment to making participation accessible through the Hothouse. However, it also may indicate that the strategic direction and distinction between the education and community programmes may not be best serving the ‘local community’ which they identify themselves as a leader of.

[34] The Friday Night Project is a young people’s music project, led by More Music. It was designed and developed in response to those moments of friction in the mid-2000s. See: Currie and Higgins, 2019.

[35] This case study has since been removed from the redesigned More Music website.

overall and ongoing commitment to working with young people and working with increased attention to their local relationships.

Through the development of More Music, a presence in Morecambe and a narrative that commits them to continue to develop within the area is clear. As the organisation increases in acclaim and accountability for supporting participation in the North West, specifically in Morecambe, the groups that they specifically work with become strategically identified and celebrated within their programmes and reporting. The participant narratives that are present in evaluation reports and promotional material also suggest this, predominantly, through self-published content. As More Music arrived at their 2015 - 2018 business plan, it was clear that despite intentions to 'build confidence and spirit' within the West End of Morecambe, there remained a disconnection and a desire to be more deeply connected to their local neighbourhood. More Music's response to this was the development of a programme called 'Deeper Local'. This set out to explore new ways of working in West End and became a strategic priority.

Question 4 - *What are the possible implications of the capital gained from recognition as a 'beacon' of community music, regarding the role of being a publicly-funded cultural leader within the West End?*

Part 2 Towards a 'habitus' of More Music

> Finding the song that resonates with the place, the rhythm that connects to the building, the project that allows people from across the community to come together – that is the job of the musician working in the community and a sense of place is a vital tool.
>
> Moser (2018a, p. 227)

In 1995, Moser suggested that he 'may be the catalyst, but in many cases I will no longer have to be the main protagonist'. Through the growth of the organisation, space was created for many more actors, some almost as long-standing as Moser, to enter the story of More Music in Morecambe. In some ways, Moser may be to More Music, as More Music may be to West End Morecambe: 'the representative, the sign, the emblem' which may 'create, the whole reality of groups which receive effective social existence only in and through representation' (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 252), concerning its art and cultural sector identity. More Music has been represented frequently as a 'beacon' of community music, and it is difficult to source discussion of More Music's symbol as a 'beacon' of community music without acknowledgement of the catalyst or the trajectory since 1993. The representation as a 'beacon' of community music receives social existence through the visions of its practice that are presented by its representatives, who compose and stimulate conditions that enabled More Music to access the various forms of capital that have made representations of this nature possible. It becomes a status that may be taken-for-granted, and there appears to be little scrutiny of its use or acceptance, or what this may mean and to whom. Higgins (2012) acknowledges that within community music, those who engage in its practice emerge through the values connecting the community arts of the 1970s and that this demands recognition in connection to and resistance of an 'all-encompassing capital system that may provide obstacles to active participation and choice' (p. 169). More Music's history may offer an example of the borders between systems of governance and songs of their success, where community music meets institutional structures, which enable the work to happen: a juncture between ideology and investment. There is a need to delve further into how this position manifests, to articulate and move towards an understanding of More Music's ideological position and the structures that enable the work to happen. Specifically, to question the tensions and possibilities that the position-making of a

'beacon' may illuminate. To frame this section of the historical analysis, the four questions from this chapter, so far, guide my critique:

- *How does the activist position inherited from WSI and the broader community arts movement interact with the neoliberalist ideals increasingly becoming embedded in the field of cultural leadership that the residency was responding to in the mid-90s to the early 2000s?*

- *Did More Music's increasing position in the field of cultural leadership, and their sense that they were 'belonging to a change in Morecambe' lead to a distinction of who they were in relation to the 'local community' they had committed themselves to?*

- *With More Music's increasingly strategic position as a cultural leader, how might the way that 'change' is positioned, influence the direction of their community music and education programming, relating to the West End?*

- *What are the possible implications of the capital gained from recognition as a 'beacon' of community music, regarding the role of being a publicly-funded cultural leader within the West End?*

Position in the field(s)

More Music's evolution is neatly traced on the timeline of strategic shifts within the arts and cultural funding structures in the UK. This is neither remarkable nor surprising, given the extensive discourse of policy-driven investment in community music initiatives in the UK. For community musicians who may adapt their practice in response to policy shifts through a chameleonic practice, the partnerships motivated with intentions of transformation stimulate the growth, recognition and professionalisation of participatory activity. The evolution of More Music may be one such example and possible gatekeeper between the interdependent relationship between policy and participation. These practitioner-come-strategists entered into the field of cultural leadership armed with the inheritance of a community music ideology and

the swell of opportunity brought about by the wave of New Labour, which converted into new currency: inclusion. With a reasonable exchange rate and investors positioning their representatives throughout the country with the establishment of partnership 'zones', NPOs, hubs and regional and national networks, music with a social agenda became a dominant return on investment for reporting on the impact of music-making. This stimulated the buoyant culture industry that ensued, even though funding did not evolve with similar buoyancy. As a result, those in cultural leadership positions, such as More Music, had to evolve within a chameleonic approach as a need to survive.

As outlined in chapter 3, it is commonly recognised that policy drives investment in the arts and due to their commitment to access, inclusion and equity, community musicians may be well placed to take on leadership roles in this context, as a way to challenge hegemonic structures. However, it is essential, when considering the ways that frame access to publicly-funded participatory activities, to understand the ideological tension between the inheritance, the work and the anticipated return. To discuss whether or not More Music played the game of culture to enable the work to happen would be reductionist and limited in its understanding of the complexities of their positions. To explore how they move between these fields (cultural leadership, and West End Morecambe) outlines possible philosophical tensions this aggravates when conceptualising their role as a cultural leader within the framework of hospitality through community music. Understanding these tensions offers examples of policy patterns regarding how strategic decisions are made in community music and who is involved in this. This understanding could be useful for spotting the crest of the next policy wave before it breaks: troubling the waters for community musicians to come and the legacies from which it flows.

An inter-relationship between fields: The field of cultural leadership and the field of West End Morecambe

More Music has experienced accelerated growth in the fields in which they operate. The residency was possible because Moser had the capital to negotiate an inaugural project and a vision for what it might become. This was followed with social capital and the confidence to use this to showcase its possibilities. The inheritance of social and cultural capital that came with the ideology of the community arts movement and more specifically, the institutional capital – the seal of approval – that came with Moser's graduation from WSI, accumulated to

enable a credible case for the establishment of the work, within the context of regeneration. This located the residency in a position where the work and its representatives could become outliers, and in many ways, a signifier for the group: the group, in this case, was regeneration in West End Morecambe. The stories of success advocated through the early reports (specifically, those prepared for funders), steadily converted into a cluster of capital. This set the residency on a trajectory of growth and long-term investment that would enable its representatives to strengthen their position in both the field of cultural leadership and West End Morecambe, symbiotically. To enable the work to happen, the early project team's tenacious commitment to steering investment into Morecambe's cultural infrastructure gained credibility. The residency steadily gained economic capital through funding and increasingly longer-term investment. Social capital also developed, through increased representation and invitation to networks and partnerships, as well as the recognition of 'success' to different audiences, including funders, peers, participants, and local policy. Cultural capital was steadily reinforced, amounting from the wealth of project content and performances produced and shared, as well as the growing network of allies that championed and invested in More Music's vision for West End Morecambe. Cumulatively, the capital gained through the residency and increasing representation of 'change' in Morecambe through the early activity, located More Music in a strong position to advocate for the role of arts and culture. The development of this position was becoming evident in Morecambe and as part of the access and inclusion agenda of the late '90s and into 2000. Through this, More Music secured their position as a cultural leader in the trajectory of arts and cultural policy developments. When considering More Music as a 'beacon' of community music, this acceleration into the field of cultural leadership goes some way to illuminating how this badge of identity was influencing their institutional capital. 'Beacon' becomes a recurring theme in the organisation's documentation from the mid-2000s and their increasing mobility likely informed their perception of their position within the field of West End Morecambe, through cultural leadership. This was significantly strengthened when More Music received their first NPO award.

Despite these accelerations, More Music reported ambiguity in their local relationships and also recognised a lack of clarity in how their role in West End Morecambe was perceived. This may have led to the tighter definitions More Music projected of who and what they were in the early 2000s, which may also have influenced their distinction as a 'community music and education organisation', that came about in the mid-2000s. Despite this distinction, the accreditation of a 'beacon' of community music, as a form of symbolic capital, also appeared

to convert to their work in more formal music education contexts, which resonates with their chameleon practice (Brown *et al.*, 2014), often attributed to the role of community musicians. This chameleon practice, however, may have played a part in the apparent unhelpful ambiguity and lack of shared understanding of the role More Music played in West End Morecambe.

Although More Music was working towards increased access to arts and culture in Morecambe, the means of producing what was projected of the work and the local area was dominantly in the control of More Music. More Music, as the representative of the group - West End Morecambe – within the field of cultural leadership, formed a particular narrative of the local community (one which More Music ambiguously defined at the early stages of their practice). This became the dominant signification for arts and culture in West End Morecambe and influenced how arts investment should be made in the local community. Despite a possible over-representation of West End Morecambe, More Music stimulated conditions for more people to participate in and be partners of, arts and cultural activity in the area. Or, at least, new openings were created where being a participant, and the partnerships that support this could be made more viable. These conditions enabled the capital of More Music to become a signifier of the whole field, which in turn, may have increased the cultural capital of the West End of Morecambe. This boasted affirmative discourse of the trajectory of regeneration in the area, despite West End Morecambe continuing to remain submerged in multiple deprivation indicators: itself a justification of the work. The increased visibility of West End Morecambe stimulated curiosity in the work, which attracted new and temporary arrivals from the organisation's increasing network to visit and view the representation of the West End through the filter of More Music.[36] More Music used their position in the field of cultural leadership to shine a light on the possibilities and to advocate for the role of the arts in West End Morecambe, specifically, their role as a leader for change. In this sense, they used their capital and position in the field to work with intentions of transformation. The emerging narratives of transformation and social inclusion in arts and cultural policy coincided with their increasingly

[36] An example of such a visitation is the field trip which accompanies the conclusion of the Community Music Activity (CMA). In 1998, the CMA delegation in Liverpool visited Morecambe, where they toured the streets of the West End where Moser had composed work with local residents, a project which the organisation recognised as some of their most connected work with local people. Schippers (2004) reflects on this visit as one of ten moments that shaped his community music, referring to the experience as a '"pure" community music episode'. I too was taken on this visit as part of the organisation's 25th birthday celebrations as part of the 2017 West End Festival.

strategic representation in Morecambe, predominantly through their increasing responsibility for music education which took place alongside the formalisation of their work in the early 2000s. Although more people were visibly making more music in Morecambe, it was through access points composed by More Music, through their position in the field of cultural leadership, which orchestrated the conditions. The emancipatory frameworks guiding the ideology of community music collided with the structures of policy, and this supported More Music's position in the field as a leader and advocate. However, it also stimulated increasing representation of an establishment, an institution, which created new conditions for access, inclusion and equity which they had the codes and keys to unlock. This distinction risked, as Mantie (2018) suggests, the possibility of the emancipatory agenda, privileged by the community musician, becoming another 'description of, *and tactic of* – power relations' (p. 552). Higgins (2012) warns that inheritance comes to us as a task, and 'it is an injunction to which we must respond' (p. 133). In the case of More Music, as understood through this historical analysis, community music, when mobilised through public-funds, inherits two lineages: the community arts movement and the emancipatory agendas of which they advocate (for example, the ideology of WSI); and, the inheritance of the policy doctrines guiding arts and cultural funding, which demands a social return on investment for the capital that operationalises such agendas. Composing the conditions for community music in this way creates a tension within More Music's role and responsibility, specifically, between their 'passion and vision' (Langley, 2010, p. 68) for community music's transformational potential and the game of culture that enables community music activity to be programmed and valued in participatory policy.

Doxa: That which is taken-for-granted

The evolution of More Music has brought changes in the infrastructure of West End Morecambe. It has influenced access to arts and cultural activity and advocated for this as a priority through the political act of living there as an organisation (Matarasso, 2013) and by promoting West End in a 'global context' (More Music, 2015). Advocating for participation within their role as a cultural leader creates an opportunity for activity in Morecambe, which More Music have used to nurture another position, the 'beacon'. Together, this position-taking and position-making, although resourcing developments for community music activity, also risks reproduction in its framing through dominant discourses. This is one tension of its dual

inheritance, which has implications for how a beacon is situated. A beacon, as defined in the Macmillan Dictionary, is two-fold:

1. A bright light or fire that shines in the dark and is used as a signal to warn people against danger or to show them the way somewhere;
2. Someone or something that encourages people and gives them a good example to follow.

More Music's position-taking as a cultural leader and position-making as a beacon, are embroiled with good intentions, and within these positions, they have increased responsibility and dominant representation of West End regarding arts and culture. Since the arrival of the residency in Morecambe, the aim of the work has been to 'op[en] new possibilities locally and also rai[se] the profile of the district in the region' (Moser and Bell, 1994). Doing so, to bring vibrancy, belong to a change in Morecambe, and, train people for future work possibilities connected to this change. Through this, More Music sought to use their position in the field(s) to 'boost the festival', identify and bring in targeted beneficiaries (Moser and Bell, 1995a; 1995b), and, 'convince politicians, teachers, businesses and other social agencies and the general population of the value and fun of the work' (More Music, 2004). Cumulatively, these intentions signify towards attempts to provide good examples of practice and to lead the way towards somewhere new for West End Morecambe. These may be understood as an 'intention to transform' (Higgins, 2012, p. 146) within the rule structure of cultural leadership; a structure where conditions of access require narratives of transformation to adapt over time to 'perform new tasks' (Robbins, 2000, p 34) in line with policy changes. This creates tension for visions of hospitality that drive the passion and vision for the work and may place the 'space to question and challenge dominant forms of practice' (Higgins, 2012, p.6) in jeopardy. More Music's 'beacon' status can be traced through their history. Their association with 'good practice' and associated resources such as 'Community Music: a handbook' reinforced their commitment to quality; this likely contributed to their increasing representation in and of cultural leadership in West End Morecambe. However, when conceptualised as a 'beacon', the imagery of a light that 'shines in the dark' is problematic. With all that is written of Morecambe's dilapidation, need for regeneration and multiple indicators of deprivation, being a beacon may contribute to how these conceptions are reinforced; this risks holding Morecambe at its current position: a post-seaside resort in need of regeneration, which the arts have a role in transforming. Specifically, that there is a problem that needs fixing. This is not an emancipatory position but

one which relies on deficits for legitimacy, which may serve the 'national interest' (Durrer, 2019, p. 317). In order to increase its representation as a cultural leader through advocating for West End Morecambe, More Music has been required to evidence the impact of how change and transformation can be brought about through their strategic, creative decisions. This may assume a deficit position of the 'targeted beneficiaries', with whom More Music has focused their work, over the past two and a half decades. More Music may be held in a position of their own, which requires 'community' and 'inclusion' to be converted into capital: the social return on investment. In this way, More Music at their current position may have been subjected to symbolic violence, as a way to satisfy policy objectives. Through the reliance of self-reported narratives of impact, required of them through their long-standing commitment to community music in Morecambe, they may, through the process of playing the game of culture with good intentions, be risking a similar reproduction of symbolic violence.

This history suggests that there is tension between the positions taken and those made for More Music. It may tell a story of reproductive powers in cultural production, not just on the part of More Music, but of that it is required to represent. This may be the interest rate on the return on investment, camouflaged by the chameleonic practice that has enabled community musicians to play the game of culture to enable the work to happen. However, as Deane (2018) suggests, was the price worth paying? Furthermore, in making a case for more music to take place in Morecambe, who was paying the price through regeneration?

A habitus of More Music

More Music has worked tirelessly to ensure that there is regular and consistent access to arts and cultural activity for local people in the West End of Morecambe, specifically access through the Hothouse. Access has been prioritised as a signifier of progress in many aspects of the cultural sector, particularly for those who have been charged with the responsibility to evidence the value of arts and culture in Britain. Access however, like More Music, has plural rationalities: it is nuanced and carefully designed. It requires a bespoke set of conditions which must always be open to change and negotiation. More Music created a blueprint for arts and cultural access in West End Morecambe, based on an emerging doxa of their field of cultural leadership. However, with the blueprint positioning the Hothouse as the 'jewel of the crown' (West End Million, 2015) the position-making and position-taking this stimulates comes with

a great deal of power and a weight of conflicting responsibilities. More Music's commitment to access has been attributed meaning through their actions and their political decision to stay. As such, a narrative of access is inscribed into who More Music are. The position of a 'beacon' is projected by More Music and alluded to through celebration by others. How this is defined and maintained is managed through visions of West End Morecambe that are produced. This inscription is visible in their strategic planning and their blueprint, which subsequently constructed the doors, walls, and physical representation of good practice in community music. Policy directives stimulate this, which work for the national interest, one of the dominant modes of production through which More Music gain legitimacy.

More Music's articulation of access is embedded in an institutional memory that signifies openness: everyone is welcome to take part. Nevertheless, the conditions of access for More Music in West End Morecambe are made possible by objective structures which reinforce the position through which they operate: at the centre and also the intersections of the fields of cultural leadership and West End Morecambe. In this sense, More Music is a gatekeeper between participation and policy, which is a difficult position to maintain and may, in the process of working towards transformation, reinforce dominant participation practices that inhibit cultural democracy. However, on access, it must be stressed that when planning the design of their public space, physical accessibility was at the core of their design. As such, the Hothouse itself works to be an accessible space. Much like WSI before them, who aimed to create access to cultural activities which would enable people to 'actively participate and gain power', More Music positioned access as a way to offer starting points for peoples musical progression. With their increasing representation as a cultural leader, More Music's vision for participation in West End Morecambe developed in clarity and purpose; shaped by their dual linage, and subsequently, increased permanency and belonging to a change in Morecambe. The company mission statement and vision for the work embeds this belief, and as such, created and stimulated the conditions for cultural competencies to emerge through the social capital of More Music and its allies. Access is a doxa of More Music; it is that which is taken-for-granted. As too is the conceptualisation of their position as a 'beacon'. A habitus of More Music is a history of contradiction and constant negotiation through which a mobile and dominant position in the field has enabled the organisation to engage in continual meaning-making, intended to transform. Their positions are inhibited by a doxa of access that justifies the work to take place; however, the tensions this illuminates opens possibilities for something more.

Conclusion: Disrupting a habitus and developing a critical ethnography

This historical analysis articulates one of many possible histories of More Music. I do so to understand a habitus: a history of a beacon, that positions how More Music's work today can be understood and the new openings that may emerge. It is also concerned with how it contributes to the constructions of histories through community music. Considering the components which create the meaning of More Music's position as a cultural leader in West End Morecambe opens the opportunity to consider the roles and responsibilities within their plural rationalities for working with the intention to transform in Morecambe. Particularly, how such intentions interact with the process of institutionalising community music, given legitimacy through the governing structures of arts and cultural policy.

This is a historical analysis constructed from documentation from and about the organisation, archive footage and reflective conversations. Through the process of inscription, it is beginning its interaction with a critical theoretical framework that seeks to work towards social justice with More Music. Although, as Higgins suggests, to 'set free meaning, some amount of aggression and infidelity must be applied to its past practices' (2006, p. 10). However, it is challenging not to find myself blinded by the light of the beacon of More Music. They have worked tirelessly to build community music into the bricks of Morecambe with passion and care. When a procession of primary-school children and their carefully made lanterns, flicker behind an intergenerational, dancing, street-band, while people (often perceived to be not participating in More Music's annual programme, as will be discussed in the following chapter) watch from their windows and doorways, it is easy to see nothing but light. This inscription is intended towards hospitality in itself: unknown but with an openness to understand More Music better, which requires looking beyond the light.

This chapter has considered the evolution of More Music, from a residency to an organisation and regularly funded cultural leader, between the years 1993 - 2016. This history has focused on ways that More Music's evolution has interacted with significant policy shifts over its first twenty-five years. This interaction may have influenced their position in two fields: the field of cultural leadership and the field of West End Morecambe. Through the first part of this chapter, I have discussed possible position-taking (as a cultural leader) and position-making (as a 'beacon'), through tracing their organisational evolution. The second part of the chapter considers a conceptualisation of this by highlighting some conditional junctures that disrupt

possibilities for how hospitality may manifest through community music when in a position of gatekeeping. The process has been to identify critical instances where meaning-making has manifested through specific shifts in approach for the organisation. Specifically, collaborating with the local authority through regeneration plans; signifying between 'community music' and 'education' activity when music education becomes strategically more visible across policy and practitioner networks, and, establishing a reputation as a 'beacon' amongst allies of their practice and through the self-inscription of their work. These instances, intertwined with the dual lineages that they have inherited, can be discussed as a 'habitus' of More Music: how they position themselves and are positioned in today's world. Building from discussions of histories in chapter 3, there is a responsibility to consider histories not as individual narratives, but in relation to the histories that they inherit and those they interact with in situ. Through doing so, the plural rationalities that demand attention through the process of being a community music organisation in the UK today, can be better understood. When working with histories in this way, there is a responsibility when breaking open meaning to reconstruct towards the possible. It is important to recognise any history used to create meaning as one part of a broader, living history. The chronology of the decisions made in the evolution of More Music is one part of their development through this study, including how they intersect structural conditions and contexts. How these critical instances can be traced within the fieldwork (represented through chapter 5) and through theorising towards future ways to understand More Music's role and responsibility in chapter 6, this history is located in the broader possibilities of being a community music organisation.

I have raised four key questions in this chapter. These shine a light on the path that informed the analysis of my fieldwork with More Music. These questions trace the critical instances of More Music's evolution. Together, they can be reflected on to consider the tensions that are frustrated through the process of becoming a community music institution. This historical analysis suggests that the inheritance of WSI can be seen in the blueprint that More Music has designed through their practice. However, when considered in relation to their inheritance from the field of cultural leadership, tension between why the work is undertaken and how power is located in these decisions is made more visible. The seal of approval gained from developing out of the community arts movement whilst also being recognised as a contemporary cultural leader become interdependent. Through this history, they make visible a dual inheritance, which legitimises each other as well as creating tensions. This locates More Music in a position between policy and participation that has resonance for the gatekeeping process discussed in

chapter 3: working at borders that are both facilitative and restrictive. The possible implications of this are that it may dislocate the passion and vision for coming into this work in the first place (Langley, 2010) from the chameleonic practice required to respond to the shifts in policy (Brown *et al*., 2014). This dislocation and malleability in decision making may create tension for the possibilities of hospitality through community music, within the context of this history. However, in 2015, the Hothouse doors were opened to understanding their role and responsibility in new ways, through research. Through this, More Music's history remains in development.

Chapter 5

Being More Music, part 1: Fieldwork and analysis

‘Inclusivity is about a different kind of power. It puts relationship into the heart of what we do, and every decision that we make.’

Andy Knox, Director of Public Health, Morecambe Bay (2019)

Introduction

As detailed in chapter 4, More Music is well established as an entity in Morecambe. Despite the ambiguity of what their presence represents in the West End of Morecambe, their building, the Hothouse, has been highly visible since 2000. Despite this, their programmes have been targeted towards being a resource for the West End, as their very local community. In 2016, I began visiting More Music in and around the Hothouse. Between 2016 and mid-2018, I undertook my fieldwork with week-long stays in Morecambe, attending and increasingly participating in their programmed events, alongside bi-weekly visits throughout 2017. The quotes found in this chapter are from More Music representatives during this time. On my arrival, More Music had been successful in a funding bid to Esmée Fairburn Foundation[37], a specific resource that would support the organisation's development work in West End, which they called 'Deeper Local'.[38] This funding was connected to More Music's strategy within its 2015 - 2018 business plan. Deeper Local was initiated because More Music was interested in working more locally with the people of the West End. They recognised that, despite living and working as an organisation there, for over 25-years, there remained uncertainty between More Music, local people and their perceptions of More Music. Deeper Local intended to address this. Turning towards Deeper Local also initiated funding for this PhD. The management team identified that working towards Deeper Local was a responsibility, in particular, to increase understandings of their organisation, locally, as well as increase their activity in the West End. This was inscribed into their business plan, to 'raise aspiration and overcome the isolation, which is deeply felt in this deprived and challenged community'. One of the ways they planned to achieve this was 'by placing the work in a global context' (More Music, 2015, p. 6) through continuing to attract funding that would recognise them as a 'beacon'. Deeper Local was also a recognition that with their success as a music education partner within formal education settings, the More Music workforce was often working outside of Morecambe, within the broader district of Lancashire. Deeper Local sought to support such expertise and strategic relationship development with a more local footprint. Despite the embedded nature of some of their projects within the West End – although still a sense of

[37] The 'Esmée Fairbairn Foundation aims to improve the quality of life for people and communities throughout the UK both now and in the future. We do this by funding the charitable work of organisations that are building an inclusive, creative and sustainable society.' https://esmeefairbairn.org.uk/about-us

[38] Where 'Deeper Local' is capitalised; it refers to this project.

detachment from the place itself - More Music recognised that to mobilise this approach, and to learn more about their position in West End Morecambe, a specific role was required. It is within the context of More Music's Deeper Local, between 2015 – 2018, that this chapter is bound: it documents the fieldwork that took place within this timeframe, through thick description and analyses it within the context of the conceptual arguments outlined in chapter 2. Throughout my time with More Music and the West End Development team, I regularly reviewed the data collected through my participant observations and field notes. This enabled me to refine the theoretical underpinning of the study over time. I then returned to the data as a complete set after the fieldwork had stopped, using thematic analysis to make sense of the rich qualitative data generated. The themes from my analysis are used as sub-titles within each unit of analysis.

In this chapter, I bring forward a possible habitus of More Music to understand how this informs their position-taking and position-making in today's world. More Music's habitus suggests that they have been able to use their initial position as the only arts representative of Morecambe to build an institution that can (1) increase the range and mobility of what they offer as a music organisation, with whom, and where, (2) amplify the work they do, and by association, where they do it, in a broad range of regional, national and international environments, made possible by their increased capital and status as a beacon and, (3) attract funding into the local geographical area for arts and culture, which may have stimulated the growth of a network of community arts practice in the West End, who have subsequently been invited to take part in the festivals More Music produce. It is from these historical positions that the three units of analysis within this case study are discussed, through my critical ethnography. Tracing the work of the More Music Community Development team between 2016 and 2018, there are three units of analysis: (1) West End partnership working, (2) The West End Development Worker (3) and, The Lantern Festival. The format of this chapter is similar to the historical analysis; this is to invite the reader into the dialogic nature of the contexts through which the data was gathered. Each unit of analysis is contextualised by a critical incident, followed by a discussion relating to the themes emerging from the analysis. The findings from the fieldwork are then considered theoretically, with Bourdieu. Specifically, I consider:

- How these units of analysis position More Music in the field of West End Morecambe and the field of cultural leadership, and how this may position others;

- How these positions facilitate or restrict across borders and the way meaning is made through More Music's position-making and position-taking;

- That which is taken for granted through these positions.

Through this chapter, I outline More Music's positions, the gatekeeping processes intercepted, and the doxa emerging through this in relation to their habitus. As this discussion moves to chapter 6, I return to my exposition of theory, method and established critique across community music and cultural policy, as outlined in chapters 2 and 3. Through this discussion of 'being' More Music, I outline possible tensions of community music at an institutional position and the possible new openings that the critical ethnographic case study illuminates between More Music, West End Morecambe, and the role and responsibility they negotiate. Doing so, by locating their position-making (as a beacon) and position-taking (as a cultural leader) in the context of Higgins' (2012) conceptualisation of hospitality through community music. I will suggest that through a reconciliation of the responsibility that comes with positioning an institution as a beacon, it brings about different ways of 'performing new tasks' (Robbins, 2000, p. 34) through the role as a cultural leader. Through this, More Music's Deeper Local project can be understood as an intersection, as part of an activist process of becoming a critical cultural leader.

Unit of analysis 1 – Developing partnerships in West End Morecambe

Introduction

Something important to make clear when considering More Music's partnership working in the West End between 2016 - 2018 is that it was a time like no other. Never before in their organisational history had More Music seized the opportunity to return to the garage-style and hyper-local ways of working with others in the West End, strategically; at least this was how the move to Deeper Local appeared to be positioned. Furthermore, they were in a strong economic and social position to do so. Their aims for developing Deeper Local was well-intended: it was time to dig deeper into their West End work. The time also seemed right for More Music to go deeper into their local work because they were, as many creative organisations were at the time, encountering another policy juncture, which promoted the possibilities of place-based, cross-sector creative practice. Creative People and Places schemes were well established in England (particularly the North of England) and new waves of regeneration funding were emerging that strategically located arts and culture as an important indicator of the development of a place. More Music was well positioned within the field of cultural leadership to evidence their local work in these ways, despite not working specifically in a Creative People and Places programme. In the 2015 - 18 business plan, a strand of strategic planning was committed to Deeper Local. Despite the sympathetic policy landscape, their upcoming twenty-fifth anniversary was also a stimulus to review their relationship with the local area, particularly because they knew their programmes weren't accessed predominantly by their immediate neighbours and wanted to respond to this, and better understand why. In some ways, although a time like no other, a spectre of their institutionalised way of working was presenting itself, early in the project's evolution. Going local once more required a stripping back of the identity which More Music had performed in the West End, as a dominant cultural leader. It required openness to the unknown. Throughout my fieldwork in 2016 - 18, I documented and participated in the development of their Deeper Local work, to better understand how the possibilities of such openness would interact with their established ways of working and doxa of their role and responsibility as a cultural leader. At times, through their attempt to enact Deeper Local, More Music's long-standing commitment was wielded as a

form of 'inverted' symbolic violence[39] against them and they, at times, felt that their good intentions were misunderstood by those they wanted to work with, to help. This process was challenging for More Music, as their attempt to step back from their position of a beacon, to one more closely resembling a critical friend or ally to the area – by 'not taking a directorial role' - was met with suspicion, with caution. Towards the end of the fieldwork with More Music, they retreated back to more established ways of working, and of evidencing their work in the West End; working on project-based delivery partnerships, which could be continued and carefully managed. Although I suggest this is a time like no other, there were flavours of their history which guided their light onto more focused and strategic ways of West End working, positioning themselves with distinction to others in the local area. This, as I suggested in my introduction to this chapter, was a difficult time for More Music. However, it was a milestone in reframing their intentions within the West End, brought about through navigating their role and responsibility in a way like no other.

[39] 'Inverted symbolic violence' is discussed by Burke (2015) regarding Bourdieu and Patterson's (1977) analysis of how symbolic capital can become a way in which those in dominant positions retain their positions. 'Inverted symbolic violence' is when the trajectory expected within such positions - through the doxa of the group – does not convert to the opportunities presented to those with the 'right' kinds of capital to process it. Burke's theorisation is located in a discourse of progression to employment after leaving undergraduate higher education and the ways these conflict with the capital students anticipate gaining, from the institutional recognition of the academy as a stamp of approval.

Critical incident 1: The West End Weekend

Figure 6 - An image of a flier from the West End Weekend in 2017

The West End Weekend was a two-day event that took place in the summer of 2017. One very fortunate thing about this event was, unlike events that had taken place only a month earlier, it was not only dry but sunny; not a guaranteed component of this seaside town. There was a significant amount of activity programmed over these two days. Alexandria Park, where Devonshire Road meets West Street, is a fenced garden bordered by Victorian houses and flats. One resident has the keys for the gate to the garden because it was becoming a space where people were congregating at night, and I was told there was a period where it was being commandeered by drug users. Because local residents were finding needles, they did not want their children to play in it. Over time, residents convinced the council to make it a space with regulated access. This did not stop people going in at night, but it did reduce its use, for everyone. Both More Music and their partners understood that this was a local space people wanted to reclaim, and there was a general consensus that utilising the space for community

arts purposes may be a good way forward. With the newly established Spring Thing Festival that More Music had set up for the West End, there was hope from the West End Development team that this could feed into this space in some way. As part of the action plan from their commitment to Deeper Local and with the rebranding of the More Music festivals to West End festivals, More Music was considering ways in which this space could become more regularly used in their programmes, and in collaboration with other partners. Over the time of my fieldwork, Alexandria Park became somewhat of an intersection, a space that offered a kind of neutrality. It connected the establishment of the Hothouse with 'the people they most hoped to reach' and the community arts space that was developing further down West Street, 'who reach people [they] never could'. The L-shape - from the seafront to the Hothouse - was informally referred to as 'the creative quarter', which had a bohemian flair. Although possibly problematic from a perspective of potential art-washing (Sterling, 2020), almost everyone involved in the area's use was local to the area or representing one of the organisations that the space borders. It was informal creative organising; it just so happened that one of those involved had a quarter of a million pounds worth of public arts funding. However, when you split this up across the diverse areas of More Music's programme, that's quite a lot of bang, for not a lot of buck, comparatively to the geographic distribution of public funding for the arts.[40] Nevertheless, of course, a freedom of information request wouldn't necessarily illustrate this, which was one of the modes of inverted symbolic violence wielded against them at the time of the West End Weekend, due to a perception of their plentiful resource.

To ensure the event took place, there was a festival working group established earlier in the year, to coordinate and plan the 2-day event and there was a great deal of excitement about it from all involved. Some of the West End Development team were part of this working group. Early on, More Music's West End Community Development Worker recognised that there was a need for some defined roles, regarding how tasks would be assigned and undertaken. At first, they took on the role to coordinate the group themselves. They felt their community development experience and familiarity with how More Music worked, was an opportunity to

[40] In the data published by Arts Council England for the period 2016 - 17, there were 74 of the 649 NPOs in North West England. This accounted for 11.4% of the total NPOs across England and 8.1% of the overall funding for NPOs for that period. For more information,
see: https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/sites/default/files/download-file/Full_NPO_Survey_1617_FINAL.pdf

model skills that others in the group - who had less project management experience of festivals - could develop, to take on for programming responsibility next year. There was no next year for the West End Weekend. The West End Development team initially had weekly meetings for the festival with the working groups; there seemed to be a consensus about More Music taking on the role of chair, informally. Over time, the planning meetings became more infrequent, due to unforeseen circumstances of people in the group and conflicting schedules. Unlike the project teams More Music often worked with, the working group was primarily voluntary, made up of people committed to developing creative activity in the area. As such, the West End Development team considered it helpful and possibly a responsibility, to carry on with the planning in the absence of the majority of the working group. Eventually, momentum dwindled, and the working group assigned More Music the responsibility to programme, project manage and coordinate the budget for the festival. From here on in, More Music would make decisions on behalf of the working group, representing West End interests. This included making funding opportunities available for local creatives, not in the working group, to pitch for financial support for their ideas to contribute to the festival. This created confusion about who More Music was representing in this role, for some people working with the project, despite being asked to undertake this role by the working group. Having recently also taken on the financial monitoring responsibilities of the broader local partnership project, this further muddied the waters of who More Music represented and what they do. Small town politics were emerging, and More Music seemed more aware of these, with their increased proximity to local community organisers than was usual for their strategic partnership development. More Music was concerned that, with full control of the festival, the event might look a little ‘More Music-y’. With the recent rebranding of their community festivals already in place, this was an illusion they were keen to avoid. However, in the planning meetings for the festival (which still needed to take place as a requirement for funding the project), there was a recognition within the West End Development team that they needed to remain committed to the festival and see it though for the good of the wider community. However, there was disappointment that the weight of the work had fallen to More Music to manage, and the team recognised possible issues of representation that this raised. Compressing responsibility for the festival into the wider requirements of these roles was challenging. Particularly, with the West End Development Worker and West End Development Assistant in part-time roles, and the Development Director also responsible for the wider organisation, as well as the newly established succession planning (as Artistic Director, Pete Moser, was due to retire the following year). It was often the case when I spoke with people in the West End,

who also worked on creative projects in the area, that More Music had some kind of elasticity when it came to resource and personnel. More Music, visible with their red t-shirts, got involved with everything they could in the area; over time, I came to understand how that perception may have been made. However, due to the openness of More Music to share their processes with me, I knew this wasn't quite the case. Any sense of elasticity was a testament to their workforce and their resilience to make things happen. This usually meant commitment outside their contracted responsibility, which relied on their good-will, and which stemmed back to their passion and vision for the work.

On the subject of the red t-shirts, there was a very visible distinction between day one and two of the event: day one had lots of red t-shirts, and they were mostly inside the Hothouse, for the More Music-led activities programmed; day two, there were none. On day two, the only More Music representation was of the West End Development team, and the Artistic Director, who had the reprise of his walking tour of Morecambe Streets; he didn't take part in the rest of the festival. Due to having to programme and manage the festival in silo, More Music decided to have the festival take place on the same day as they had scheduled their annual Fun-Place.[41] This would help manage resources, increase the staffing of the event and ensure a range of quality activities were available. On day one, the Hothouse was abuzz with activity, all sorts of creative doing that one may expect of an NPO[42] or a Fun Palace. Lots of people came from wider Lancashire, some came from Morecambe. A few came from West End. This kind of representation mirrored what had been found in their market research in 2013 (Ainsley, 2013). The atmosphere in the building was electric, with spirits high, young people facilitating activities for younger children and, More Music's resident fountain of local knowledge: the More Music housekeeper, ensuring that everyone had a snack and a drink. Beautiful sessions were available from Morecambe artists and those invited by More Music. People came to the Hothouse, explored at the Fun Palace, and left. Most that I observed didn't see the rest of the festival happening down on West Street; I'm not sure they knew. However, down on West

[41] 'Fun Palace is both an annual weekend of action and an ongoing campaign…We believe in the genius in everyone, in everyone an artist and everyone a scientist, and that creativity in community can change the world for the better. We believe we can do this together, locally, with radical fun – and that anyone, anywhere, can make a Fun Palace' (Fun Palace, 2020).

[42] The Arts Council state: National Portfolio Organisations are leaders in their areas, with a collective responsibility to protect and develop our national arts and cultural ecology. Public investment brings public accountability, for us and for the organisations we invest in, and this is reflected in our expectations. (2016, p. 2)

Street, there was a whole host of activity: street performances, printing, talks and cups of tea. There was also an art trail, one of the commissioned projects for the festival, where people could print a tote-bag, then use it to find the hidden gems in the local shops. More Music's West End Development Worker was delighted this project took place, as they had worked at great length to reignite and support the relationship with the local traders. Baybeat Street Band, who were also at the festival, played in the street too: down on West Street, away from the Hothouse, as that's where all the people were. This festival site was also abuzz. Another performer, a storyteller and friend of More Music, had struck up camp at a seemingly quiet part of Yorkshire Street, which runs through Westminster Road and is one street down from the Hothouse. He attracted the attention of two men, possibly in their late thirty's, coming from the off-licence. They began to join in, improvising a story set to the song structure offered by the storyteller. I happened to be sitting outside the Hothouse, on a bench, recording a fieldnote memo to myself about how I felt the two separate festivals were happening. I watched on with curiosity. By chance, some of the Baybeat Street Band came up from West Street, onto Devonshire Road; they also seemed curious about what was going on. The storyteller gestured them forward to join in the story. Now, I wish I had recorded a voice memo to remind myself of the story being told, but I didn't. However, I did document the encounter with a great deal of detail. Perhaps Moser was right, maybe I didn't care as much about the music. However, the brass players had very particular sound effects to make, and the snare was put to task, too. By the time the story was complete, and rounds of applause were shared together, more members of the Baybeat Street Band emerged and alongside the two men and the storyteller, burst into 'Bring me Sunshine', a firm favourite of the band. One of the men put his shopping bag down and leapt onto the bench to conduct; the band observed his motions, diligently. After a further round of applause and the impromptu conductor had taken his bow, the two men wandered off, and everyone else went for a cup of tea. The musical moment was fleeting; it was one of the few times over my fieldwork that I observed More Music's community music programme to be so deeply connected to the 'people they most wanted to reach'. There was no planning, no idea what would happen, yet this did not impact the quality of the music being played and possibly, the experience shared.

Figure 7 - An illustration of this encounter 'The street conductor and the doorway parade'

After the impromptu concert had come to an end, I clearly lingered too long, as, before I knew it, I had my hand up the backside of a 12-foot structure of a phoenix, which had been made by a local artist – voluntarily - using found materials. The Phoenix was outside the Hothouse, but some of the other contributors to the festival wanted it somewhere else, so it was being moved. With no one from More Music around, the moment was seized to move the bird down to West Street. Who was I to protest? I found out later that More Music wasn't very happy about this; it was meant to be at the Hothouse on the Saturday and in Alexandria Park on Sunday. I felt for the West End Development team, it was a lot to coordinate.

Figure 8 - An image of the Phoenix from the West End Weekend

Day two of the festival was gloriously sunny. The Hothouse was closed to the public, and Alexandria Park was the heart of the event. In the park, there were craft stalls and face painting, organised by the community arts collective on West Street. A stage was also set-up, that would welcome performances throughout the day from local musicians, who, through an informal community collective of keen players, had established a community music stage the previous year. This year's offering at the West End Weekend was the biggest yet. On the fringes of the park, which was lined with flags commissioned by the partnership project as an investment for future festivals, Moser was taking people on a tour of the back streets of Morecambe's West End. On his tour, songs were sung; written some years prior, composed to the stories of local residents, documented by Moser. This attracted a predominantly different audience than those congregating in Alexandria Park. On his reflection of the walking tour, Moser lamented that some had thought it painted the West End in a bad light, because the route took you down some of the grubbiest lanes, littered and fouled. This hadn't been his intention but reflected it may have been poorly judged. I joined the second wave of the walking tour, and it was nice to come together with people local and visiting, but I too resonated with Moser's reflections. Further to

this, it reinforced my field note from the previous day, where I had observed that two separate festivals were taking place. One curated through More Music, the other, a community event: with the West End Development team, connecting the two. The Artistic Director hadn't been involved in the development of the festival; the programming of the festival sat squarely in the realm of the West End Development team. Returning to Alexandria Park, there was music playing and soup being served (which was made by local volunteers and served with bread donated by the local Co-op supermarket). This is a staple of More Music events, with the More Music housekeeper ensuring everyone got their fair share. I spent the majority of the day with the West End Development team: listening to the music and observing the swells of interest from those coming in and out of the park, and of those who lingered on its fringes. It seemed for some that the opening of the park, and its use for something new, was a surprise after lying dormant for a long time. I had conversations about the quality of the music, the volumes of soup, how the stalls could be arranged next year, and, of the challenges of getting the festival to fruition. People also talked with me about the presence of local people from the West End who were familiar to some, to all and to none; of the health inequalities that lived amongst the West End; the ways the area had and had not changed; and, of ways that More Music might. As I left for the train (much more infrequent from Morecambe on Sundays, a far cry from the rail connectivity that served the town in its heyday or serves its neighbouring Lancaster, presently), the music carried on, and the sun continued to shine. I returned soon after, to re-join the West End Development team at the Hothouse to reflect on the event. The relief that it had taken place and also that it was finished was palpable. There was an opportunity to plan forward to the upcoming Lantern Festival with some of the momentum and resources that the West End Weekend had enabled. With stronger relationships with some local partners developing, this was an opportunity for More Music to develop a more targeted and focused way of working, in collaboration with community partners. The general consensus was that the way of working which had led to the West End Weekend wasn't sustainable for the West End Development team. To achieve the community development aims of their 2015 - 2018 business plan, more focused partnerships would be required. In the wake of the weekend, the relationship with the local partnership project, and More Music's role as the LTO (Local Trusted Organisation), their resilience to work as a cultural leader in this unfamiliar way was beginning to crack under the weight of responsibility and expectation that had been thrusted upon them, particularly the responsibility for the festival's programme agreed at the community meetings and working groups. Inconsistencies were emerging from this, which were creating friction between representatives of the group. By the December of that year, More Music had resigned as the

LTO; this was on the instruction of their board, who also recommended they withdraw from the working groups, deciding that the community development which they wished to undertake through music could take place outside of this partnership and that it possibly wasn't 'worth sacrificing the reputation of [the] organisation for'. The remainder of the West End-focused strategic developments, over the next six months, would be committed to specific partnership projects. These were centred on music making outside of the Hothouse, in the locations where the West End Development team identified an increased likelihood of encountering those they knew More Music didn't reach but wished to, in pursuit of 'transforming lives through culture, particularly music'. After a break for the Christmas period, the West End Development team regrouped, lamenting that they 'got distracted by the politics' of the work towards the West End Weekend. They were ready to leave that behind them, to plough forward, focusing on 'less and better' project partnerships.

Us and them

It's easy to get a load of stalls and a bouncy castle, but that's not what we aimed to do

There is not a consensus within More Music about who they are in the West End of Morecambe. This is interesting because a central aim of their 2015 - 18 business plan was to increase understanding of and access to, More Music and their programmes. This created tension between the aims presented by the organisation, regarding their role and responsibility in the West End, and their approach to making it happen. With the post of the West End Development Worker strategically designed to help bridge these perceived divides of value, it was clear that, despite dissensus, More Music wanted to be a more embedded resource for the West End. Further to this, there appeared a shared and highly regarded belief that the organisation could be of greater benefit to the people of West End than it currently was, specifically, that people deserved what More Music could bring. On an early visit to Morecambe, I sat with a member of More Music management and they shared with me that 'there is a fundamental difference of whether you're in it or not', 'it' in this case being the West End. We looked from the window of one of the Hothouse rehearsal spaces, which looks out onto the seating area in the courtyard space opposite. Watching the people as they walked by,

they asked: ‘What do you think she thinks about us?’ – as a lady with her shopping walked by. ‘What do you think would make her want to come in?’ Looking over to the terraced houses bordering the square, in various states of repair, they asked: ‘how do we connect with the people in the houses, over there?’ This would not be the last time I was confronted with epistemologically challenging questions such as this, about More Music’s relationship in the West End. Despite some reservations about the questions, I understood that there were good intentions underneath the bravado that I often perceived to accompany them. However, sometimes there was an almost evangelical edge to the position-making that embodied More Music as a beacon of community music. This was reinforced when I was sent a publication from the Gulbenkian Foundation in 2017. The report considered the role of arts organisations as encompassing a range of domains:

- Colleges (places of learning);
- Town halls (places of debate);
- Parks (public spaces open to everyone);
- Temples (places which give meaning and provide solace);
- Home (a place of safety and belonging).

Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (2017, p. 11)

This resonated with More Music when discussed, further deepening a sense of tension for how community music might be represented in this way. When thinking of the West End Weekend, and the Fun Palace on day one, the distinctions bound in such conceptualisations of arts organisations, through these domains and as possible palaces, reinforced warnings traced through the dual inheritances of community music’s institutional position. This wasn’t to question the kinds of activities taking place, but the way these were positioned in relation to the Hothouse and the kind of capital these narratives may have for how the West End is positioned, particularly with a strategic intention within their business plan to ‘plac[e] the work in a global context’ (More Music, 2015). I recognised my own responsibility to take on some of the underlying tensions of these questions and perceptions of More Music, as a way to unearth some of the conditions which led to Deeper Local. Particularly, if I was to meaningfully contribute to More Music’s understanding of their role and responsibility in the West End, in a way that could support critical future practice and support symbiotic partnership collaboration.

Throughout my time in Morecambe, it was clear that there was a distinction made between More Music and 'the West End'. It was also clear that More Music felt that West End Morecambe was their home; somewhere they felt a part of. I reflected on this, and my early arrival in Morecambe, particularly, the suggestion that there is a fundamental difference about whether you are in it or not. Over time, I realised that this in itself was a point of conflict: internal interpretations of a sense of place, and how this was perceived outside of the Hothouse. This stimulated my unease with the domains in the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation report; particularly, how these may be embodied by those seeking a way to speak of the complexities of their practice. It wasn't to say that I didn't see possibilities for arts organisations that may conceptualise themselves in this way, however, it warrants further questions. There is an 'us' and a 'them' in West End Morecambe, and it was not often clear what the benefits to the local population were, for the globalisation of their local area, outside of an advocacy resource to draw further capital to the Hothouse. This sense of difference was also reinforced from smaller organisations and groups that viewed their own work as more representative of the people of the West End than that of More Music. Throughout my fieldwork, I was regularly confronted with a perception, sometimes subtle, that More Music did not fall into that category. This was not always shared from a position of hostility – presenting in the minority of cases, albeit the spokespersons of these groups were often mighty. Alternatively, More Music was often discussed as 'bigger' or 'bringing people from outside in' or 'able to make things happen on a larger scale'. There was also sometimes confusion about who More Music represented, which was connected to their presence across a wide range of local and national initiatives. If others doing creative work in the West End wanted to achieve something on a large scale, however, More Music was often the identified collaborators; they were viewed to have mechanisms, connections and experience to enact big participatory plans. This was something that More Music also reinforced and stimulated their aspirations to mentor local artists and organisations. So, although the positioning of More Music at times signified a sense of difference that created distance, this difference was also welcomed when More Music's skills and experience were put to work for the benefit of the whole group. Throughout my fieldwork, More Music was almost always eager to fulfil this role. Consequently, although at times the projection of West End Morecambe in a global context didn't always seem to have a direct benefit to others in the area, over time, I came to know how this could have wider socio-economic benefits for the cultural ecosystem of the area; particularly, I could see how they were trying to assert their power for the good of others in West End Morecambe. However, More Music's ambition to do good, to mentor and support the development of emerging creative projects risked being

overshadowed by the perceived scale of resource and accessibility of the Hothouse, by those they sought to work with. In an attempt to amplify the field of West End Morecambe in the field of cultural leadership, what More Music did and what they sought to do was sometimes misaligned or interpreted differently than they intended.

'Exposing people to the highest quality creative offers' is a central tenant in More Music's pursuit to 'transform lives through culture, particularly music'. Throughout my fieldwork, reference was noted frequently to comments or inscriptions that explicitly articulated 'quality'; to More Music, this represented something of a gold-standard for the people in the West End. There were many examples of this standard-making, for example: in the early months of my fieldwork, 'quality' as a way to distinguish More Music's position as a cultural leader, was reinforced when told 'that there is no place for crap art', when discussing the future work of the West End; this was about a performance, recently observed outside the West End, that More Music had been involved in. This was shared as part of participant observations when the West End Development team were considering the context of Deeper Local. There was a strong sense that people 'deserved better' regarding creative quality. The notion of quality and people 'deserving better' recurred again, in a different context, later in my fieldwork. This led to a discussion of their responsibility for quality within the West End. I was offered examples of events where quality arts and culture had not been perceived to have been offered to the people of the West End, outside of More Music activity. It was also mooted that there may not be an appetite for the kinds of quality arts and culture that is stimulated through the Hothouse. This was not met with consensus, and as such, it often seemed that 'quality' was always in negotiation within More Music, yet never a point of compromise. This was one of many encounters with More Music where I noted a distinction between the community development intentions and More Music's artistic programming. Although I documented this in my fieldnotes, and regularly reviewed the field recordings, it was not until analysing this within the broader thematic suite of data that I collected between 2016 – 2018 that the significance of this and More Music's ambitions for quality was understood as a signifier of distinction. Ways that quality was privileged in their Deeper Local work illustrated a tension between the power of their position and the transformations they hoped to achieve through music. A further example of where quality was evident as an important identity-marker for More Music, was through a community partnership collaboration. This was a rare project as it was instigated by the West End Development team and a community partner but led by another member of the More Music workforce. This was an opportunity for More Music to enact a role as mentor and

collaborator, which came towards the end of the 2015 - 2018 business plan period. The role of mentor was well-intended. It was a role More Music representatives felt they could play, for the benefit of those working towards shared goals of transformation through arts and culture in the area. When discussing this project with the West End Development team, it was clear that the experience More Music had for staging similar events, specifically regarding event management approaches and content curation, were regarded as qualifications for their involvement as a mentor. However, the West End Development team were conflicted about how the project would take place. Particularly, as there was little, to no, additional budget to support West End-focused activities that were developing from the Deeper Local developments fostered through the connections being strengthened. There was also concern regarding who More Music would be in this project and how they would be represented. For example, as a voluntary-run project, More Music had joined to support, mentor and, from the perspective of the Community Development team, collaborate. However, there were issues raised regarding the inequality of resource and representation of More Music within the project. Specifically, the West End Development team wanted to ensure there was a strong More Music presence creatively, as they saw this as a way to support increased quality in the project. However, to achieve this, they would need to pay their music leaders to join the project, unless some of them wished to take part for their own enjoyment, voluntarily (which a minority did), which was the original aim of the project, as instigated by the partner. However, as an organisation, More Music was not in the business of, nor advocated, that staff give time, voluntarily. This also spoke to the difference between the kinds of community music programming that takes place through an organisation: it is funded to do community music activity, which distinguishes it from grassroots, informal organising. The West End Development team recognised that this raised issues about *how* More Music could collaborate with others. Given the possible doxa of the need for increased quality that was emerging, their role as collaborator raised tensions with their position-making as 'the beacon'. There was a reticence to becoming involved with projects that didn't meet the level of quality the organisation championed. However, involving themselves in the workforce development of others in the West End, in pursuit of shared creative quality, would require them to work differently, in ways not embedded in the habitus I traced through the historical analysis. As in the critical incident of the West End Weekend, the tension frustrated by the adaptive approach to partnership saw More Music retreat back to more familiar ways of West End partnership working, in an attempt to regain control and make more feasible their relationship with partners in the West End: though music, with good intentions.

We, the West End

We shouldn't have a directorial role

A deeper and clearer commitment to the local area of West End Morecambe and their creative ideas was important for the future of More Music and their connection to the area. This was consistent across the organisation's representatives that I spoke with during my fieldwork. Through the work of the West End Development team, established practices within More Music, such as workshops and performances, were brought more centrally into the developments of the projects with community partners. The particular vehicle through which this could happen was the festival's programme that More Music was part of and historically lead. The festival's programme was a core part of More Music's community programme and included performances and pop-up workshops from across the organisation's regularly programmed activities. They also used their contacts within their well-established network of artists to contribute to the event. When I arrived in 2015, More Music, as part of their Deeper Local work, were repositioning their festivals programme to be more visibly connected to the West End. Three significant festivals in the More Music calendar are: the Kite Festival, the West End Festival (not to be confused with West End Weekend, which is documented in Critical Incident 1) and the Lantern Festival. Historically, these have been promoted as 'The More Music Kite Festival' etc. However, in 2015 festivals (with the exception of the Kite Festival, which takes place on Morecambe prom and is the only festival not located in West End) moved towards a rebranding, with festivals after that being referred to as 'The West End….Festival'.

Figure 9 - An image of the More Music Kite Festival (image retrieved from the More Music website)

As a commitment to partnership and recognition of the growing number of arts and cultural representatives that were raising their profile within the West End, changing the festivals to 'West End' was an attempt to dismantle perceptions that these events were 'More Music' events, particularly as most emerging partners shared a focus or interest in connecting through community development. Due to the experience and skills that had been identified as within More Music's role, they coordinated bringing in community groups and smaller organisations to be part of these festival events. As such, despite the change of name, More Music always seemed to have the responsibility for managing these events, and it was my experience that these always had a distinctive More Music flair: accompanied by red More Music banners and t-shirts. This was an opportunity for them to maximise the potential for quality. However, as with the West End Weekend, this often laid a great deal of responsibility for delivery at More Music's door. Such leadership roles were not surprising, given for many years, More Music had been the only arts organisation in the area and was well known for the quality of their events. However, given the misunderstandings of More Music's resource capacity, they may have benefited from more transparency about how they work as a way to open the door to such roles, for others outside of the Hothouse: something they were keen to do.

The West End Weekend was part of a local partnership project that was centred around regeneration and community decision making. More Music was one of the partners involved in this and regarding arts representation, were the most established and the largest involved. With their experience of curating and managing festivals, collaborating with local partners to develop a new festival made sense. However, collaborating in this project required More Music to work in partnership in unfamiliar, or at least, less practiced ways. This is where the role of

the West End Development Worker and the West End Development team became invaluable, representing a shift in approach for the ways that More Music worked in partnership. At the inception of this project, More Music viewed this as 'serendipitous', an opportunity to work strategically with less familiar representatives of the area and in new ways, together, through arts and culture (which was one part of the wider action-plan for the local partnership project). However, the lack of control More Music had, and the mounting expectations on them to perform as a leader - alongside the disorganisation within the partnership - became an extremely challenging dynamic. Throughout the planning stages of the event, More Music was taking on leadership roles because they perceived this to be a need. There was also a view it was their responsibility to do so. Specifically, they recognised particular leadership skills in themselves, in contrast to others; inadvertently reinforcing distinction of deficits. Similarly, they were also attempting to advise on programming, as this was the area of the festival, they were interested in developing, to support quality. They were also interested in creating more opportunities for people to be involved from the local area, to develop skills to undertake these leadership tasks, without the direction of More Music. This did not happen, and the West End Development team reflected after the event in 2017 that it had become a More Music programmed event in many ways. However, there was one notable distinction: which activities in the West End bore the red t-shirt and where it was absent. An unexpected but welcomed outcome of the West End Weekend was that some partners came to events programmed at the Hothouse, which were not connected to Deeper Local projects. Specifically, More Music has a well-established live music programme, which local residents can attend at a subsidised rate, as part of their audience development plans. Through the connectivity of working in community development partnerships, some partners began to attend.

Back to basics

Something we can easily do [is] offer high quality community music

Towards the end of their Deeper Local work, More Music planned activities within very specific, project-based partnerships. This was in an attempt to avoid the messy and often political entanglement of community development at a grassroots organising level. It was perceived that their work in the West End had been derailed, by being too deeply involved with

partnership projects beyond the scope of music making. As such, in 2018, More Music identified three specific projects which they could focus on and report; these went alongside their long-standing programmed activity that had a West End focus, such as the Friday Night Project. These were developed within their established project-based approach to partnership. More Music was well established to undertake project-based activity in this way, supported by their habitus. In some ways, it was back to basics for More Music: a tried and tested approach to partnership that enabled them to set the pace and outcomes of the work, with partnerships enacted through delivery; specifically, the work was delivered by More Music, for a local partner that either addressed a need or offered a service. Bringing their development period of Deeper Local to a close with these tried and tested delivery partnerships, reconnected More Music with faith that their work in the West End was important and had value. They decided that the grassroots project development wasn't their best method of connecting with the wider West End if they had a responsibility to ensure great art and culture was deliverable. The change in approach towards the end of Deeper Local's funding yielded two music groups, piloted in the spring of 2018: a community choir, which was a development of their partnership with a local creative collective, and, drumming workshops at a local charity that supports people experiencing isolation. More Music also used this time to be more explicit in some of the informal mentoring they had undertaken through Deeper Local, with local artists who were exploring the next steps of their practice. The West End Development work had, up to this point, operated in silo from the dominant approach to programming activity, following a path more familiar to community development than the project-based music activity that the organisation was known for. In an attempt to go to where people were and to enact a deeper, local way of working, the role of the West End Community Development Worker and their team operated as a connector between More Music and the wider world of West End Morecambe. Despite this, the distinction that Deeper Local inherited through More Music's history, still lingered in their practice. However, there were specific instances in the West End Development team's work where these distinctions (such as quality and expertise in project management) appeared to be recognised and harnessed. An example of this was through exploring mentoring and ways in which their established project-based ways of working could be a community asset. Unfortunately, the funding More Music applied for to continue this project-based work was unsuccessful. As such, the pilot activities didn't develop, and the formalisation of mentoring relationships was restricted.

Discussion

Position(s) in the field(s)

Two fields of play are being considered in this research. The first, the field of cultural leadership: through which networks are formed, and reputations for excellence are affirmed and relied on to fund and deliver projects. In this field, More Music promote and work hard to retain a position as a 'beacon of community music', as well as promote that they 'transform lives through culture, particularly music'. The second, the field of West End Morecambe, is where More Music has taken up the position of a cultural leader through a historical commitment to the area, through which, the field of cultural leadership can be performed. This position-taking is supported and thrives through the filtration and inter-relationship between these fields.[43] More Music's position in both fields is given legitimacy through their passion and vision for why they do the work, as well as through competencies and rules, within the game of culture.

Through the construction of a habitus, seamless manoeuvres appear to be made to strengthen the position of the organisation in both the field of cultural leadership and, the field of West End Morecambe. The former, with increased networks and funding relationships that become long-standing; the latter, where no identifiable cultural leader presented nor challenged More Music's increasingly dominant role. This enabled them to position themselves as a beacon and manage the narrative of the West End of Morecambe. This was to sustain arts and cultural provision in the area, as well as their own position within this. Throughout Deeper Local, these manoeuvres are not seamless through their closer proximity to grassroots community organising, by comparison of their previous partnership developments and project-specific delivery partnerships.

[43] When the All-Party Parliamentary Review for Arts and Health was released, I was struck by the image on their landing page, of a person receiving culture as medicine from above. As I was amid my fieldwork at this time, I found it unsettling to think about the quick glance or 'headline' ways that the image could reinforce assumptions about the role and benefits of culture. This can be viewed here: https://www.culturehealthandwellbeing.org.uk/appg-inquiry/

When More Music moves from project-based music making activity towards community development, in an attempt to utilise the position of power in the field(s) for collaborative action, the position of cultural leader is unsteady. When exploring a habitus of More Music, the way that they work strategically as the lead arts partner in different settings is a more stable position than their community development approaches. In their more stable position as a cultural leader, they have control of the narrative and the distribution of resources, including through reporting. This allows them to communicate what they do to different audiences, using their chameleonic practice (Brown *et al.*, 2014) to enable them to move between the fields of play: mobilising practice within the conditions set by partners and funders, with their organisation mission at their core. However, in the context of Deeper Local, when the position-taking of cultural leadership is taken out of the Hothouse and outside their own curated, albeit rebranded, festivals programme, their position as a cultural leader in the Hothouse is destabilised. This may be due to a range of factors, encountered through the fieldwork:

- More Music is often considered as the 'big' organisation in the West End and as such is perceived to have significantly more resource capacity than they have (or that is directed to West End activity outside of the Hothouse, for the development of new partnership programmes).

- More Music has less control of the narrative of cultural leadership as the approach to partnership is unfamiliar.

- The role More Music plays is not always clear, and at times, their dominance leads them to be a representative of a wide range of initiatives, causing possible ambiguity of who they represent and how they are supported.

- At times, More Music appear to privilege 'quality' over collaboration, which can lead to over-representation and othering.

- As an organisation that values trust, when conflict arises it is unexpected, and this has implications for More Music's motivation to continue with partnerships.

This may cause tension for:

- Perceptions and a shared understanding of More Music's role and responsibility with community partners.

- How quality is achieved and understood in different contexts.

- The openness of their resource capacity, which may feel exposing.

- Established practice and how collaborative partnerships can take place between More Music and cultural partners in the West End, in new ways.

These tensions and the destabilising of their position as a cultural leader and beacon of community music led to More Music returning to more familiar ways of working, through project-based community music activity. Here, both narratives and approaches to partnership could be controlled by More Music. This, albeit an intentional act, was an attempt to make clear through their reporting some of the 'unqualifiable outcomes' of Deeper Local, doing so to enable the work to continue through future funding. It was also an attempt to regain control of their position as a cultural leader. This was perceived to have been tarnished through the messiness of the community development work, in part fostered through the lack of control within the project. This perception was reinforced through omission of the festival developments in their funding report, opting to report on it as an 'unsuccessful outcome'. Further to this, the risk of community development that sat outside of 'something [they] could easily offer: high quality community music' was perceived to be possibly 'compromising [their] role as an arts organisation', particularly within their remit as a representative of 'great art and culture for everyone', through their responsibility as an NPO. Negotiating this tension, of their role and responsibility and to whom has been at the core of the challenges that More Music's attempts to 'work more deeply in West End' encountered through the fieldwork.

An inter-relationship between fields: Gatekeeping and bordering

Through being positioned and positioning themselves in both the field of cultural leadership and the field of West End Morecambe, More Music has a great deal of power, manifested through interrelating forms of capital that have accumulated through their history. This power

enables them to filter messages about West End Morecambe through their role and competencies as a cultural leader. This generates resources which they then have the agency to distribute through their situated West End work. In the 2015 - 18 business plan, More Music made the decision to work more deeply with emerging cultural partners in the area. Through this, they tie their West End development plans to a local community partnership project. At the time, this is deemed to be 'serendipitous' for their newly achieved community development funding. Similar to that which can be traced through the historical analysis, it is unclear what motivates action: an opportunity to deepen local connection through new partnerships, or, new partnerships established that connect to the pre-agreed outcomes of funding grants. In this sense, this was *not* a time like no other for More Music, it could be argued to be a reproduction of their positioning in the field(s) to retain a position of a cultural leader and 'beacon' in West End Morecambe, driven by good intentions. What signified this as a time like no other was the devolution of leadership, through the West End Community Development team, who operated in silo from the project-based community music activity which usually accompanied More Music, particularly, their strategic partnership outside of the Hothouse. In this sense, it opened possibilities for new ways of working.

Through the community development that advanced outside of the established project-based approach to partnerships, issues of quality and of leadership disrupted More Music's position in West End Morecambe. This rupture of establishment, despite leading back to familiar approaches to partnership, prised open new possible ways in which their position in the field(s) could be mobilised for collaborative action; specifically, the destabilising of their established role as a cultural leader through Deeper Local. For example, through the West End Weekend, More Music was required to connect with the West End differently. This had implications for how the beacon was recognised, if at all, through Deeper Local. However, it could be recognised as something different. Through the ambiguity that sometimes accompanied their role as a leader in the West End (as illustrated through the West End Weekend), they were a leader; however, this was enacted in conflict to the established ways that More Music would usually programme festivals and events to take place. They were given control by the local representatives of the partnership project, however, what had been agreed with the working group and how More Music mobilised this to deliver the festival, was a process that demanded transparency and support. In this way, the process of working together was possibly less familiar for all involved. The Fun Palace that took place at the Hothouse as part of the West End Weekend was more akin to their established style of working: design (often, with a partner

and in response to their needs), deliver and open to the people of the West End. The West End Weekend, more generally, was an unfamiliar way of working for More Music. With acclaim as a cultural leader, More Music was trusted to deliver the transformative cultural experiences that they had long-standing reporting evidence to support. In the field of West End Morecambe, this trust would convert to project-based action, led by More Music for a partner organisation. A challenge to their position and how it was reported on, was unfamiliar. So, when confronted with the responsibility to deliver the West End Weekend without the usual agency to do so, it frustrated tension between their position as a cultural leader - charged with the responsibility to ensure 'great art and culture for everyone' - and the desire to work more deeply in the West End to 'transform lives through culture, particularly music' with 'those they most want to reach'. This pulled More Music in two directions: transform and reconcile that Deeper Local may require a step back from established practice to use their position to make more space for others in the West End, through collaborative action; or, to reproduce and retreat to established ways of working, where More Music devise and deliver specific project-based activity that reaches out to specifically targeted groups, with the specific intention of intervening through music. Or, perhaps, something in-between was presented through this experience. Throughout 2016 - 18, More Music vacillated on this spectrum. They may need to be more open, to move in response to the creative ambitions of the West End, despite their perceptions of quality, particularly if their role as a cultural leader is to transform with the field, for the benefit of the field. However, the responsibility More Music have to ensure, support and nurture quality in the arts, particularly music, is one which they treasure. The quality which resides in the Hothouse, is one that More Music passionately, possibly at times evangelically, wish to share: with a passion and vision centred on a belief that everyone has the right to take part. At times, however, this is positioned as a gift and what More Music believe they can bring to the West End. More Music programme beautiful work, they support and mentor beautiful and sometimes challenging work. However, what is expected in return for such gifts? Stories of success, where quality has been supported, were the currency I most perceived More Music to seek in return for their investment of time, energy and patience in the area. Quality, when positioned in this way, risks control of the dominant narratives of how the West End engages in arts and cultural activity, which may foster some of the distinctions I perceived through the fieldwork. This is problematic when such actions are undertaken within the passion and vision of what the work can achieve. However, '[they] are not a conflict organisation' and such suggestions of symbolic violence would, I'm confident, be rejected by More Music, viewed instead as an act of generosity, a gift that they can bring to the people of West End. More Music works tirelessly

to achieve and support quality through their work, however, the West End Weekend and their Deeper Local work more generally, took control of this out of their hands. In this way, their artistic contributions were one part of the overall creativity that West End sought to represent; a quality which did not always align with what More Music representatives regarded as 'good quality'. This kind of partnership work created tension for More Music's established ways of being a cultural leader. Through the devolved approach to leadership within the West End Development team, new ways of collaborating demanded to be confronted. This opened possibilities for how the space between the established and attempted role as a cultural leader might be understood.

Doxa

Doxa (which is taken for granted) presented in four ways through the fieldwork:

- 'Quality' and More Music's involvement in projects being a process of quality-raising.

- 'Project management and project design', with More Music being the most experienced in the area and as such, should model and share these skills with others, which would increase the capacity of others to develop high quality events for West End.

- 'Mentorship', and access to the quality and experience of More Music as a gold standard for other community arts practitioners.

- That the West End needed More Music and deserved to have access to what they could provide.

These doxic conditions presented throughout the fieldwork and through the historical analysis as recurring themes which appeared to inform More Music's position-making, as a beacon of community music, and their position-taking as a cultural leader in West End Morecambe, through Deeper Local. Where these doxic conditions were threatened, More Music reverted back to more established behaviours. In the West End Weekend, this is evidenced through the amalgamation of the Fun Palace, however, this was also done with the intention to safeguard the integrity of the event. This, although a way to control the artistic conditions of the Hothouse

and increase the representation of More Music through more staff presence, was also an acknowledgement of responsibility. Despite this, it caused tension when considering possibilities of transformation, in regard to community music, at an institutional position. This combined to form distinctions between More Music's West End and the West End that they wished to reach. It was also evidenced in their return to project-based community music activity towards the end of their Deeper Local work, which are also the dominant stories of success that are communicated from the work. Although against the criteria they agreed for this work, the projects can be deemed 'successful', the success I perceived, regarding understanding More Music's role and responsibility, was how they were able to design these projects with local partners, particularly ways this was attributed to the development work and challenges of working through the partnership project that had produced the West End Weekend. The doxic conditions of quality, project management, mentorship, and need created space for particular narratives of working with West End to be shared, which didn't necessarily account for the rich, yet unstable development process I encountered. In this way, they combined to be a gift of More Music to West End Morecambe, as a beacon of community music, which was problematic and out of step from the intentions that I understood Deeper Local to seek.

Conclusion: Developing partnerships in West End Morecambe

The activity of 2016 - 18 and the ways that More Music's position as a cultural leader was destabilised, resulted in a change of approach. Beyond this, a significant challenge to their role as a cultural leader was that the work did not continue, despite returning to more familiar partnerships, with newly strengthened West End partners. The community development work, though it's messiness and unclear outcomes, was detrimental to their ability to convince funders to invest in the work. The majority of funding supporting the organisation is arts focused. With the turn towards community development and its inherent changes in the direction of travel, the case was challenging to make, however, it remains, as I'll discuss in chapter 6, important to revisit.

This unit of analysis, in the critical ethnographic case study of More Music's role and responsibility as a cultural leader and community music institution, has considered their approach to developing deeper, local partnerships in West End. It has called upon the challenges that they encountered in this work and raises tensions for the way they are positioned

and position themselves. Points of tension have been centred on issues of control and perception, concerning doxic conditions of quality, project management and design, mentorship, and the need for these to be achieved through More Music's involvement in the West End. From a habitus of More Music, these tensions challenged established practice in their cultural leadership. These tensions are negotiated on a continuum of transformation: where being more deeply local may require a step back from established practice, to use their position to make more space for others in the West End, through collaborative action; and, reproduction: a retreat to established ways of working, where More Music devise and deliver specific project-based activity that reaches out to specifically targeted groups, with the specific intention of change or benefit to others, through music. How these may be understood for future possibilities in More Music's collaboration with West End Morecambe will be positioned in chapter 6 and reconstructed towards possible approaches to becoming a cultural leader in West End Morecambe.

Unit of analysis 2 - The West End Development Worker

Introduction: Background to the role

The West End Development Worker is a role that More Music developed as part of their successful funding application to Esmée Fairburn, towards Deeper Local. The West End Development Worker was established as a two-day a week post. It aimed to mobilise Deeper Local, as well as to manage the reporting and evidence collection of this work, which was explicitly tied to a broader community partnership project, not run by More Music. The West End Development Worker joined the More Music team in 2016 and commenced the two-year, fixed-term post.

Over the two years, the aim of the West End Development Worker was to support:

- Raised awareness of More Music across the local community;
- Increased participation and attendance at local events;
- Improved connections between the projects, agencies and community groups;
- Increased depth of relationships in all local projects.

One of the initial tasks for the role was to work closely with a significant community partnership initiative that was developing in the local area. This, subsequently, became a substantial focus for the majority of the contract for the West End Development Worker and marked a significant milestone in More Music's understanding, representation and perception of the West End area. This period of development and the community partnership initiative also became a substantial focus for the case study, as discussed through the first unit of analysis. This unit of analysis considers the West End Development Worker's role and the ways that it came alive through the experience and pedagogy of the post-holder. It also considers how the role was perceived by More Music's wider workforce and management, as well as the ways it was interpreted in West End, more generally, with the key partners who worked with the post holder over this time.

Throughout the thematic analysis of the fieldwork, five dominant themes emerged through my analysis, which positioned the West End Development Worker in different modes:

The West End Development Worker as *an advocate*

The West End Development Worker as *an interpreter*

The West End Development Worker as *an organiser*

The West End Development Worker as *a connector*

The West End Development Worker as *a disrupter*

Through discussion of this role and how it developed, I will discuss five possible modes of being More Music's West End Development Worker. I will draw on a specific critical incident to frame this, documented from my fieldwork. This then relates to the data collected about the role more generally.

The West End Development Worker has long-standing connections to both the West End of Morecambe and More Music. As such, they have been familiar with the ways that More Music have engaged as an arts partner in the area, historically. When reflecting on the role towards the end of the contract, the West End Development Worker suggested that, although mostly fulfilling the aims of the original brief, it took a different pathway to arrive at outcomes than initially imagined, both for her and for More Music. At times, there was a distinction between the role of the West End Development Worker and the broader organisation. At times, I perceived this role to operate in ways more closely aligned with qualities of the community musician, than those more commonly associated with an arts manager. The West End Development Worker was able to identify ways in which this had perhaps needed to happen, to better understand what kind of partner More Music would be within the West End, moving forward. When I was with the West End Development Worker, on my bi-weekly visits, it was clear that this role was working hard to make sense of More Music's position in the field of West End. They were also aware of some of the possible tensions this position may hold, regarding developing partnerships. There was a sense that the skills, infrastructure and experience of More Music could have benefits for others who were developing arts-based projects, in the early stages of their development, and committed to community-based practice. However, the possible over-representation of these skills, More Music's infrastructure, and the

capacity that came with the experience of its representatives became evident early in the role as a factor which needed to be carefully managed and possibly mitigated, particularly if More Music's Community Development Worker wasn't to reinforce the sense of distinction that was perhaps surrounding the organisation's position in the area. The West End Development Worker and the West End Development team (the small group of More Music's workforce supporting Deeper Local activity) acknowledged distinctions, possibly contributing to perceptions of More Music's capacity, particularly inaccurate representations of the resources More Music had to collaborate in community partnership. There were times when I documented views that positioned More Music as the 'big' organisation in the area. This fed into local narratives of resource capacity which were often overinflated. Despite the post of the West End Development Worker being created, there were not extensive financial resources allocated to enact the aims of Deeper Local.

Over time, I came to wonder about the level of resourcing and the extent to which this may indicate More Music's readiness to invest in the shift needed, towards Deeper Local. I also wondered if this was regarded as requiring a shift at all. However, the West End Development Worker quickly realised that the resources available did not equate to the perception of resources that community partners perceived More Music to have available for their Deeper Local work. The visibility of the Hothouse, More Music's wide-ranging involvement within activities in Morecambe, and, the broader suite of workshops and performances contributed to this. Further to this, I noticed that the distinctions made between resourcing Deeper Local and More Music's resources were not particularly differentiable for those outside the organisation. In this sense, this reinforced a feeling of being the 'big' organisation, which distinguished their role in the area. This is one area of tension that surfaced through More Music's position-taking and position-making: perceptions of resources. Through documentation of the role of the West End Development Worker, I will outline ways in which these perceptions were influenced by habitus and the doxic conditions outlined in the first unit of analysis.

Critical Incident 2: Christmas lights always cause bother

Figure 10 - The West End Christmas lights, organised by More Music in 2017

At 4am on a wintery West End morning, the new industrial-style Christmas lights were due to be put up by the local authority contractors. This would be the local authority's only contribution to the West End's winter decorations that year, and they were being installed on the day of the 2017 West End Lantern Festival. Getting the lights to the stage where there was

agreement about getting them up, let alone organise the cherry pickers to actually do it, was a more complicated process than had been anticipated. However, it transpired that the lights needed an updated PAT test before the local authority would put them up. So, instead of having one big task ticked off her list before she'd even arrived at work that morning, the West End Development Worker and staff from More Music ran themselves ragged to get the certificate they needed to evidence that the lights were in working order. At 5pm that evening, an hour before the sound of snares and trumpets would begin their descent on the streets, the lights were finally up. With a few last-minute adjustments, they were lining the trees at the seafront end of Westminster Road. The lights shone brightly on what would be, in an hour and a half's time, paraded upon by those snares and trumpets, accompanied by all sorts of bustle making its way to the Hothouse and Alexandria Park. There were far fewer homes on this end of the street, so, instead of the light that often guides the procession, as people looked from their windows and doors, the lights were there to illuminate the local businesses that would border the procession. Some of the local traders had been working with the West End Development Worker to bring a little sparkle to the usually under-funded winter offerings.

The lights, although timed to contribute to the Lantern Festival, were intended as a resource for the broader festivals programme that the community partnership project wanted. They would be able to stay up all year, weather permitting, which would reduce the logistical management that their set up required. Like the flags that lined Alexandria Park for the West End Weekend, they were intended as a resource for everyone. Again, however, it seemed that More Music was the only representative that had the time or, of those that did, motivation to see it through. However, once up, they would be for all to enjoy. Often when I see statements like the one I've just written, I'd also expect to write 'time and resource'. However, More Music really didn't have the additional resource to be able to spend hours chasing PAT testing, on top of all the other day-to-day operations of the Hothouse, as well as the preparations for the Lantern Festival; the latter included representatives from across More Music. More than that, the delay was a severe blow to morale, after what had been a challenging few months in the Deeper Local project. The More Music representatives I discussed this with shared a view that they wished they'd taken a different approach to achieve the lights on Westminster Road. On top of all the recent challenges of the West End Weekend, More Music really wanted this day to go smoothly: a way to evidence their commitment to the area, and I suppose, to quality. They were determined that Westminster Road would have its lights, as the West End Community Development Worker had made such substantial headway with the group of

traders who were supporting their efforts towards Deeper Local. Sometimes it seemed to me that a spirit of apathy lingered in the air around West End as if it didn't matter if what was agreed actually happened. I never got the sense that More Music felt like this. People I met, however, were committed and passionate about turning the perceptions of their area around: inside and out. So, I considered this may have been an unfortunate bi-product of dwindling expectations due to the systemic under delivery of ideas in the West End, as opposed to apathy towards intentions to transform. Sometimes I wondered if this was part of the sticking point with More Music. Their perceived 'millions of pounds' to do work in the area appeared to have become some kind of urban myth. Sometimes, particularly in recent months, the West End Development Worker seemed to be spending time dispelling that myth – carefully – as there's an awareness that, comparably to many of the emerging partners of individuals working in the area, More Music does have more resources; notably, there was also flexibility in this resource, albeit limited. There always appears a caution and responsibility to not overplay a sense of benevolence. There is a sense, however, that More Music don't see dispelling this myth as a particular priority. But of course, Deeper Local was only one part of the 2015 - 18 business plan, so the West End Development Worker within this likely wasn't privy to the ins-and-outs of the organisation's more comprehensive finances. In this sense, the siloed nature of Deeper Local might be a blessing as well as another tension; one that this role would be at the frontlines of. The West End Development Worker, like so many within the Hothouse, is brilliant with people. She seems to understand the tectonic plates on which she is balanced, holding the expectations and perceptions of the groups on all sides, carefully. Cautiously. However, I always wondered about how these borders could be dismantled, or better understood, through the role, as opposed to finding a navigable route around them. There are times when I think she seems like a community musician.

In preparation for the Christmas lights, the West End Development Worker had been spending a lot of time with the traders, re-building relationships that had fallen by the wayside. The traders, understandably, didn't chase community arts projects to happen around their businesses, as the challenge of keeping businesses afloat, on the often-quiet Westminster Road, was enough to keep anyone preoccupied. Or, because More Music didn't assign capacity to continue it, as sustaining these relationships sat outside of the delivery partnerships that kept the organisation moving. More Music hosted an evening at the Hothouse for traders, to explore the partnerships; this re-energised attention to these possible, yet unlikely, cultural partners and the momentum around these partnerships were actioned through Deeper Local. I got the sense

when visiting traders with the West End Development Worker, that any project with a whiff of regeneration opened the door for apathy to visit, despite wanting the best for the area. On the days leading up to the Lantern Festival, one trader relayed to the West End Development Worker an encounter where she was asked: 'why are you bothering even trying to make the place look better?' to which, with a puff of pride, the trader reported that they cared and thought the lights were a good idea. There was a sense that, despite the historical let downs, everyone needed to pull together. More Music gave this impression too, and on various occasions, I made a note of feelings of care. This was one of the reasons the West End Development Worker role was instigated.

On one of the visits to the traders in the lead up to the West End Weekend, I accompanied the West End Development Worker to get a sense of how these relationships were changing. At the event, there would be an art trail in collaboration with some of the local traders (in 2016, More Music curated the trail, for the 2017 trail, it would be curated by another arts partner in the area). On route, whilst discussing the ways that the role was evolving, we discussed the notion of care and of responsibility regarding More Music's commitment to the area. Even though the role had never been intended to be a project manager of all the activity that Deeper Local may generate, outside of More Music's programming, the lack of resource elsewhere was leaving a deficit in coordination. The West End Development Worker recognised this needed to be filled if the projects were to happen. In some senses, she didn't mind, because she knew this was something she could easily do and wanted the projects to succeed, but it did raise questions about responsibility. On this particular route to visit the traders, we talked of hospitality and of her broader arts practice outside of the two-day a week role at More Music. We spoke of the arts manager as a facilitator, as someone who brought their community arts pedagogies into the way relationships and opportunities were facilitated and negotiated. On my train home that evening, I thought it important to note this pedagogical influence and how this related to the somewhat siloed nature of Deeper Local. Despite not coordinating much music making in its first eighteen months of its development, the way that the role was approached embodied aspects of the emancipatory agenda that could be traced through a community music ideology, rooted in the growth of More Music. It was difficult to reconcile that in other aspects of the organisational representation in the West End, the position felt somewhat removed, despite their mission statement. It felt like sometimes the sense that More Music was the 'big organisation' was embodied as much in their perception of themselves, as was mirrored in some local opinions. This felt more representative of the structures through which the

organisation was granted access to promote a particular kind of community music. While I recognised this enabled a lot of people to take part in community music activity, I also sensed that this created a distance between why I perceived them to do the work, and how the work was positioned. That said, would I be on this walk with the West End Development Worker if there wasn't a bigger engine behind the scenes that had the capital to 'pick up the slack' when these resource deficits interrupted the possibilities to pull together to do something good in the area? And if not, if the community arts facilitator-come–West End Development Worker wasn't in this space at this time, alongside the West End Development team, how would More Music's connection to Deeper Local look? My observations were that this bridging role was needed in the West End if More Music were to look to ways to connect their position more deeply within West End. Not specifically because More Music was required for the West End, but because there was a need, similar to the ways that community musicians themselves may bridge possible sites of social justice, to move towards a possible emancipatory practice, together. This may help the West End and More Music to know each other in new ways. More Music needed the West End as much as they believed it needed them. A few hours later, after I departed from Morecambe that day, in my flat in Glasgow, I wondered how these two seemingly discordant sites of action - the big organisation and the community development of Deeper Local, could understand one another. Furthermore, I worried about what might happen when the West End Development Worker's contract expired.

Advocate

This role is important; it has changed the way we are seen

Distinctions between More Music and West End Morecambe were visible throughout the fieldwork, as well as within the historical documentation. It was also clear that there was a sense from within the organisation that this distinction brought about positive change and that through Deeper Local, this could be of benefit to more people and partners in the local area. The West End Development Worker role quickly became a response to these distinctions early on in the post, in part through their recognition and also through the ambiguity of representation that emerged as the role developed. As such, a recurring focus for the West End Development Worker was the role of advocate. Being an advocate in West End Morecambe was to have dual

representation: an advocate out from More Music, and, as an advocate back to More Music. The former, to increase a shared understanding amongst community partners and local representatives of who More Music was, and ways in which they could contribute to the development priorities in West End (which was a central aim for the role). The latter, of the West End priorities and how More Music could become a better partner in this, to use their position for increased equity in the area. This was underscored by nuanced and plural rationalities that, as a cultural leader, the role was required to respond to, through the figure of the community music institution. This appeared particularly important as perspectives of More Music in the area were not always aligned with the pre-existing assumptions of the organisation's role and responsibility, despite their long-standing commitment to particular partnerships in the area. In winter, along with the red t-shirts worn by representatives of More Music, they also have red outdoor jackets for use in the inclement weather that often accompanies their events in Morecambe. Only on a few occasions did I see the West End Development Worker wear one of these jackets and I don't ever recall seeing them in a red t-shirt.

Suggesting the role as one of an advocate in itself is problematic for More Music. In being able to move between the position of representative for More Music and of West End, the ways that More Music developed their partnership working from 2016 was different from how the delivery had been envisaged. Despite this, it still looked familiar to the original intentions of the Esmée Fairburn proposal, the job description, and More Music's business plan for 2015 - 2018. Through my time with More Music, it felt that despite writing a plan to work in partnership, the reality of such interventions disrupted the doxa of how the organisation viewed their role and responsibility in West End Morecambe; specifically, the belief that their intervention was needed to increase the quality of the work in the area. In this way, the West End Development Worker as 'advocate' lifted the inscribed intentions of partnership into the messy spaces of community development, where such partnerships could be performed and 'deepened'. Herein lies a significant point of tension for the distinction between performing Deeper Local and the broader work of More Music: doing the work looked different from the historical inscriptions of the work. At the outset of partnership working in West End, the West End Development Worker didn't position More Music as a leader in the partnership. This was an attempt to instead support a more level space, using the slight dislocation from the core of the Hothouse as a way to re-position More Music's partnership as one with more modest, possibly more equitable, position-taking: a give and take. This was, however, unattainable due

to both the perceived imbalance of More Music resources and the position-taking of More Music as a cultural leader in the West End, with the institutional capital that accompanied their role as gatekeeper of a 'great art and culture for everyone'. This was despite their standing as an NPO having very little to do with the delivery of Deeper Local, beyond levering support through the initial funding justification for the work. However, it seemed this position-taking had implications for who they were in West End, beyond the remit of their obligation to the Arts Council. This said, 'More Music pay for [the West End Development Worker's] time because they care'. Similarly, to the inscription of partnership, More Music's commitment to working more deeply with the West End was clear. However, performing it created tension, and this was one of many reasons why the role as an advocate was problematic, as well as supporting possibilities. Surrounding the West End Development Worker was the West End Development team. Despite the collegial nature of More Music's broader workforce and the collaborative approaches to planning which have been long embedded in its leadership approach, the West End Development team operated quite differently from the rest of the organisation. Specifically, regarding project planning and programming, as much of the outcomes were, in some ways in keeping with critical ethnographic approaches, emerging through the process of undertaking the work. This also felt akin to the possibilities of the community musician. Through observing and being with this group, collective behaviours that sat adjunct from the broader organisation rendered the role of advocate even more important still, if not complex to undertake.

The need for such advocacy raised a critical concern for the distinctive position-taking that More Music embodied, and the need for some way of connecting their intentions with that which was of collective interest for the field, the West End; although, as discussed previously in this chapter, there were issues regarding the motivation of More Music's work in the West End. Specifically, did they work towards Deeper Local because there were politically fertile conditions to do so, or had the work they sought to develop support the requirements for funding to become available? Despite this, there was a recognition that a new face was needed to look towards their position-taking as a cultural leader with the grassroots development needs of the area, which they believed themselves to be a useful resource to support. This suggested a glimmer of light towards the possibility that the organisation was using their position-making as a beacon of community music, to illuminate a path less travelled, through which fertile conditions of collective creative development work could grow together.

Through participatory observations, I would join the West End Development Worker and their team for their regular meetings. Through embodying the role of advocate (sharing information and building understanding between wider West End representatives and More Music) the development needs and approaches to be taken would be explored and questioned in these regular sessions. In one such session, it was shared that 'how you talk about the place impacts what you see about the place', when reflecting on the rationale for the work and the recent asset-based training that the team had been on, as part of their community development partnership work. The West End was used to narratives of deficit that accompanied the way that people talked of the need within the area. More Music had a role to play in this too, through the belief that their involvement was needed to help bring the quality of creative West End projects up. Furthermore, it was needed to bring more people in, through opportunities to participate. The idea that how you talk of a place impacts what you see, also had resonance for the way that the West End Community Development Worker was talking of More Music and their assets. I often noted a desire to actively re-position language, so that assets were privileged above deficits, across the West End Development team. Reflecting back on those early questions at the studio window, when looking out, the questions were, however, laced with a sense of deficit; one which assumed that if the people in the bordering houses were to become more connected to More Music, this would have a positive impact on their lives. It also reinforced a sense that if those in the neighbouring houses did not make themselves visible, they were not participating. This sense of deficit was further embedded in the organisation's mission statement of the time, to 'transform lives through culture, particularly music', as well as through the emerging doxa of need which I often noted accompanied activity in West End with More Music. However, through a chameleonic practice that locates their work, today, such deficits loom in the reporting requirements and outcomes, systemic within the sector. Transformation of deficits, albeit with good intentions, was one of the required competencies of the game of culture and for a possible role as an advocate, this was problematic, despite an organisational commitment to an asset-based approach. The West End Development Worker's role as advocate danced between these two positions as a cultural leader: one that collaborates where people are, and one that seeks to change them, in an attempt to dispel any misunderstandings that marred the perception of the other. In some ways, this positioning of need could play out, constructively, through the projects which More Music undertook or collaborated in, if indeed somewhat territorially. This was recognised within the team too, lamenting that 'to have influence or status is one thing, but territory is more threatening'. Through working so closely for so long with More Music, I sensed that the divide between

how their position-taking is intended and how it plays out in the field was not always as within reach as they would like. More Music knows territory through their position in the field(s), and part of the West End Development Worker's role required negotiation between these intentions and actions, through dual advocacy which 'was a product of listening', whilst possibly constricted within the gasp of the cultural sector. The sense that how one talks about a place impacts how it is seen, filtered across much of the community development work. Within this, the West End Development Worker and the West End Development team were keenly aware, and vocal, of the assets which accompanied the deficit contexts that their work was often positioned in. Through a process of advocating back to More Music, the West End Development Worker suggested it offered a small step towards a more integrated understanding of the possibilities of the West End partnerships. This was not only of the partnership outside of the Hothouse but those the West End Development team were trying to achieve to increase connection to the geographical footprint that they inhabited. The nuanced and messy ways that this community development took place often made the outcomes of their work difficult to share. This raised challenges for how to qualify it with others within More Music. It also highlighted that this kind of partnership work, which was not initiated to operate with the same project-based delivery partnerships that the organisation was well known for, was difficult to report on within the established structures of reporting. This further reinforced the advocacy required by the Community Development Worker. This bridging role was becoming increasingly important between More Music's West End worldview and the world of the West End, which throughout the fieldwork, moved in and out of focus with each other. However, as a bridge in itself, it signified distinction. Towards the end of Deeper Local, More Music reverted back to project-based delivery partnerships in the West End. However, the way these partnerships were informed by the messy community development work suggested that whilst these community music activities supported the aims of More Music, they also destabilised the established approach of their design and delivery. In many ways, this evidenced the impact of the work of the West End Development Worker, despite it being 'hard to qualify'. The fact that Deeper Local had an endpoint, however, brought the possibilities of such learning into question.

When, after the West End Weekend, Deeper Local focused on project-based delivery partnerships that were informed by the messy community development of the preceding years, there was a shift towards primarily advocating out from the Hothouse. This coincided with the reporting schedule to Esmée Fairburn. As a result, the West End Community Development

Worker found she was increasingly within the Hothouse, re-inscribing the Deeper Local work, rather than out contributing to the momentum and continuity that was recognised as vital to the work. There was a strong sense that after being directed by More Music's board to disband from their responsibilities with a previous community project, the organisation went through a period of safeguarding itself. This too was a responsibility. They required a process of re-building, after what had been perceived as a community development exercise which had risked tarnishing their reputation as an arts organisation. In this sense, in 2018, More Music took a big step back from their aspirations of community development in West End, reconsidering what their role could be in this context, specifically, as an arts organisation. In their absence, some of the partnerships which had been strengthened went out of focus; others came into clearer view. This period of going back to basics for More Music, although relying heavily on the doxic conditions generated through their habitus, made a little more space for community development, beyond the Hothouse, to bloom.

Interpreter

Everyone wants the same things: art and how it can change things

There were instances when the role of the West End Development Worker took on the role of interpreter between More Music and possible partners in West End Morecambe. More Music, both before and through Deeper Local, was represented on a range of local development initiatives, which included through positions as governors and through their music delivery projects. As such, the spaces in West End where a possible partner may encounter More Music were plentiful and most often, musical. Despite the music, the work of the West End Development team appeared to contribute to a sense of ambiguity in role and responsibility, sometimes accompanying people's perception of what More Music do. This was further reinforced through the work with the local partnership project. As such, the West End Development Worker appeared to interpret between these contexts. This was often a negotiation between perceptions of More Music's dominant or long-standing position in partnership between the organisation and their possible partners. Such partners may have experienced the long-standing of More Music on the peripheries of their projects, in more musical contexts in Morecambe, or through working alongside More Music in a multitude of spaces. This, again, had implications for how More Music's resource capacity was perceived.

There was also the distinction of More Music's role and responsibility that was stimulated by the doxa of their West End partnership working (quality, project design and management, mentorship, and a need for More Music to enable these conditions to improve). Throughout my time in Morecambe, these doxic conditions often played out as sources of possibilities for future partnership working. For example: through the awareness I understood her to have of More Music's doxa, the West End Development Worker and her team were able to frame this as a possibility, enabling informal mentorship to develop. Through this understanding, I observed the West End Development Worker interpret pluralities in slight dislocation from More Music. This connected wider representatives of More Music to the development work of the West End. However, it also presented as detrimental to the development of the work. Within the West End Weekend, for example, the quickest approach to the festival's working group would be for her to take on leadership. However, this would reinforce the dominant distribution of power that was already associated with their involvement and could restrict the ways their position-taking could support the mobility of others. The original intention was for their skills the be utilised from the side-lines; supporting, but not leading, the group. However, leading from the side-line, or 'background' as was sometimes suggested, left one of the most engrained doxic conditions – quality - open to negotiation, through the divergent perspectives of the festival's working group. Given the synergies between the way the role was actioned and how community musicians may work, this tension for More Music let a little light in – a glimmer of possibility - through the approaches of the West End Development Worker and their dislocation from the core of More Music. However, instead of driving the quality of the festival, programming took place through the consensus of the group; this was a significant source of tension. At times, the role of interpreter itself reinforced the lack of clarity for who More Music was in the West End partnerships and the West End Development team also found the lack of control for programming challenging. However, as the West End Development Worker was connected with possible partners and aware of the minutiae of developments in the area, there was, at times, a sense that 'people know a little more about More Music'. This was despite the tension this position may have stimulated. This reflection, made towards the end of the role in 2018, supported observations and conversations I was having in the field. There was a recognition that there was not a shared understanding of More Music's role in the West End. Indeed, her own role was mistaken at times for being part of the local authority, a representative for specific partnership projects, or indeed, understood to be a representative of More Music. However, the West End Development Worker suggested that irrespective of who she may be perceived to work for, there was a sense that with both arts-focused and non-arts-focused

partners, her role was one with a 'community arts focus'. Through a commitment to community arts, shared goals were fostered with lesser established community partners. This offered a possible way that More Music could look forward, through Deeper Local, to understand and promote the position not only of themselves as a cultural leader, but of arts and culture partnership as an important space for leadership in the West End. A move towards this, through the more familiar project-based partnerships in early 2018, began to mobilise this, as well as More Music's cultural leadership, with greater openness to collaboration through challenging the tensions within their doxic conditions and putting them to work in new ways.

Organiser

The more cloistered it becomes, the more of an issue it is

The ambiguity of who the West End Development Worker worked for, was, at times, helpful for fulfilling and going beyond the aims of the role, if not specifically in increasing understanding of More Music then as a way to deepen local relationships. Through being both advocate and interpreter, the West End Development Worker appeared to be filtering information through understandings of (1) what is best for West End, (2) what do More Music need, (3) what are the common goals and (4) how can skills be improved or developed. This led, at times, to undertaking a role as an organiser for community arts activities in West End, at times, with minimal More Music involvement. Through the design and development of the role, the West End Development Worker had not initially been positioned by More Music as a shared community asset, an individual who worked, as the job title suggested, for the people of West End and their shared arts and cultural interests. However, through the pedagogical approach developed from their own participatory arts practice, the role did open up ways in which this could be undertaken. They were responsive to those encountered and adjusted the position in accordance, in an attempt to support participation and collective decision making. In this way, there was a sense of going beyond the established margins of the role. However, although recognising the opportunity to bridge between More Music's worldview of West End, and the deeper local relationships developing along with the West End Development team, she recognised that this gave her a great deal of power. In this way, facing critically towards many of the tensions that can be understood through a chameleonic practice. This manifested through her position as a voice for More Music, and to mobilise connections and change for the West

End that others undertaking community development in more voluntary capacities, may not have had the time resources or cultural and institutional capital to be able to act in similar ways. Although this opened many possibilities, such as can be seen in Critical Incident 2, it was not always reflected on positively. The West End Development Worker and her team recognised there may be a responsibility to employ the more practised role as organiser, or project manager in partnerships, as this was often missing. However, through her responsibility to the role's outcomes, designed in the job description, and by being more connected to possible partners through a 'felt sense of [More Music] that makes connections and creates value', there was often a desire to make space for others to undertake these roles. At times, the lack of leadership had implications for the development of these partnerships, particularly where it sought to support collective community decision making. Due to their long-standing experience and connection across a range of networks as a cultural leader, More Music recognised that a leadership deficit needed to be filled, that they had the skills and experience, if not always the economic resources to do so. There was also a sense that they could model these leadership qualities for the asset-growth of West End, collectively, although as highlighted, this reinforced distinctions of More Music as the 'big' organisation. It was also undertaken with good intentions, towards Deeper Local and a responsibility to not let people down, although I observed that other stakeholders were investing in the area, beyond arts and culture, who could have been well placed to support such mechanisms for collaborative leadership and decision making. Despite their good intentions, these gestures – reinforced through More Music's position in the field of West End Morecambe – brought a risk of symbolic violence, through over-representation. However, this symbolic violence was also inverted towards More Music particularly as their decision to lead the festival was a product of their commitment. The tension between being a big organisation, operating as a community asset, and when to be a gatekeeper concerned with quality, always appeared in flux. In undertaking the role of organiser in these partnership contexts, More Music's attempts to lead from the side-lines was constantly challenged by the habitus of leadership and dominance that informed their position-taking and position-making, despite the desire to use this power to model skills development for others. In some ways, their history and position in the field(s) led to an institutional blind spot, reinforced through their doxic conditions. This created distance between their West End and the wider West End, which was out of joint with the intentions for initiating Deeper Local. The West End Weekend illustrates this tension: the project management and design of the festival (itself a doxic condition) was taken on to ensure it didn't reproduce the systemic under-resourced narrative that had accompanied much of the time-bound action for regeneration in

the area. This was one way that the role of the West End Development Worker can be understood as organiser, advocate and as an interpreter. Through this, mobilising More Music's West End worldview from being 'really good on paper or a strategy document' to the 'felt sense…that makes connections and creates value'. The role and Deeper Local more generally, grappled with and was underscored by the dissonance that the tensions of their established positions and aspirations for a deeper relationship in West End, traversed. With such tensions under the surface, ingrained in the history of the work, it was not always visible as something that could be specifically identified and mitigated. As an organiser, More Music's position in West End Morecambe was more familiar, although disjoint from its organisational aims. In an attempt to support the area through their skills and expertise, this reinforced their position as a cultural leader with more resource capacity to take control of the change they wished to see. This has implications for the mobility of others in the field, for being an arts and cultural representative of the West End.

Connector

It's all really good on paper or a strategy document, but it's the felt sense of the organisation that makes connections and creates value

Part of the need to advocate for and back to More Music was bound in responsibility and the need to find ways to filter information between them and West End partners, towards shared visions of possible West End partnerships. This required the role of interpreter for what the shared goals could be, whilst also at times, taking the reins in the perceived absence of alternatives, to organise partners (including More Music) to mobilise the aspirations of these developing partnerships; within this, also recognising that More Music and by association, the West End Development Worker, had the skills and infrastructure that possible partners could benefit from. Further to this, when reflecting on the increasing role as organiser and the tension this frustrates for More Music's potential over-representation in West End, considering ways in which undertaking project management could be utilised as a means to model these leadership skills, complimented More Music's doxic conditions. This included the perceived need for them to bring about specific types of change in the West End, such as quality and mentorship. Further to this, I observed through my fieldwork that the West End Development Worker and her team also modelled something beyond this: the West End Development

Worker was a connector. Through the distance sometimes manifested between More Music and the community development work in the West End, the Community Development Worker and her team were able to increase the connectedness of More Music. This opened a point of contact and gave space to invest in the time and conversations to develop deeper understandings of possible West End partnerships. Through this, she was able to 'advocate back' to More Music, reconnecting outcomes and interpreting the aims of partners to find ways in which they could complement More Music's broader aims, without defaulting to the dominant partner relationship, through project-based delivery. This was most clearly evidenced in the way that the West End Development team moved from the West End Weekend of October 2017 into project-based partnerships in early 2018, which were bolstered by what was learnt through Deeper Local's developments between 2016 – 2017. This enabled partnerships that supported a broader representation of West End residents, whilst also fulfilling the aims of different partners through negotiation in project design. Through moving between the central aims of More Music to the fringes of where community organising may be most needed, there were times when the Community Development Worker moved in-between and through these contexts; utilising familiar frameworks but working with them in new ways.

A further instance where their work was able to make connections between what was emerging through wider arts and cultural developments in West End, and More Music's aspirations for Deeper Local, was to revisit the doxic condition of their role as a mentor. More Music has long believed itself to be a mentor, or at least, be well positioned to mentor through their experience. Through the position the West End Development Worker was negotiating, the role was bridging More Music's position as a way to connect to the emerging priorities of the West End. For example, there were individuals and small groups of artists who were seeking advice and support, with limited infrastructure available locally. For these individuals, the possibility of mentorship with More Music was a new opening for skills development and support, which was welcomed. This was also welcomed from More Music's more established rationale for working towards Deeper Local. Specifically, through the doxic conditions that positioned them as a cultural leader that supports increased skills and a standard of quality concerning artistic development, which the organisation believed could benefit people in the West End. In this sense, the circumstances that brought about conditions for symbolic violence regarding arts and cultural mobility of partners in the area could also be mobilised as a way to increase the possibility for movement within the field. Through more people connecting across arts and cultural provision in the West End, More Music could potentially operate as one of a suite of

collaborators, supporting artists' professional development, with the decreased dominance that they envisaged Deeper Local to support. Through working towards Deeper Local, the tension for More Music (represented through the West End Development team), as a cultural leader in the West End of Morecambe, was becoming increasingly about how to both mobilise and make sense of their dominance. How could the perception of being a prominent organisation in the West End be a force of opportunity for others, whilst also enabling More Music to build from their habitus in a way that continued to nurture their growth? Furthermore, how could this be achieved without wielding doxic conditions as a way to draw distinctions between the quality of the arts and cultural pluralities of West End, which sat outside their contributions? Throughout my fieldwork, I often returned to questions of awareness. In what ways were More Music aware of the hostility that they produced through their vision of quality? There was a boundary in More Music's West End Morecambe, whose parameters extended far beyond the Hothouse walls, albeit the Hothouse represented the epicentre of such space. More Music's position-making and position-taking and the doxic conditions that emerged through it, and through their habitus, all appeared to lead back to distinctions of quality. Through my reading of More Music, this bore great tension between their responsibility as a cultural institution and their role as a beacon of community music. The former, given status through their responsibility to ensure 'great art and culture for everyone', the latter which seeks to transform lives, but which evolved from community music born from an emancipatory agenda. How could change with such strong roots in social justice live alongside the institutionalised nature of such practice, which fundamentally distinguished participation regarding the quality of the product?

Disrupter

Being in the building isn't the most conducive to supporting these relationships

The West End Development Worker and her team connected the established ways through which More Music viewed its role and responsibility in West End Morecambe with the glimmers of possibility that could be gleaned through the partnerships developing, of which, More Music may be able to use their position to support. In this way, the West End Development Worker was, in order to be an advocate, interpreter, organiser and connector - a disrupter. To scaffold between perceptions of West End and perceptions of More Music, the West End Development Worker needed to disrupt the habitus that had led to the establishment

of Deeper Local. Through ‘baby steps’ and work that was ‘hard to qualify’, the work of the West End Development team was building capacity to work with the community and use each other’s skills and experience to move these relationships into new territory. The team reflected that ‘territory was […] threatening’, and that More Music ‘were not a conflict organisation’. However, the borders drawn between More Music’s West End and the West End, which included negotiation with others, looked towards understandings of how such conditions of territorial quality, may be routed through their habitus. One of the biggest challenges of Deeper Local was how the community organising contexts that the project inhabited worked in relation to the figure of the community music institution. Within this, new meaning was required between More Music and the West End, to confront issues of trust. Trust had been perceived to have been broken, between More Music and some of their community partners. Further to this, there were issues of ego; specifically, that ‘people didn’t appreciate what was on their doorstep’, and this raised an issue that aligns itself to problematics within the notion of community music and reciprocity. This further fuelled the risk of doxic conditions negatively impacting the carefully balanced community relationships that the West End Development team worked hard to make sense of. The possible spaces that the West End Development Worker had been cultivating through partnerships, in this context, where being navigating across territorial borders. For relationships and possibilities towards Deeper Local to move towards shared goals and collaborative action, the trust needed to be re-negotiated and re-built. Stepping back and taking the path of least resistance in 2018 with their project-based partnerships, was one way through which trust was observed to be revisited between Deeper Local and collaboration in the West End through which, the possibilities were reopened to negotiate new, common, ground. By disrupting the established approaches to connecting with others, the West End Development Worker played a vital role that went beyond the margins of More Music’s dominant position in West End Morecambe.

Discussion

Position(s) in the field(s)

Within the fields of play, the West End Development Worker presents different manifestations of More Music's position(s) in the field than that of the organisation in its broader iteration. Despite this, it appears to often be a signifier for all More Music activity. Within this, there are opportunities to resist the possible over-representation towards a possible devolution of cultural leadership — this re-positions More Music as a collaborator towards collective action. The main tension that the West End Development Worker represented in the West End was, for More Music, that there is yet to be a community development that doesn't locate them with dominance through the ways that they present themselves and are positioned by others. Their authority is identified as an opportunity in specific contexts such as for mentorship or for 'picking up the slack' when capacity and intention are not in sync for voluntary or less-resourced partners. However, it also presents a threat to collective action due to the recurring need for them to take control of operational and organisational requirements as a way to ensure quality. Both are stimulated by the resource limitations of possible partnerships and More Music's position as the 'big' organisation. What demands to be reconciled by More Music, if their position-making and position-taking is to be towards the transformation they wish to see, is ways to destabilise their dominance so that action can take place in less familiar ways for all, specifically, as a way to bring new meaning to it. Meaning which can signify possibilities to mobilise and make sense of their dominance so that partnership towards transformation can be deterritorialised and make more visible the possible inequalities that reproduce the need to undertake their positions in the West End. Through this, sharper focus may be achieved between More Music's West End and the West End in which they inhabit, bringing their intentions closer to the lived experiences of Deeper Local in West End. This could re-position their role in the field of West End, without sacrificing their position-making as a beacon, which shines a light from Morecambe Bay to the broader field of cultural leadership.

Because More Music has the option to take control of how they work in West End Morecambe, they have the mobility and flexibility to change direction or try another way when faced with resistance. This is a product of trust from their position as a cultural leader, whilst holding a

dominant position in the West End, where trust is in flux. This control and trust are further embedded through the role of the West End Development Worker. Although devolved in their position from More Music, the job requirement to enhance More Music's awareness in the area re-routed their semi-autonomous position through the More Music epicentre: the Hothouse. Here, the dominant narrative is composed and meaning-made, of More Music's role and responsibility in West End Morecambe, through competencies that position them as a beacon. The West End Development team were trusted to enact Deeper Local, and the West End Development Worker sought ways to connect perceptions of More Music, espoused and in contrast to this. As such, the role played a critical position in-between the perceptions of More Music in West End Morecambe. How this can be mobilised towards destabilisation of how More Music operates as a cultural leader in the West End, contributes to ways that new meaning may be made. This can contribute to the mobility of others within the field of West End Morecambe, and a range of factors are at play, which interact with these possibilities:

- Being the big organisation enables the West End Development Worker to 'pick up the slack' when the community development partners have resource or commitment restrictions. This is perceived to leave a deficit in the operational needs of projects and More Music fill this because they do not want to let West End down.

- More Music has skills and experience that possible partners can utilise or benefit from. At times, these are over-represented, which reproduces dominance.

- The devolved role of the West End Development Worker is between the 'big organisation' and the way that their positions can be utilised with others.

- Distinctions of quality remain a source of tension and is a doxa that underscores action, even at a devolved position.

This has implications for the weight of power in decision making, and the representation that More Music has, albeit somewhat removed from their centralised position in the Hothouse. This may cause tension for:

- Ensuring consistency and commitment through community programming, whilst not over-representing More Music's West End or over-committing resources that reinforce the notion of the 'big organisation'.

- How the devolved position of the West End Development Worker, as a bridging role, is operationalised.

- How More Music understand the West End Development Worker as an asset for the West End, without territorialising the outcomes of the role through the filter of their doxa.

- Organisation-wide conceptualisations of quality, reinforced through cultural policy, and how this informs practice and is negotiated with others.

The West End Development Worker can be considered through five modes of being: as an advocate, who promotes and privileges the possibilities for partnerships which emerge from her Deeper Local connections; as an interpreter, who makes sense of these possibilities through a process of reviewing the perceived needs of all partners (which appear to have pedagogical roots from her broader work as a community arts facilitator); as an organiser, where gaps between the possibilities and situated conditions of her collaborators are recognised as misaligned, and a responsibility to ensure the work happens is considered as part of her role; as a connector, where, through each of these modes, new opportunities to bridge More Music to possible partners, mainly through mentorship, can be nurtured as a way to bring More Music as an institution closer to the Deeper Local they wish to enact; and, finally, as a disrupter, through which, the West End Development Worker must challenge the status quo and assumptions of the group (More Music and their possible partners in the field, but with limited access to its broader organisational responsibilities). Doing so, as a way to bridge the skills, experience and expectations of a West End that has a shared sense of cultural leadership and purpose.

An inter-relationship between fields: Gatekeeping and bordering

The different modes of the Community Development Worker's role have characteristics that are reminiscent of a chameleonic practice. Notably, as the role was pliable in its approach, whilst also steadfast in its aims and embodied sufficient forms of capital to enable the role to be interpreted within a range of contexts. However, this malleability led to ambiguity about who the West End Development Worker represented. This, while reinforcing a chameleonic practice by being unclear 'from the outside' (Brown *et al.*, p. 11), also moved beyond this because the ambiguity was not one-directional - those in or out of a particular community music activity – it was unfamiliar for all. In this way, it was a position that responded to the pluralities of the role whilst also, through the five modes of practice, continually questioning what the role should do. In being so, the role became a bridge between the Hothouse and possible West End partners, which required her to support and to an extent, guide, the weight of assumptions, miss-information and bias that embroiled the distance between the two.

Through the reflection of the role, the West End Development Worker - despite ambiguity of who she represented – observed that there was a collective sense that her role was one with a 'community arts focus'. The spirit of generosity through which I came to understand More Music's intentions for the role and their Deeper Local plans, shone a light on the possibilities of cultural leadership positioned as a shared asset; which the ambiguity of the role was well placed to stimulate. However, with More Music's established position-taking and position-making, this raised questions for how they perceived their role and responsibility regarding self-defining a 'West End' development worker: a role that stipulated a responsibility to raise awareness of More Music across the local community. This implied a sense that More Music, as an organisation, was satisfied with their position in the West End, and this was reinforced through a sense that dispelling the myth of being 'the big organisation' may not be regarded as a priority. Was a representative of More Music's Deeper Local primarily there to support their position as a leader in the area, increasingly connected to and understanding of their neighbours but still in control of dominant ways of undertaking its practice? Or, was it seeking a Deeper Local infrastructure for arts and cultural change in the area? If the former, their position in the field of West End through Deeper Local risked, through how it was bordered, having a dominant grasp of narratives regarding transformation. This risked holding possible partners at their current position through a series of assumed deficits, centred on quality. This led More

Music to believe they were needed by potential partners. However, no dialogue, as such, had been entered into when More Music inscribed Deeper Local into their business plan for 2015 - 2018 to articulate a collective sense of what that need was. These doxic conditions, formed through cultural competencies, positioned possible partners as recipients of More Music's Deeper Local work. The habitus of delivery partnerships gave legitimacy to Deeper Local as an opportunity to bring their expertise deeper into the West End worldview of their possible partners. However, this relied upon a series of assumed deficits, systemic of the neoliberal conditions through which the organisation had historically gained legitimacy. This brought tension, which was negotiated through understanding the different ways that the role was constructive for arts and cultural development and partnership in the area. It also raised the question that if the purpose of the role was to support mobility of arts and culture in West End more broadly, did it matter who the West End Development Worker was perceived to work for? Specifically, if that work was of service to those in the West End who were, like More Music, seeking to sustain a deeper connection with their neighbours, through shared arts and cultural possibilities. Could the position of the West End Development Worker be of itself in conflict to the intention to 'rais[e] awareness of More Music across the local community', as outlined in the job description? Within this, did their history generate an assumption that deeper, local connections would be of benefit, reinforcing a distinction from the very thing they attempted to achieve: 'an increased depth of relationships in all local projects'? Adding the legacy of Deeper Local into their living history showed that More Music was willing to take the risk of messy community development, despite the tensions I observed this to have for their established ways of working.

Situated in this, is the tension between being the big organisation that operates as a community asset and protecting the position-making of the beacon. Could More Music inhabit a more conscious state of when these modes are being mobilised through a position such as the West End Development Worker? What might the implications of this be for the ways that More Music understands its collective role and responsibility as a community music organisation? It appeared that, for the West End Development Worker, constant negotiation was undertaken between these positions. In this way, it offered an example of a different way of being a cultural leader. By commissioning the role and Deeper Local itself, More Music did too. This opened possibilities for how this tension could be negotiated at a more institution-wide position, which could have new ways of connecting to West End through Deeper Local partnerships they hoped to achieve. This constant negotiation may be required to evolve through a process of

destabilisation. Rooted at the epicentre of this, is a need to move towards a more negotiated space of quality; one with shared meaning in West End Morecambe. With More Music in a position of dominance in this respect, due to their position(s) in the field(s), they need to make the first strategic move if 'quality' is to be transformed through an emancipatory practice. This may support increased equity for how quality is constructed and understood through community arts practice as cultural leadership. However, while quality remains a source of territorial dominance, attempts to enact Deeper Local are at risk of being a 'different translation of the same sentence' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 83). This is not an emancipatory act towards transformation and is in conflict with the possibilities of going beyond, which Higgins (2012) suggests. It is through a destabilising of their position-making and position-taking that More Music may move towards future conceptualisations of their role and responsibility. Roles such as those within the West End Development team may illuminate these paths. As a collective of reflective practitioners who are supported to do so, More Music is ready to undertake the critical thinking demanded to negotiate these tensions at an institutional position, as a way to support deeper, local community partnerships in West End, including how these are projected through their position-making as a beacon. However, it is the openness to this, as an unknown, which most troubles the possibilities of this critical action. It requires More Music to bring the destabilised nature of community development into their institution as a doxic condition through which new work is understood and negotiated. Through this, More Music may move from position-making and position-taking to critical position-making and taking, which moves them beyond the reflection. Within their current world view of West End Morecambe and how this is projected, such critical positions may manoeuvre More Music into more emancipatory stances for how to negotiate tension in their role and responsibility as a cultural leader and beacon of community music. Further still, by exploring the possibilities of a beacon of West End Morecambe, it may bring questions of the trouble caused when the motivation for representing a community, as a way to bring about transformation, becomes at risk of reinforcing the 'outstandingness' of the host through a process of historical over-representation.

Doxa

In the first unit of analysis, four doxic conditions are identified: quality, project management and design, mentorship, and, need. Through this unit of analysis, I have zoomed into these

conditions within the specific role of More Music's West End Development Worker. Although devolved from the epicentre of More Music, these conditions remain at play through the messy work of community development. Through bridging, mobilised through the five modes of being the West End Development Worker, there is a more explicit embodiment of Deeper Local than can be traced in the inscriptions made for it; specifically, through the lens of More Music's doxa and the structures that govern how it is understood. The West End Development Worker connected possible partners and More Music through mentorship, through 'picking up the slack' and through 'advocating back' as a 'product of listening'. This was made possible through support from her team, the pedagogical skillset applied to the role, and, the opportunities to identify ways in which the doxa could be mobilised for collective action. Although, as stated, there is a distance still to travel. The willingness towards an openness to the unknown, to a process of destabilising, is yet to come. It requires the constant negotiation demanded of such transformational possibilities. However, the glimmer of light that the re-positioning of the doxic conditions opens ways that devolved cultural leadership could contribute to change for Deeper Local and for More Music as a cultural leader in collaboration with West End Morecambe.

Conclusion: The West End Development Worker

Throughout this unit of analysis, I have considered the specific role of the More Music West End Development Worker in More Music's Deeper Local business plan for 2015 - 2018. The role was initiated to engage the organisation more deeply with people from the West End through partnership working and through increased participation in More Music events and projects. In doing so, the aim of the role was to raise awareness of More Music within the West End. At the point of my arrival in Morecambe, through all the information I could glean about More Music, there was a clear sense that they positioned themselves as already deeply rooted in their local geographical community. However, once I had arrived and began to get to know More Music and the spaces they inhabited, first-hand, I could see there was a disconnect between how their connections in the West End were discussed, and how they appeared to be actioned. This was not to say that More Music had been dishonest, more that there seemed to be assumptions – doxic conditions – that led to specific interpretations of what it does. Through tracing the role of the More Music West End Development Worker, it indicates how the histories of More Music could move on, strategically, towards the Deeper Local they hope to

achieve. However, through this, it has raised new tensions of its own. These have taken root from the entrenched ways that More Music knows itself as an organisation and how it invites others to know them. Establishing the role of the West End Development Worker was a commitment towards possible transformations of More Music's position in the field of West End. However, it isn't clear if it was an attempt to transform their position in the field of cultural leadership. To achieve such transformations requires a destabilisation of the doxa that reinforces perceptions of More Music's proximity to others in West End. This starts with a deterritorialisation of quality and increased representation of West End in decisions that qualify 'need'. Whilst quality is at risk of symbolic violence, it may restrict the possibilities of a West End Development Worker as an advocate, as an interpreter, as an organiser, as a connector, and as a disrupter and being held at their current position.

Unit of analysis 3 - The Lantern Festival

Introduction: Many years of lanterns

The Lantern Festival is one of More Music's signature annual events. It has been part of their organisational history and ingrained in their programme since the early 2000s. The aim of the event is to brighten up the streets of the West End, in part, to welcome in the festive season. It has also been an attempt to brighten up the streets because the festive lighting supplied by the local authority is often lacklustre; furthermore, it does not reinforce the transformative creative vision that More Music and others within the West End, wish to project. During my fieldwork, the festival took place as an evening event, usually in late November. Not long after I arrived in Morecambe, the festival was rebranded as the 'West End Lantern Festival': a nod to the future collaborations that More Music aimed to achieve through Deeper Local. Most of the promotional material that can be found online communicate it as 'More Music's West End Lantern Festival'. The Lantern Festival is a vital part of the identity that More Music project of their work in the West End, beyond Morecambe. As discussed in chapter 4, the Lantern Festival has roots from WSI, whose Lantern events took influence from Japan and were identifiable within regeneration interventions, such as in Glasgow in the early 1990s. The following section shares my experience of taking part in the Lantern Festival between 2015

and 2017. Similarly, to the previous units of analysis, I explore this relating to More Music's position-making and position-taking in West End.

Critical incident: Making lanterns and plotting routes

Figure 11 - An image of the festive lighting provided by the Local Authority in 2016

The More Music Lantern Festival of 2015 was one of the first public performances of More Music that I encountered through my fieldwork. In fact, that winter had a cluster of celebratory events on a theme of illumination, having the week before the 2015 Lantern Festival been invited to join them at their installation at 'Light Up Lancaster!'.[44] Here, they had created a junk percussion tower, where members of More Music's various ensembles performed and led people through the arches and courtyards of Lancaster Castle. When beginning to undertake the archival analysis, I realised that the junk percussion tower was something the organisation

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[44] 'Light Up Lancaster is a festival which invites you to explore the historic city of Lancaster at night' (Light Up Lancaster, 2020). https://www.lightuplancaster.co.uk/about/

(in its early articulation of the residency in the early 1990s) had constructed before. It, like the Lantern Festival, had glimmers of WSI in its aesthetic. The percussion tower was revisited when I went to the West End Festival in 2016[45] where a small patch of grass, usually commons ground, had been given a temporary new life, with a mini percussion maze. This was designed by an early year's music leader from More Music. It sat low to the ground and was designed to welcome the curious minds of the many children who accompanied their families and friends to this free event in Regent's Park: a more maintained commons area than the more heavily concreted Alexandria Park. The latter would become a site for the Lantern Festival celebrations in 2016 when More Music rebranded the festival to become the West End Lantern Festival. I saw the percussion maze again, in 2017, this time transformed from a small, low-lying offering, to an array of multi-coloured hidden doors, putting to good use Boomwhackers[46], and sprawling musical passageways made with chimes and various tuned percussion. Chimes and gongs caught the light from the beaming sun and breeze from the shorefront, which lined the prom for that year's Catch the Wind Kite Festival. It captured the imagination of many who visited it, not just children. These events, similarly, to the evolution of the Lantern Festival and More Music's programme more generally, brought the spirit of its history with it through its reimagining year-on-year of their design. For the percussion maze, it has been reimagined with today's inquiring minds at the forefront of its user experience and innovation. It has been carefully crafted in response to the early year's children and their adults with whom the music leader had come to know and understand, over time, through the Hothouse community music programme. They also understood, pedagogically, ways that the structure could open possibilities for exploration, transformed from the junk percussion tower that echoed WSI and made the front pages of the early residency report in 1994 (see figure 2). I often reflected back

[45] The West End Festival is different from the West End Weekend. The former was a long-standing community festival, which More Music became the curators of. It is unclear exactly when they took over the management of the festival. However, archive documentation refers to it in 1995, stating that it seemed 'essential that we became involved and used the extensive local and regional contacts to help boost the festival' (see page 105 of historical analysis). The West End Weekend is a festival established in 2017 by a community partnership working group, that sought to reimagine the disused Alexandria Park and create a platform for local talent.

[46] Boomwhackers are plastic tubes, ranging in length and colour. Each colour represents a pitch, based on a C major scale; accidentals can also be included to enable other tonalities. They appeared more commonly in music classrooms in the UK in the mid-2000s and are widely used for group improvisation as a resource to support western rhythm and pitch recognition. They make the best sound when hit on dense, hard surfaces such as the base of your shoe or the frame of your wheelchair.

on that sunny day. I wondered in what ways this kind of adaptation of their history informed other ways of working - outside of the extensive skills and expertise of their music leaders – that informed their responsiveness to the people with whom their offerings interacted. Another seminal project, which welcomed not only the spirit of WSI but some of its former representatives, with open arms, was the Lantern Festival.

On the two Sunday afternoons that preceded the Lantern Festival each year, an artist prepares drop-in workshops where people can come to make and design their own Lanterns for the festival. This booking is long-standing and a core part of the Lantern project. There are only a few requirements for the lanterns. Firstly, they need to gather at the top, so that they can be attached to a wicker pole for holding at a safe distance. They then require a little doorway – approximately 10cm squared so that a flame can be lit by one of the helpers – a role I often fulfilled - on the day of the festival so that their lantern can be illuminated. Outside of this, those who come to design a lantern can adorn it as they see fit; using the twine to form shapes, which will then be covered with the thin paper and glue, which reinforces the structure. Every lantern that someone has ever seen in the many pictures of the Lantern Festival have been carefully hand-made by someone in the Hothouse, in West End Morecambe. Not only made, but also carefully stored in the garage area of the Hothouse and transported in cars and vans by the More Music staff to a local primary school. Here, the lanterns command around a third of the main school hall. Here, people – mostly children of primary school age – seek out their design and begin the process of constructing the Lantern procession. Despite a tried and tested formula (one which probably contributed to More Music's reputation for expertise in large scale events, alongside the Kite and West End Festivals) no two Lantern Festivals ever looked the same, if you knew which lantern was yours. For the people who watched from their windows and doors, I wondered over the years if the subtle distinctions that traced the history of the festival, such the bespoke lanterns, would be notable. Alternatively, perhaps it was just part of the marking of the festive season: a wash of warm white light that travelled through their street on the way to the courtyard outside the Hothouse, accompanied by the bellow of the Baybeat Street Band. These were encounters that were fleeting and difficult to qualify: a musical moment in the lives of the people whose homes bordered More Music's chosen path. Progressively in my fieldwork, this path led not to the courtyard outside the Hothouse, but to Alexandria Park. Only in 2017 did the festivities end up inside the Hothouse, due to wet weather. Part of the reason for the celebrations taking place outside was to continue the ritual of celebrating the unique identity of each year's festival, which concluded with a metal frame,

where the lanterns would be collected from their young designers, before being suspended – still lit inside – from the frame.

Figure 12 - An image of the lanterns hanging from their frame, outside the Hothouse

It was by this frame, in 2015, that I first faced my position as a researcher in the West End of Morecambe. This was framed by a discussion I had with a local community representative who was 'used to people like me, coming from the universities and asking questions'; this spoke to West End's over-researching and as such, informed the shape this research developed through. It was also, as one of my first encounters with More Music's West End, an experience of a well-polished and celebratory event. Through word of mouth and subsequently, through my historical analysis, I came to understand such events as a signifier for the beacon of community

music that traced their evolution. Another way that this moment framed my formative experiences with More Music was through making my lantern with a young person from the West End. Reflecting back through this, it was one of the many encounters that influenced my tension for how to represent my ethnographic hosts: fairly, within the critical parameters of my research question that sought to better understand possible conditions of their role and responsibility, whilst also taking care to not be blinded by the light and magic that moved through those many flickering lanterns. Our collaborative lantern is upon that tower somewhere, in the image above. My collaborator was so proud of their lantern. So pleased to have been able to show me the ropes with their young, but many years of attending the free lantern making workshops. I was grateful for their support, as cutting twine with plyers and getting a good arc for your lantern was more complicated than it may appear. We sat on the floor of the room that I had looked from the window of, with More Music, onto the courtyard, only months before, to consider who they might be to the people in the surrounding houses. They told me of designs from previous years and the ways they had taken part; it's clear to me that the Lantern Festival has a special place in their annual calendar. I was grateful too, for the nod of familiarity that they offered me, when I walked with More Music later that week, to time the route for the procession around the local streets, so that the local authority could plan the route closure. This in itself was another signal for why More Music was the first port of call for collaborations on large scale events. My collaborator waved to me, as I walked, to ask how our lantern was looking; as they ran off, I could hear faintly in the distance that they showed me the ropes for how to make a lantern. In those recurring moments when I wrestled with my own position in the field and the ways to understand More Music's position-making and position-taking, I think fondly and with gratitude to that moment and to their invitation to take part. I also thank them for helping me understand the many ways people participate with More Music in many unqualifiable ways.

Despite the uniqueness of each year's event, the Lantern Festival follows a tried and tested formula, curated by More Music: arrive at 5.30pm to collect your lantern, light the wick inside the lantern, and form a group behind the Lantern Lady[47] and the Baybeat Street Band that are

[47] The Lantern Lady is the approximately 20-foot high puppet that leads the procession. Someone, often a dancer, has the puppet attached to a harness on their back, with poles for each hand, which both control movements and helps distribute the weight.

waiting, poised, behind the contractor in the van, who will be setting the pace for the procession.

Figure 13 - The Lantern Lady, behind the frame, in front of the Hothouse (image retrieved from the More Music website)

At 6pm, the procession starts. Baybeat Street Band begin to play and, enthusiastically, everyone with a lantern holds them high; they start to dance in the wind. As the 100+ group[48] weave through the streets as if seamlessly in time, various people connected to More Music (myself included) act as route marshals. The marshals keep pace with the group whilst also running to and fro to relight lanterns whose flames have gone out, often due to enthusiastic waving from their custodians. As I walked the route with people on my annual visit for the Lantern Festival, I often made new connections: my lantern collaborator, who popped over to ensure I had a turn of my lantern, headteachers, classroom teachers, local politicians, advocates of More Music, people who weren't sure about them, and, people who didn't know much about

[48] Dissemination of the Lantern Festival reports a variation on this figure. More Music staff on the route use a clicker to tally participants as much as is possible. Quantifying the engagement in this event is part of their audience figures. Over my fieldwork, I often wondered what other data might tell a more accurate story.

More Music outside of the Lantern Festival. It was also an opportunity to get to know some of the More Music staff a little better, as the event always had a good turn out from staff, either working or joining in with their families. By 6.45pm, the procession was at the Hothouse (latterly, Alexandria Park) and people were hanging their lanterns on the tower, some took them home, and everyone was welcomed for tea and coffee and biscuits. The year they moved to Alexandria Park, there was also soup and bread, again donated by local cooks and bread from the local supermarket. Baybeat would continue to play, and from 2016, there were offerings from local cultural partners, who over the past year had begun to have more visibility in the area. There was a small craft stall and artists who had been doing their own, pre-Lantern Festival workshops with people from the area who were also sharing their work in Alexandria Park. By 8pm, the Lantern Festival was finished for another year, and everyone went home to get warm, I hope. I headed on the train back to Glasgow, where, as would become a routine part of my fieldwork in Morecambe, I'd reflect on my time, write up my field notes and think ahead to my next trip.

The producer

We don't do the Lantern Festival because people are poor. We do it to celebrate our local community

Celebration is significant to More Music and the positions they hold. Having been in the West End for almost thirty years, they have first-hand experience of the positive changes and challenges that have taken place in the area, within and beyond its arts and cultural identity. They have experienced this alongside many of the people they most hoped to engage with, through their community music work. They have many shared experiences of living in the West End, through such things as the re-opening of Alexandria Park, passing the same boarded or taken-over shops, or having a shared experience of making music in a school with someone with a red t-shirt. However, these shared experiences don't necessarily convert to increased interest and engagement in More Music, rhizomatically, through their long-standing commitment to the area. In my fieldwork, the laments I often heard regarding More Music's sense of connection within the local community implied this, and it was often my sense that this was one of the things that held them back from reconceptualising their role and

responsibility in the West End. More Music believes West End to have been a historically transient place, and have developed work in response to this, which aims to target specific groups of residents who they feel may be lacking a local cultural offer which is relevant. An example of this is More Music's work with people from the local Polish community. Through undertaking market research together, they sought to understand ways that the organisation can be more appealing in their offer, to people arriving in West End from Poland. Within this, inviting an opportunity to be shown what they can change to be more accommodating of Polish people through their programming. Similar to this, More Music's youth programme is responsive to those who wish to engage with music leaders open to malleable session formats that collaborate with negotiated and shared intentions in mind.[49] These are contexts of shared outcomes which are more straightforward to qualify, unlike the messy community development contexts of 'the West End' as a group of possible participants and partners. Then, there are the festivals — the celebratory badge of identity which More Music resolutely recognise as their responsibility. Over time, others may have come to understand this as such, too.

The Lantern Festival is a celebration and is unapologetic in its positive positioning of the local area. It is produced with clear intentions to transform the dark nights of winter and to mark the beginning of the festive season. Alongside the acquisition of the Hothouse at the turn of the millennium, the Lantern Festival, as it can be recognised today, has been a staple of More Music's identity as a large-scale event producer and has a well-practised framework through which it operates. More Music shut the roads, and the date is pencilled in with contractors for the local authority to put the necessary protocols in place, months in advance. The local schools have the date and letters go home with children in their book-bags, so that the dates for the free lantern-making workshops and procession details, are shared. Local news outlets are also informed, and flyers are posted door-to-door in the neighbouring houses. Still, households look with curiosity and some with surprise when people cascade through their street with their lanterns.

More Music set the stage of West End with precision for their annual production of the Lantern Festival. In this sense, it is like the productions from the established cultural assets of UK that the early Arts Council of Great Britain was initiated to support, as a way to foster entertainment

[49] See: Currie & Higgins (2019)

for post-war Britain. It is also reminiscent of the immersive and participatory theatre of WSI. Each aspect of the festival has been carefully rehearsed over the years and, with a production coordinator in place, is skilfully executed. With More Music representatives and invited community partners ready and waiting for their turn to engage with people from the procession, the seamlessness of the evening event is impressive. This is important to More Music concerning the quality of the event and what they offer and believe the West End deserves. Through being done the More Music way, the Lantern Festival signified the ways I had encountered perceptions of why they were considered the big organisation. It was clear that More Music, having rehearsed their position as the cultural leader in this context and through their festival work, were in control. They had established relationships with those who had the decision making power to action what was required and were significantly more comfortable in their role and responsibility within the festival than in the messy community development work.

Door to door

It's hard to qualify and measure…

More Music can't quite understand why the people that they pass, who come to their windows and doors, don't take part. I always felt that it was enough to look on, but More Music and the ways through which they had come to present and design participation, sought deeper engagement – why didn't they come to the workshops? There were so many expectations of how to perform participation in West End Morecambe. The spectators didn't fit a narrative of participation in the West End that More Music could report on. It was 'hard to qualify and measure' if seeing the procession pass by the window of a small child - who might have seen the ethereal glow of the Lantern Lady before the sounds and sights of the procession below - had sparked a bedtime story, or a poem written in school the next day. Also, given the complex health inequalities and indices of multiple deprivation which border much of More Music's projection of their practice, perhaps the procession brought unwelcome disruption. Perhaps it reinforced the 'us and them' distinction that was a constant source of tension for More Music. More Music so deeply wanted to understand people's positive cultural experiences, that they believed their practice brought about; their institutional memory and experiences supported cultural competencies, collectively understood, that the Lantern Festival may open moments

of wonder. At times, so did mine. Perhaps this was part of the problem of what Brook *et al*. (2018) consider regarding the assumptions of the cultural workforce. There were so many reasons, unknown, with all sorts of consequences, for why people didn't take part beyond their own thresholds. The doxa of More Music, developing through their history and observed through my time with More Music, suggested that this was a blind spot. However, through the Lantern Festival, on the street, in the middle of the swarms of lanterns that brought people in their pyjamas to their doors and windows, I observed many people making cultural memories. The extent to which these were momentary or long-lasting, was possibly out of More Music's remit or right to know. However, through producing the Lantern Festival, these moments have meshed with a community music composed by More Music. Through this, a taking part was supported, which held multiple meanings and as such, was 'hard to measure'. However, annually, many people return to share the marking of the festive season with More Music.

Gifting lanterns

Our way of changing the world is by engaging people in cultural activities

Despite the perception that the festival was not done 'because people are poor' aspects of its rationale, as I encountered it through the fieldwork, was that it was in response to ways in which the inequalities that were perceived to plague the area were reinforced through their surroundings. For example, in 2016 only £1000 was believed to be assigned to the West End for their festive lighting. This was one of the reasons why More Music worked with traders and community representatives to put lights on the trees of Westminster Road in 2017, which the Lantern procession passed through. The festive lighting supplied by the local authority in 2016 didn't have working bulbs. When I showed this image to representatives of More Music, they were deeply saddened for the ways that this might reinforce perceptions of lived inequality in the area. So, in some ways, More Music did do the Lantern Festival because people were poor. Or, at least, poorly served. It was the belief that they didn't, which prompted my interest, when reviewing my field notes and considering the passion and vision for their work and how it is operationalised. Much of what I observed over the years of taking part in the Lantern Festival were examples of More Music getting to know local people that were unfamiliar, increasingly when they invited more local artists to take part in the post-procession gathering from 2017 in Alexandria Park. However, it was almost at times that the lanterns felt like a gift:

seasonal magic which More Music brought to the West End through their expertise in programming, through which the gift of retaining the position as a beacon may have been what they expected back, unrivalled, in return for their festivals programming, more generally. I perceived this to be embedded in the doxa of need, interwoven within their positions in the field(s). The beautiful images from such events often represent the work More Music project of their relationship in the West End: filled with intentions to transform. However, as has been documented in this chapter, when the quality of events is beyond their control, it reveals less stable parts of their role in West End.

Discussion

Position in the field(s)

The Lantern Festival offers stable conditions for More Music to reinforce their position as a cultural leader and beacon of community music. Through their long-standing commitment, they have historically been the only arts and cultural representative, through which, large-scale community events have been made possible in West End. This has made space for their festival's programme, specifically, through the Lantern Festival, to be recognised as a situated commitment to excellence. The long-standing commitment to the people of West End, through the political act of being there, is also an essential part of why the festival is celebrated. It is also important to note that in my experience of being there, the Lantern Festival and the care and attention given to it was beautiful. This said, the distinctions traced through the fieldwork and the historical analysis remain at play through the performance of the Lantern Festival. Although recognisable as a participatory community event and one which has earned local, national and international celebration, how participation is framed through these doxic conditions, enables the distinction of More Music's West End and the West End they most wish to reach. This continues to raise tensions between the positioning of community music at this institutional position and opens questions about how this commitment to both quality and place, could be more deeply shared within West End. This can be understood regarding their perception of who takes part and how people's participation is produced. Specifically, there were recurring factors within the Lantern Festival that need to be considered:

- The parameters that are placed on participation in an outdoor, free, community event may be at risk of undervaluing the contributions of those who chose to spectate. As such, how value is positioned within participation needs to be addressed.

- The infrastructure that More Music can model through the Lantern Festival can open opportunities for new partners to collaborate and bring people in West End together. However, this is not as visible in other community development contexts where their position is less stable.

- The Lantern Festival evidences More Music's long-standing commitment to West End. Still, it appears to be, at times, over-representative of their West End relationship, when projected outside of the area.

These factors raise possible points of tensions for More Music's intentions. Specifically, how they are enacted through their programming of the event:

- Who decides the parameters that border narratives of participation, and how might they be a form of symbolic violence?

- The positioning of their skills and experience and the ways that they can support the mobility of the broader field may lead to a disconnection between More Music's intentions and how they are actioned through Deeper Local projects.

- How narratives of participation are formed for their audiences, beyond Morecambe, places a great deal of power in the account More Music can create about West End's art and culture. This has implications for their position(s) in the field(s).

The Lantern Festival is a sleek and institutionally choreographed piece of outdoor participatory theatre for which the streets and landmarks of West End are the chosen stage. Despite people spectating from their windows and doors, which themselves form the backdrop to the procession, there was always a sense that More Music had a responsibility to draw these households further than their thresholds. The field of cultural leadership, through neoliberal historical positionings of participation as an enriching and beneficial mode of self-actualisation, has deeply rooted narratives of participation that takes place through cultural

institutions. As such, looking on from the windows may fall short of such parameters. These individuals may be identified as a group – the West End; a potential audience through which participation could increase; further to this, a group perceived to need the creative interventions that More Music can offer, through the deficit narratives that they are bound. This limits the ways that the spectators' chosen mode of participation is appreciated for what it was, in that 'moment of discord' (Higgins, 2012, p. 172), and risks being bordered outside of what is valued as taking part. However, their participation offered an audience to whom the procession could perform: West End to West End. The doxa that informs perceptions within the established cultural workforce could be seen to reasonably inform More Music's perception of participation.[50] Reminiscent of the street conductor, standing on the bench, leading Baybeat Street Band outside the off-license as he passed through the West End Weekend – these fleeting moments towards unconditional hospitality were bordered. These moments took place on the peripheries of the great art and culture rooted in the institutional perceptions of 'quality' participation. Cultural assumptions are at play, which influences how More Music's role and responsibility is understood and performed as a beacon of community music. Notably, the ways that participation is bordered and the narratives that position this. This reinforces what is and is not considered to be meaningful participation and what is attributed value in the field of cultural leadership. This has implications for the conceptualisations of their role and responsibility and how their position as a cultural leader is operationalised. It creates tension for practice with an emancipatory agenda, such as that of community music, when operationalised and performed at an institutional position, particularly when territorial boundaries are not acknowledged.

[50] As traced through the historical analysis, More Music's strategic focus over its development tends to move in parallel with priorities advocated through arts and cultural funding – e.g. strategic partnerships for music education, working with 'children in challenging circumstances', or arts and health projects. As such, it is reasonable to suggest that their habitus has been part of the forming of their perception of how people should participate. The distinctions of value haunting More Music's narratives of participation are widely recognised as in need of repair amongst cultural policy scholars.

An inter-relationship between fields: Gatekeeping and bordering

The ways that those spectating from their windows and doorways were in some ways disregarded from a perception of who participated struck once more on the tension between the different strands of activity that More Music's programme fitted within. It appeared that there were times when 'participation' and 'audience' were interchangeable; this was both observed and identified through the archival material sourced in the historical analysis. When considering the remit of audience development within arts and cultural funding, and what this strand of reporting is required to achieve, organisations need to report on the ways that they are drawing people to their work. This raised tension for how West End was being positioned through More Music's position as a cultural leader, particularly that it may have stimulated perceptions of the bordered nature of the Hothouse. It also raised questions for how they were required to report on their work. I wondered what doxa, reinforcing the field of cultural leadership, may support the types of narratives which had become commonplace through their history. In some ways, these appeared misaligned with the possibilities that their commitment to widening connectedness - through activities such as the Lantern Festival - could achieve. I struggled many times with the notion that Deeper Local or activities such as the Lantern Festival might be part of an Audience Development plan. It was articulated through their rationale for the work that a principle concern for developing More Music's relationship with West End was to raise appreciation or perceptions of More Music within West End, based on their contemporary positions. However, this was unevenly weighted within the grassroots relationship-building they aspired to. This was particularly evident through the work of the West End Development Worker: a possible bridge through which they sought to achieve their good intentions of transforming lives through culture. Being with More Music through the critical ethnography, I came to know a sense of unease with these tensions, not from outside the Hothouse, but within. There is distance between the positions of More Music and the role they hoped to play in the artistic life of West End Morecambe. This made it evident that their inter-relationship, messages, and the ways that it performed its role in West End, may have created tension between why they wanted to be there and how this was positioned. The Lantern Festival had a vital role to play in More Music's position as a cultural leader in West End Morecambe. People joined together, and community spaces were reconceptualised and shared as spaces of performance and play. Through this, More Music's long-standing regional partnerships and relationship building enabled ways that people living in West End could see

their space valued and uplifted by others. This was actively positioned in contrast to the lingering apathy that carried in the air of West End after years of broader under-resourcing and systemic under-commitment. However, the Lantern Festival, as with the contexts considered in the previous units of analysis, reinforced distinctions through the organisation's doxic conditions, which positioned the people of West End distinct from More Music's West End.

Doxa

There is a distinction between More Music's version of the West End and the West End which they most want to reach, bound through contexts of deficits, despite recognition by More Music that this can be unhelpful. Through this, More Music enables high quality activity to take place, which is intended to more fully connect people and partners. This is often through bringing their skills and expertise in project management and design, and through mentoring others. The Lantern Festival is, like More Music as an institution, long-standing in its position and is unrivalled as a cornerstone of the community calendar as a large-scale community event. The doxic conditions which appear to be a restricting factor in More Music's intentions to work collaboratively in West End, operate differently in the context of the Lantern Festival. This, similarly, to their annual festival's programme, relies on the doxa of need that is rooted in the cultural assumptions of the organisation. There has never been a Lantern Festival without More Music. The Lantern Festival provides a community platform for which More Music's work in West End is given legitimacy, through the ways that it is projected outside of West End and through the consistency it brings to the local community calendar. However, because of such doxic conditions and because the festival is widely regarded by those who take part that it is perceived as a successful event, More Music believes, with good intentions, that they could do more. Specifically, more people should want to come from their windows and doors and take part. Their position-taking and position-making and the legitimacy that the Lantern Festival brings, has, over time, created parameters of what participation in the Lantern Festival is. This privileges one mode of participation over another. How participation is commonly framed in the field of cultural leadership, as something that organisations can foster, to bring about change and transformation, is deeply rooted in the organisation's evolution. As such, it legitimises its parameters, which enables distinction between More Music's West End and the West End that they most want to reach. Through being with More Music and the West End, I

came to understand that the transformations that they sought to enable through their presence, was welcomed by the West End in ways that More Music may not know. This was reinforced through a historical positioning and the doxic conditions this has stimulated. Like on the route of the Lantern Festival, More Music passed more open doors for their relationship with West End than they recognised. Despite the perceived need rooted through deficit narratives, the Lantern Festival positions More Music as a beacon, and it is a position that has been earned. It signifies resilience and a strong desire to bring light. As a beacon, there is an opening to celebrate and learn from the history that the Lantern Festival brings. However, in doing so, it can also warn of danger by questioning how such need manifests.

Conclusion: The Lantern Festival

The Lantern Festival offers an opportunity to explore ways in which the doxic conditions, rooted in More Music's vision of West End, might be mobilised for collective action; through this, towards a shared sense of quality in-the-moment and of Deeper Local, driven through shared cultural leadership, through community arts partnership. It also presents an example of the complexities of the integrated design process that brings it to its West End stage. Through this, there are possible indicators of distinction between a More Music West End event and a West End event that More Music is part of, as has been discussed previously. However, 'there is no hospitable house' (Derrida 2000, p.14) and these intentions to transform and the spaces through which transformation can be mobilised, are not equal nor equitably negotiated. Still, space is cultivated with the possibility that they might. Negotiating where they could locate themselves in this, through a process of deterritorialised position-taking, may invite new ways towards working in West End Morecambe through more equitable and transparent arts and cultural playing fields. This may mobilise the shared leadership approaches that More Music inscribe, strategically, into their situated role and responsibility as a cultural leader in West End Morecambe.

Through this unit of analysis, I attempt to bring you closer to the light that guides More Music's position as a beacon of community music. I concern myself with why - just maybe - what projects back out can leave traces on the surfaces it reflects, which can guide possible new openings. These are ones which More Music need to move towards, through a process of becoming a community music organisation that is more deeply local. Regarding their position

in the field, activity such as the Lantern Festival supports stable conditions for More Music to reinforce their position as a cultural leader in both fields. Due to their long-standing presence, they have historically been the only arts and cultural representative, through which large scale community events have been made possible. This may give their role, and their perceptions of their role, legitimacy. Through their unrivalled position to do so, it has made the rise of the doxic conditions possible. This creates tension for when More Music seeks to be more connected to roots of West End Morecambe that they have not grown from, through collaboration in partnership and with possible participants. At times, these potential participants are positioned as either beneficiaries or as new audiences, which further reinforces the tensions between More Music's West End and the West End they most want to reach. It is through a destabilising of this doxa that new openings for increased equity in community collaboration may become clearer within this institutional position. However, in this, More Music may need to become more familiar with the distance between their position-taking and position-making, and the West End that they most wish to work with. It is here where a role which can navigate these messy conditions of community development may support More Music to become closer to the reason why they got into the work in the first place. To do so, a reconceptualisation of their role and responsibility, beyond the specific programming of their Hothouse activity and festivals programme, may need to be negotiated.

The Lantern Festival has had an important role to play in the position-making and position-taking of More Music in West End Morecambe. However, the celebratory status of the event is not reinforced in broader West End developments, particularly where More Music's position as a leader is less stable, despite their good intentions. Perhaps the Lantern Festival and the seamless precision that their festivals programme delivers inflates the present conditions for working collaboratively in West End; a form of inverted symbolic violence, wielded towards their good intentions, through the way their work is positioned outside of Morecambe. Perhaps the success of such events reinforces the distinction: us and them. Such distinctions mark them out as the 'big organisation'. As such, it is possible that More Music become a force to resist against for those who feel their work is more connected to the grassroots of West End, whilst also being a valuable community asset. In this way, More Music's history and the space they may have nurtured for others creates challenging positions to maintain. As such, they are positions that require ongoing negotiation regarding their role and responsibility. When considering the Lantern Festival within their Deeper Local ambitions, both ways of being More Music have a role to play. Through ways of reconceptualising their positions, a new familiarity

with their responsibility in West End may be understood. This requires a deterritorialisation of the doxic conditions, as a way through which their position as a cultural leader and a beacon of community music may become more deeply local to West End.

Conclusion

Tensions arose for More Music that interfered with their intentions to transform through the development of Deeper Local. These were stimulated by the doxic conditions that border their position-taking and position-making, which reinforced parameters around More Music's West End and the West End they most want to reach. More Music's positions are more stable in the context of their festival programme and also in delivery partnerships. This created tension for More Music when seeking to be more connected to the roots of West End Morecambe that were less familiar to their own contexts of being in West End. At times, possible participants who may be within these spaces are positioned as beneficiaries or new audiences, which further reinforces the tensions between More Music's West End and the West End they most want to reach. This is also evident in the way More Music perceived possible partnerships and their mentorship role. More Music's position appears to seek to 'give to' West End, whilst also promoting an intention to 'work with'. The latter requires a destabilisation of established practices, in pursuit of bringing More Music's intention for these practices to the fore, for how they might be utilised in future. It is through a destabilising of doxa that new openings for increased equity in community collaboration may become more transparent. However, in this, More Music will need to become more familiar with the distance between their position-taking and position-making, and the West End that is often out of reach, within the margins of their established practices. It is here where a role, or new ways of working, can bridge these messy conditions of community development, situated within the 'flux of daily living' with West End Morecambe. This may support More Music to become closer to the reason why, as I understand, they mobilised Deeper Local in the first place. To do so, a reconceptualisation of their role and responsibility, beyond the specific programming of their Hothouse activity and festivals programme, may need to be considered.

Through unit of analysis two, there are times when the specific role of the West End Development Worker offered ways in which this reconceptualisation could be made possible. The unique context of the role, within Deeper Local, was devolved in its leadership from the central programming of the Hothouse. This opened flexibility to move between More Music's

West End and the West End they most wished to reach. This created space where More Music was in closer proximity to the grassroots of Deeper Local. However, through doing so, their position as a beacon was often destabilised, and there were times when there was ambiguity for who was represented through the role. This was born from the responsiveness of the post-holder, akin to the malleability of a chameleonic practice. However, the criticality I often observed about how the role was positioned, promoted a sense of going beyond this. In this role, working *with* was privileged beyond work *for*. However, the need for the role to be malleable caused tension for how More Music was represented and the control they had over this. This had implications for the ways that the West End Development Worker had to interpret between the two West End worldviews that emerged through the fieldwork. The new ways of being with the West End that emerged through this work destabilised More Music's worldview of West End. This opens an opportunity to re-know West End through the negotiation of their role and responsibility, specifically relating to the needs and creative aspirations of the area. It also created something for More Music to resist against, which created conditions for them to revert back to more familiar ways of working. In this sense, the tension of going beyond the established margins of their practice created unstable sites of action which appeared to move them closer to knowing their neighbours more deeply. In unit of analysis one, the development of Deeper Local encounters unstable and fractious contexts, which are uncommon for More Music. Operating in this way disrupts their habitus and the worldview reinforced of West End through this. When the partnership possibilities returned to more familiar – more stable – ways of working, it risked a break away from the vision that More Music aspired to through Deeper Local, specifically, to share skills, support the skills development of their local partners, and bring more people closer to More Music. It was through the notion of bringing people closer to More Music's West End worldview which has distinguished them, at times, as 'the big organisation'. This is often underscored by their doxic conditions, particularly, quality. What is clear from the turn towards more familiar project-based partnerships, is that critical reflection of what More Music could bring and how they achieve it, concerning these partners, seems to have been informed through the messy community development work. Although More Music withdrew from the messier community development work, choosing to use their time and resources to design and deliver time-bound, project-based partnerships, they drew influence and purpose from the position of others. It was clear through my time in Morecambe that these decisions – made through the devolved model of the West End Development team – understood a purpose for this activity influenced by the time spent in these unstable spaces. It was also clear that they were adjunct from their established practice.

Deeper Local represents More Music's worldview of West End Morecambe and also their commitment to the possibilities of going beyond this. It is, similarly, as has been traced through a habitus, a way that More Music has been able to mobilise their ideas, strategically. However, Deeper Local did not have the familiar infrastructure and established partnerships that had a common goal. Deeper Local required More Music to work with predominantly volunteers, organisations that were early in their development, or third-sector charities with limited people and economic resource capacity. The professionalisation of More Music's community work and their institutional capital to get things done, at times, operated at an over-dominant position. This reinforced the distinction that Deeper Local sought to dismantle. At times, throughout 2016 – 2018, More Music appeared to be rejected by their possible West End partners, which seemed to foster temporary resentment to the resistance to their work. They also appeared to be the 'go to' organisation for large-scale community partnerships: a way that others welcomed their dominance. This suggested that the role and possibilities of what More Music's contribution could be in West End Morecambe is still to be understood. Despite the good intentions of More Music to be more deeply connected with the West End of Morecambe, Deeper Local made more visible the distance between them; specifically, the way More Music positions West End, and the ways they could collaborate within established conditions. The long-standing festival's programme, although rebranded as 'West End' events, remain firmly in More Music's control. However, through the 'baby steps' that the West End Development team believed they made towards partnership working in West End, over my time with More Music, more West End partners have become part of these events. As such, how they are designed and for whom they are intended, has potentially moved closer towards negotiated territory. Alexandria Park is an important intersection in this: the intersection through which new collaborations have been made possible, potentially, as a meeting point where the insatiability of community partnerships can be more commonly understood, through practice.

More Music is within West End Morecambe, geographically. However, their historical positioning that locates their world view of West End in their situated context is, at times, outside of it. They have composed a version of West End which makes sense for the conditions in which they need to survive. Deeper Local offered possibilities for transformation – increased connection and mobilisation of the field, through possible partnerships and ways through which their long-standing position can be invited as a force for creative change in West End Morecambe, through negotiation. It also risked reproduction – mobilising action in West End

Morecambe through a series of assumed deficits, underscored by their doxa. The representatives of More Music are well placed to face towards more critical positions that can be negotiated, towards transformation. However, the structures that historically legitimise the distinctions of their practice also need to be considered.

It is essential to ask what critical questions More Music need to consider if they are to move from position-making and position-taking to *critical* position-making and *critical* position-taking. Understanding More Music's positions as 'critical' positions builds from the work of the West End Development Worker and the multi-modal roles taken on, in an attempt to connect West End worldviews, in situ. It is also important to understand ways that a process of deterritorialising within West End could be scaffolded to support plurality and difference to thrive. There is a border of deficits surrounding West End, which is reinforced through its position as an area of 'multiple deprivation'. This contributes to how funds are made available, including for creative activity. Whilst it remains an over-promised and under-resourced field, bringing More Music and West End Morecambe closer to each other may continue to create tension and risk reproducing these deficit narratives. However, this need not be the case, as those representing More Music through face-to-face encounters are well placed to collaborate with others, to bridge such divides, illustrated through the fieldwork in examples of negotiation and commitment to possibilities. Such as when Baybeat follow the conductor, who leads them from the bench outside the off-license; when the West End Development Worker works as a conduit between perceptions of participation; or, when the Lantern Lady passes the window of a child, looking out from their window. In this way, they meet each other - More Music and West End, together, and find new meanings in encounters that are not situated by deficits. There are ways that More Music are perceived as a great community resource and their work with specifically identified groups, such as their young people's programme, are negotiated spaces where institution and intention appear to be closer together. More Music and West End Morecambe have the chance to reimagine their relationship which requires new ways of knowing one another — doing so, by dispelling the distinction between them, whilst making space to celebrate and learn through difference. In chapter 6, I will outline conceptual tensions of More Music in more detail. After this, in chapter 7, I move towards 'becoming More Music' so that the possibilities for new ways of knowing each other, towards transformation, can be turned towards and operationalised.

Chapter 6

Being More Music, Part 2: Tensions and possibilities

‘I try to dismantle not the institutions but some structures in given institutions which are too rigid or dogmatic or which work as an obstacle to future research’

(Derrida and Caputo, 1997, p. 8)

Bourdieu: scaffolding towards community music at an institutional position

In chapter 2, I suggest that More Music has a great deal of capital in varying forms. This is situated through a dominant place in the field of cultural leadership, as well as being the most significantly funded cultural organisation in West End Morecambe. Specifically, I suggest that the seal of approval that they represent, through their institutional, cultural capital, is an important factor within this. Through exploring More Music's habitus and through the contexts considered in chapter 5, this seal of approval appears to operate in a multitude of ways; bound within the cultural competencies of More Music and the structures that they operate in. This could be considered a condition of their position-making and position-taking and the power situated within these. This power and how it manifests through doxa legitimises what decisions are made and who is involved in this. In chapter 3, I discuss the ways that cultural leaders may operate within plural rationalities. This requires malleability and responsiveness to the conditions that they work within, between policy and practice; creating a position of gatekeeper, guided by passion and vision for undertaking the work, whilst designing this in response to the policy agendas through which funds are distributed. This contributes to the seal of approval granted through institutional capital. Specifically, in contexts of community music, these pluralities have been recognised as a 'chameleonic practice'; this may be an unhelpful construction of how community music is operationalised in strategic positions of leadership. Throughout chapter 5, there are instances where this has been detrimental to More Music's attempts to become more deeply local. Although, it could be argued that a chameleonic approach to building More Music has enabled them to succeed in the competitive and instrumental funding landscape, through which they have generated significant capital. But as Deane (2018) questions, at what cost? In this way, a chameleonic practice can be a means to legitimise power; however, it may also be an opening to something more. Although through the fieldwork and the historical analysis this appears to enable music making to happen and strategic partnerships to strengthen, how it is legitimised and positioned, with good intentions, is retained through the powerful positions that More Music have. This has implications for the proximity of their passion and vision within a deeper, local context and influences the perception of their economic capital, concerning their possible partnerships in West End. Community musicians have been considered 'boundary walkers' who 'affirm and embrace the margins' (Higgins, 2012, p. 184). Despite this, through the history and fieldwork, such boundaries are only keenly traversed when there is a stable rule structure and strategic,

actionable, routes of passage. Through which, narratives of transformation and the impacts for such work, are the access codes; reinforced through historical recognition of this way of working. Throughout my fieldwork, I observed a multitude of ways that More Music was required to satisfy their role and responsibility within the field of cultural leadership, through its dominant rule structure of cultural policy; doing so, whilst also working from a passion and vision for participation, that works towards transformation. This has given rise to both fertile and hostile environments, stimulated through the process of boundary walking and cultural competencies that it may enable. Despite the notion of boundaries, these environments did not always have clear borders. For example, when More Music's approaches moved them beyond the familiar margins of how they work in partnership, this created confusion or resistance for them, within the context of their partnerships. The uncertainty of their role and responsibility appeared to lead to questioning intentions for why they sought Deeper Local and possibilities of their role in West End that is different from their established practices. This combined with the structures, power and passion for their work, alongside responsibility for the cultural workforce that they have stimulated, can be considered as part of their plural rationale as a community music institution. In this way, it became clear through the fieldwork that the notion of 'going beyond' through positions that can be considered to operate at margins, was an unstable position to take. Such instability resonated with Higgins' ideas of hospitality and indicated towards conditions framing the intention to transform through an institutional position. Considering this, in response to my time in Morecambe, highlighted an issue: if the margins were to be a protected space to 'challenge dominant forms of practice' (p. 6) as Higgins suggests, then through the process of becoming an institution, had it become something different? Furthermore, in doing so, was it perhaps out of step with the hospitable intentions that the 'to come' evokes? If so, how might institutions such as More Music revisit this, as a way of embracing the strategic developments of becoming a community music institution, more synchronised with these intentions? In chapter 2, I looked to Bourdieu and asked five questions as a way to think about the positions More Music operate through and the way that this might generate capital, over time. As a way to lead into possible ways of conceptualising More Music's plural rationalities for their role and responsibility as a community music institution - as a challenge to dominant forms of practice - I will give attention to each of these questions, in turn.

- Since their inception, how has More Music's cultural capital increased, and how is this signified through the construction of habitus?

- What impact has More Music's cultural capital (particularly, institutional capital) had for the representation of publicly funded arts and culture in West End Morecambe?

The habitus of More Music, constructed through the historical analysis, suggests that More Music have adapted and built their institution over time, by playing the game of culture to enable the work to happen (Bourdieu 1984). They strategically made incremental shifts between the formal and non-formalised nature of their partnerships in community music and music education, to enable them to be positioned as a cultural leader in Morecambe and the North-West of England. Despite a dominant history in musical activity, this positioned them in a multidisciplinary leadership position. This was given value through their festivals programme and increasing network of artists, across artforms, with whom they collaborated. Being positioned as a cultural leader in this multidisciplinary sense could be regarded as the interest gained for their invested commitment to the area. Cumulatively, this capital can be attributed to the development of their proclamations as a 'beacon'. Through the habitus, I suggest that More Music have (1) increased the range and mobility of what they offer as a music organisation, with whom, and where; (2) amplified the work they do, and by association, where they do it, in a broad range of regional, national and international environments, made possible by their increased capital and status as a beacon; (3) and, attracted funding into the local geographical area for arts and culture, which may have stimulated the fertile conditions for the growth of a network of community arts practice in West End. The influence this has for their cultural capital appears most clearly in the distinctions that have made between themselves and others in West End regarding quality. This is not to say that there were no instances in the fieldwork where More Music recognised the quality of the creative activity or potential of others. However, in the instances I encountered, this was dominantly positioned as More Music having the cultural capital to 'increase', 'support', 'develop', or 'mentor' others through possible partnerships. For participants, this was positioned to offer opportunities to be 'more' creative or to have fuller actualisation regarding what they could achieve, creatively, through engaging with More Music. Their cultural capital also reinforced a dichotomy between More Music's West End (people who opted into their programmes and festivals and were understood as 'participating') and those that they 'most wanted to reach' (people perceived to

be participating from the side-lines or, within other contexts beyond More Music). The Lantern Festival was an example of this. Distinctions of this nature had implications for how other forms of capital, born from their longstanding commitment to the area, were converted to reinforce their position-taking and position-making. Destabilising this hegemonic grip of quality about cultural production in West End Morecambe may reposition this doxa, through a more critical understanding of their positions.

- Does More Music's social capital afford them cultural competencies, accumulated through their long service, to maintain their position in the field of publicly funded cultural leadership, through a firm grasp of the terminology and doxa required to continue to support their work?

Doxa presented dominantly in four ways, through historical analysis and fieldwork: quality, project design and delivery, mentorship, and a perceived need that positioned each of these conditions in different settings within the field of West End Morecambe. The control More Music had of the narratives for how participation took place within West End appeared to influence this. Particularly, More Music used their position as a beacon of community music (reinforced through the inscription of their work through community music publications and through their reporting) to promote their work in international contexts and, through the strong networks that have been developed and retained throughout their evolution from a residency to a celebrated cultural leader. Despite control of its institutional narratives of West End, More Music are also held at their own current position by the dominant terminology and doxa, reinforced through the competencies of being a publicly funded cultural leader. In this, how participation is positioned and demands to be reported on, reinforces a way of 'playing the game' through which, More Music's worldview of West End has had to be constructed, to retain legitimacy. Through this, More Music is held at their current position through the mechanisms that make their work possible. This includes their passion and vision for being there and has implications for the way they engage in their role as a cultural leader in West End Morecambe. Being held at this position also risks reproduction, through the distinctions reinforced through the neoliberal forms of understanding participation that have historically governed public policy for arts and culture. This symbolic violence towards More Music may also be in their blind spot: it enables them to carry out their work and provides the infrastructure to support their exceptional workforce. This symbolic violence is generated through ways of working, as opposed to being wielded by any particular representative. However, it is also an

opportunity to use this position to bring others into this story - doing so, strategically, by using their control of the narratives in different ways, through renegotiation of the role undertaken. Although More Music's social and institutional capital afford them cultural competencies, accumulated through their long service, the way this maintains their position-taking may be as restrictive as it is dominant. The doxa, through such longstanding commitment, may be a form of symbolic violence towards them as well as a way of risking the restriction of the mobility of more democratic ways of understanding participation. Such reconsiderations of understanding participation would require a destabilisation of doxa and as such, the position-making and position-taking of More Music.

- How does More Music's social capital convert within the field of West End Morecambe? Specifically, do aspiring cultural leaders within West End Morecambe view their position to be an emancipatory power?

More Music is often situated as a 'big organisation' in relation to others in West End. More Music was also reinforcing this through their doxa and their habitus. At times, this seemed to be a position that they were in no hurry to dismantle, having worked hard to bring a strong voice and greater visibility to West End Morecambe through their position-making as a beacon. This may be a product of the blind spots that hold them at their current position. However, through this, West End has been reinforced (through the doxa of need) as a place that is recognisable from its deficits. Although not solely a More Music-made projection of place, it is one that legitimises their position, which enables a significant amount of practice to happen. However, More Music's festival programme has been a portal for possible partnerships, such as the Lantern or West End Festivals: each seeing more local cultural activists and partners join in, year on year. As such, More Music is positioned as an organisation who have the means to get things done on a large participatory scale. In this way, the position More Music may hold, if open to the sense of going beyond, has the power to be emancipatory with West End.

More Music's positioning of quality manifested through the doxa of need, has, at times, limited their ability to raise others equitably, despite intentions to do so. It also provides a new opening to be part of local transformations that enable them to use their position as a cultural leader beyond the musical means through which they have gained their power. More Music's dominant positions are made possible through a chameleonic practice; through which, they respond to plural rationalities. However, as More Music found through Deeper Local when

these positions are put to work in less familiar contexts of partnership working, their established ways of maintaining their plural rationalities are less qualifiable and as a result, risk moving into unfamiliar practices. At times this was met with resistance, which restricted the sense of going beyond familiar margins. This was most evident at unfamiliar intersections of the field of cultural leadership, where their social capital is strong currency. This could be seen to take More Music away from the fertile conditions their longstanding commitment has stimulated. In the case of the West End Weekend and the messy community development work, these tensions fostered resistance to partnership. Through this, More Music stepped back and reconfigured how they worked in partnership when their intentions for transformation did not align with the transformations that took place. By returning to more familiar partnership contexts, the doxa may be stimulated, and hegemonic narratives of transformation may be at greater risk of being reproduced, systemically, through cultural leadership. However, this stepping back was also necessary and as such, destabilising cultural leadership is a challenging and dissonant process for an established cultural leader. It is also one that is within their reach, if an intention for leadership is to be a space to challenge hegemony in an attempt to raise the voices of others. The context of the West End Weekend may indicate towards a dislocation between passion and vision and the game of culture, of which, More Music are in positions of gatekeeping that may both restrict and facilitate. This may also give rise to new ways of understanding such situated tensions, through critical position-taking and position-making, by breaking open new meaning for how community music may operate at an institutional position.

- Is More Music's power viewed in conflict, as a gatekeeper, an agent who is holding others at their current position?

How the facilitative and restrictive nature of gatekeeping is confronted, with an intention to transform, can open new ways for becoming More Music in West End. More Music cares deeply for the people of West End as participants, as possible partners and as neighbours. The carefully crafted ways that they communicate the work they do in West End Morecambe is rooted in a belief that 'people deserve better'. As an institution, they want and demand to be part of that change. Such intentions are rooted in the cultural competencies of their passion and vision and the structures that stimulate it. Through the commitment to move towards Deeper Local, More Music started a process of destabilisation. They took a risk with intentions that resonate with Higgins' suggestion of boundary walking. The seal of approval within their

institutional capital and their longstanding commitment gave them the confidence to open the Hothouse doors and be ready to welcome new ways of working in West End. This was scaffolded by their local relationships with schools, with visiting artists, and with newly established organisations. It was also accompanied by the credibility of their work in West End, through their efforts to 'position the work in a global context', through which they believed their work would be successful. They had carved out, after twenty-five years, a strategic space through which they would know West End better. However, what appeared to be less visible to More Music was that people in West End had known More Music through the Hothouse for just as long. In this sense, there felt a dichotomy of being in and outside of measurable participation. Binaries of this nature are out of step with the possibilities of hospitality. Particularly, position-taking as a form of activism, which I propose in chapter 2. People knew the building, knew people visiting from the broader region with instruments by their side, knew the red t-shirts, knew the lantern light in November and, knew the kites in the sky. At times through their history, More Music has faced towards this, developing projects in collaboration with those who appeared to have different ways of knowing the organisation they were growing (Currie & Higgins, 2019). However, sometimes when in Morecambe, the More Music I encountered did not always represent such emancipatory chapters of their development; however, the intention to always lingered. This haunts their work and gives rise to the tension between what they do and how it is done. There were many possible moments in my fieldwork where a West End was shared, and an opening to such emancipatory chapters could be welcomed once more, all be them messy and 'hard to qualify'. However, what has historically been bordered as participation, and who has historically been enclosed as West End, is consumed with deficits. Through this, visions of emancipation become restricted and moments to know the West End they most want to reach, missed or misaligned. New ways of knowing West End, together, could open beautiful spaces for possibilities for arts and culture in West End Morecambe that could move instead to places of negotiation. Here, assets can be brought together, commonly understood and valued. However, doing so challenges where 'important borders lie' (Cooper & Rumford, 2011) for the ways More Music's work. Unlike the established rule structures through which their work historically traverses, these borders are unstable. Negotiation of the margins of their practice would require new ways of developing projects within the messy work of community development. The unstable boundaries between More Music's West End and the West End they wanted to reach, destabilised the doxa that has historically given their positions legitimacy. At times, this destabilisation reinforced a distinction between the 'big organisation' and other West End

partners. However, it could also open new ways to make sense of the assets More Music have and how they can contribute to collaborative cultural action in West End; specifically, through adopting more critical ways of positioning their role as a cultural leader, with a responsibility to 'go beyond'. In this way, their established role was working in new ways, and this created both tension and possibilities.

This section now turns towards the ideas set forth by Higgins as a way to consider how these conditions might be negotiated within possibilities of hospitality through community music; specifically, how this idea as a way to think about community music activity can support it as a strategic praxis (2012, p. 173) at an institutional position. In doing so, I consider the ways that these specific contexts help to foster understanding of how More Music's history has influenced their work today and how this locates them with others: through possible acts between symbolic violence and emancipation, interlocking and in need of negotiation. From here, I seek to understand ways that their position-taking and position-making reproduces or transforms dominant modes of production in West End, whilst also considering how this interacts with the plural rationalities that guide their practice at their institutional position. This is explored as a way to consider the possibilities and tensions of their role and responsibility and ways that they might contribute to 'cultivat[ed] environment[s]' (Higgins 2012, p. 159) that foster access, inclusion and equity through arts and culture in West End Morecambe.

Tensions and possibilities for understanding hospitality, through community music at an institutional position

Through this critical ethnography, I have experienced ways that inequality has been reproduced, instances where it has been challenged, and what possibilities can be faced when dominant modes of cultural production are destabilised, in situ. I consider this through a reconceptualisation of these plural rationalities, as a way to understand how they have impacted More Music's ability to turn towards unconditional hospitality: one which is always to come and requires constant negotiation through the revisiting of categories and codes of understanding, which give legitimacy to how meaning is made. More Music's position-taking and position-making suggest ways that meaning has been made, historically, and how this has reinforced a doxa to support this. Through considering the tensions that have arisen from this, I position the ways that these may be 'cracked open', to transform, through More Music's role

and responsibility — doing so, towards possible ways to revisit meaning. A curious lack of musical exploration has been examined through the history and the critical ethnography. This may indicate ways that their capital as a leader of music has converted into a representative of arts and culture more broadly. The intentions of Deeper Local were centred on more than music; as such, this has been the line of inquiry that I followed; doing so, to understand an institution who may seek 'to get involved with everything' (64 Million Artists & ACE, 2018, p. 3) with a possible 'sense of going beyond' their current positions. With the ethical gesture of the welcome bound by structuring structures that enable the work to happen, More Music's role and responsibility as a community music institution sits beyond the music making. Furthermore, some activity within and outside of the Hothouse possibly grants some a more conditional welcome than others. As identified through the discussion thus far, there are borders formed around narratives of what does and does not constitute participation, through the structures which More Music operate. The fieldwork suggests that these borders are not always intentional and can be a product of both their longstanding position as the dominant arts representative in Morecambe and, of the structures that bind such narratives through cultural policy. There is tension when these boundaries intercept less stable ones, within the messy conditions of community development.

In the specific case of More Music in West End Morecambe, my role has been to consider the ways that their position-making, and position-taking challenges or reinforces inequality in access, inclusion and equity through arts and cultural activity. When considering this, it does not seek to be a scapegoat for the multitude of ways that the cultural sector plays a role in reinforcing conditions for inequality of access, inclusion and equity through a hegemonic grip of cultural production; one that signifies who does and does not benefit from arts and culture. It is an opportunity to evidence the way that the often-hostile conditions of public policy have also made space for an organisation to find roots in an area which has been systemically abandoned and reduced through ways of meaning making that are bound in deficits. It is also an opportunity to understand the plural rationalities that demand to be negotiated, towards 'intention to transform' (Higgins, 2012, p. 146) through building 'confidence and spirit in individuals and communities'. Through working with More Music since 2015, much has changed. As an organisation that position themselves in a way that seeks opportunities to 'change its spots while keeping its heart' (Moser, 2010, p. 75), this is no surprise. In this sense, what has been inscribed here could be considered as a living history and not a reductionist view of who More Music is today. However, it tells a story of chameleonic adaptability. This has

brought opportunities to the door of the Hothouse, whilst plaguing it with power that, at times, reinforced production they did not seek to control. There was an ingrained belief that their positions could be used for good, using their skills and resources to support the mobility of their possible partners and participants. The doxa of More Music is deeply rooted, as is their passion and vision for transforming West End. However, there are two West End's: the one which transforms through arts and culture, and the one which is 'harder to reach'. This dichotomy restricts ways in which West End may know each other as neighbours, of which, More Music is part. This risks restricting transformation, when put into motion through an institutional position within the established rule structure, legitimised by deficits. However, adopting a reflexive perspective of this position, to consider new ways that it can work towards transformation brings possibilities to the fore. I now look towards 'becoming' More Music and the possibilities that may be 'cracked open', when West End can be reconceptualised through a destabilised position of critical position-making and critical position-taking. In the following sections, I will suggest qualities that may support More Music as a critical organisation, highlighting tensions and developing these ideas to propose possibilities that support reflexivity. This leads to chapter 6, where I will outline the ways that this can be considered as 'critical cultural leadership'.

Tensions: There is no hospitable (Hot)house

Much like deconstruction, the distinctions between who takes part and who does not, and how quality in such endeavours are signified, and how they are not, 'is constantly at work' within arts and cultural policy. Furthermore, it 'was at work before' (Derrida, 2002, p. 65) it was afforded the 'fresh coinage' (Price, 2016) of participation, through which neoliberal constructs of value and instrumentalism has retained legitimacy. Much like deconstruction still, the possibilities for arts and cultural participation, whilst at work, remain open and in search of new beginnings through those that inscribe and interpret its practice and 'those who just might' (Higgins, 2012, p. 173). This opens possibilities for the conditions of hospitality to be negotiated if not necessarily resolved. However, the 'social and political structures' (Stills, 2010, p. 261) of hospitality require a process of deconstruction to come to decisions through its work. It is at this point of decision making that histories become a powerful force for action, including how they are arrived at and who decides them, within the inherited structures of participation. As such, as an institution at a dominant position within interpretations of a past

practice, there is a responsibility to face towards the structures that have given it legitimacy and the margins they protect. Included in this is how they are bound and enabled through a series of shared cultural competencies, within a given rule structure, as well as possibly manoeuvring down a particular pathway, simultaneously, through such structures. It is important to understand the ways that these structures exclude if working with community music principles, such as an intention to transform, as a cultural leader. This supports the spaces where inequality can be challenged through More Music's position(s) in the field(s), to be better understood. For the role and responsibility of More Music in West End Morecambe, this begins, ends and starts anew through the representation of the Hothouse; through which, ways of knowing through relationships as neighbour, friend, teacher, leader and participant may be nurtured through a situated practice. The political act of living there, as implied by Matarasso (2013) is a conscious commitment to a sense of place. As such, the responsibility that comes with the power to make such a choice must always be critiqued.

More Music's Hothouse, as with their West End, creates a tension that requires consideration: the conditions through which community music is interpreted and distinguished as 'high-quality community music', which privileges particular ways of doing community music over others. The boundaries of the Hothouse and the doxa this represents have conditions for hospitality that restrict the mobility of their transformative intentions. Distinctions of this nature may structurally reinforce democratisations of culture, which haunt publicly funded cultural institutions. This is not to suggest that those working within More Music do not value the unknown musical doing of others. It is to suggest that through the figure of the community music institution, its programming and the doxa that informs this, distinguishes 'quality'. Such distinctions reinforced an otherness of the Hothouse. Destabilising such distinctions is part of the responsibility of the political act of living there, for those working towards cultural democracy. Without a critique of these conditions, the capital as a beacon may be over-represented through the social capital of an 'outstanding' host (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 252), inadvertently retaining a hegemonic grip on West End's cultural production. This frustrates tension between what More Music want to achieve through their work in West End Morecambe and the distinctions through which it is given legitimacy through established cultural leadership practices. In this way, the conditions which inform movements towards hospitality through the Hothouse has echoes of Higgins' discussion of the community music workshop as a gift. However, in this sense, it is how More Music is indebted to the trajectory that has enabled the infrastructure of the Hothouse, and how this informs the 'desire to give something without

getting anything back' (Higgins, 2012, p. 153) which binds unhelpful distinctions that may be evoked through their programming. However, there may be something more to glean from the power which community music may have at an institutional position, although this does not eradicate the tension that may separate community music making from community music programming at an institutional position. In considering the gift and the intentions of those that make community music with others, it highlights a way in which the structures that enable the work to happen may look to the pedagogical sites it supports for guidance. In this sense, connecting strategically with the notion of 'safety without safety' through community music practices, may illuminate a way beyond this tension. The conditions that border the Hothouse are woven into the fabric of the building, displayed on its signage, and embodied through the parameters of its practice. They are the doxa of More Music: quality, project design and delivery, and need; each giving life to one another through the narratives of transformation and the way that they are reinforced through position-making as a beacon of community music. However, there is another passageway to the epicentre of the passion and vision that guides More Music's intention for their work in West End. This can be accessed through the ways that they are with West End, through a series of community development encounters. These are made possible by breaking away from the dominant mode of being More Music – as a cultural leader and a beacon – to the ways that the representatives cross the often-blurry boundaries between music leader and collaborator, towards one of an ally. Such intentions commonly guide a community musician's pedagogical approach to making music with other people. Within the messy contexts of community development in, out and between the music of the Hothouse, such intentions have roots to grow. Through navigating the space between More Music's projection of the beacon and the everyday encounters where light and shade are negotiated, More Music may move beyond the Hothouse as a space for visitation, through the give-and-take between its representatives and the 'people they most want to reach'. They may move towards transformation, to a space of invitation, to transform its role and its responsibility as a cultural leader in West End Morecambe. This requires a renegotiation of the conditions and rule structures that legitimise. Suppose the Hothouse, as the physical representation of More Music, is to operate towards unconditional hospitality? In that case, the pedagogical principles that inform community musicians in their practice may be of benefit to call upon, doing so to redesign its structural conditions and its possibilities for being with West End. Through the historical analysis and the fieldwork, I sense that this is the bedrock on which More Music's first iteration developed, long before the establishment of the Hothouse. However, with time, playing the game of culture has restricted the parameters of the margins

that More Music, as boundary walkers, traverse. As such, in the process of going towards a Deeper Local, More Music broke open the possibilities to go beyond and reconsider how meaning is made in West End Morecambe and what role they seek to contribute.

Tensions: The impossible dream of a beacon of community music

In chapter 3, I suggest that when taking the lead from Higgins (2012) and Hadley and Belfiore (2018) there comes with it a responsibility to consider understandings of cultural democracy within its present historical moment — doing so, in relation to its past and the opportunities for its unknown future. In this way, cultural democracy is positioned as an 'impossible dream', that those who inherit community music may seek to work towards — through this, recognising that the conditions of hospitality which can enable practice to take place position cultural democracy, not as a destination to arrive at, but a purpose for working with others. Higgins suggests that looking beyond the current and historical conditions might prompt new openings through community music towards cultural democracy, that is yet unknown. Being a beacon of community music in West End may too be an impossible dream. However, unlike the impossible dream of unconditional hospitality, of which cultural democracy can be part, it may not be one for which we seek to strive. However, it might. When I think of beacons, I think of structures such as lighthouses; guiding the way to safety, warning of danger, and shining a light on particular places, at particular times. Lightkeepers control lighthouses; they monitor those that pass the light cast on the water. From their tower, those with responsibility to manage the lighthouse, survey the spaces that they are in, to support safe passage for wherever those who encounter the light may be going; sometimes this route can be tracked and monitored, sometimes it cannot. It responds to both risk and safety, without prejudice. The purpose of the beacon is to be a supporting guide. It is a scaffold for the journey; a structure that is weathered by the waves. It provides shelter for the storm for those in its keep. However, the light of the beacon can only warn against what is visible from its vantage point or shed light on things it has been tasked to protect. Beacon's may, like the gatekeeping practices discussed through borders in chapter 3, be both facilitative and restrictive. In the case of More Music, it can be both and possibly something more. This plurality is part of its charm and part of its problem. However, through the possibilities of the encounters in participation, of which the beacon itself is only one of many parts, the pedagogical possibilities of community music, as a practice whose keepers may seek to transform within, open new ways to conceptualise what a beacon can do.

Hospitality has a 'troubling origin' which carries with it contradictions, bringing risk of being 'paralysed by its opposite, "hostility"' (Derrida, 2000, p. 3). The notion of a beacon carries a similar risk. Being a beacon of community music and being a cultural leader has brought about certain ways of communicating what it is and what it does. Like definitions of community music itself, this has limitations for what it could mean and how dominant meanings risk over-representation. Operationalising a beacon may restrict the space to dream. However, the beacon of More Music and the light cast from their position-making are viewed in a plurality of ways and bringing this to the fore, reflexively, may open a negotiated space for what it can do. Whilst it may bring light in one part of West End, it may throw shade on another, in pursuit of access, inclusion and equity: blinded by the intention to transform which is given life from rule structures that dominate. As the beacon brings light, it also warns of danger. The danger is that of deficits, historically bringing purpose and need for the beacon within the narratives around More Music and their representation of community music through the Hothouse and their West End Morecambe. However, like a lighthouse, the light cast is seen most clearly from inside, or from a distance. For those at the doorstep of a beacon, their interactions with it may mostly be cast in shade, beneath the vantage point of the light that is intended to guide them or warn others of the danger that is stirring. The danger of deficits can be mitigated and can transform. More Music's position-making and position-taking holds a great deal of power for how reconceptualisation of deficits can be understood in West End Morecambe. This includes the ways that they 'place the work in a global context'. However, this requires the beacon to become something new. It requires More Music to enter into negotiations of territory and of 'where important borders lie' (Cooper & Rumford, 2011) so that highly and less visible borders can be seen with a new light; finding greater shared plurality to their meaning. In this way, doxa is challenged and the figure of community music, as a beacon, through the Hothouse can 'adapt over time to perform new tasks' (Robbins, 2000, p. 34) through the spirit that More Music hope to achieve. Through this, by considering More Music as a 'beacon' within the ideas I present – that community music can be conceptualised at an institutional position – there comes a responsibility to warn of the danger of deficits, as an inheritance of its past practice. It may need to shine a light on the structures that depend on such deficits, as opposed to shining it on those perceived to experience them. In this way, a beacon may become a way to challenge hegemony in the way Higgins considers, through hospitality. This requires revisiting previously fertile spaces of transformation and reimagining them with others, which requires reflexive ways of considering how positions are made tenable. It requires critical position-

taking within the role and responsibility of a cultural leader as a way to both honour a community music past whilst also reimagining where it might go, as Higgins sets forward. However, though such processes of territorialisation that I have suggested in this chapter, the 'cultivated environments of trust and respect' (Higgins, 2012, p. 165), like cultural democracy, requires negotiation, particularly of its dominant modes of communicating what it does, if new openings towards it are open to transformation. Through such action, give and take may be negotiated, which moves beyond a 'desire to eradicate hierarchy' (p. 165) which More Music's Deeper Local may have intended. Instead, utilising the mobilisation of community music at an institutional position, towards a responsible practice which safeguards intentions to transform whilst repositioning it within the rule structure that gives it legitimacy. In this, More Music 'places the act of transformation within unfolding pathways' (p. 175). Such transformation, towards the possibilities of cultural democracy, unfold not only through its practices and programming but through the role as a cultural leader. This move towards unconditional hospitality and an impossible dream of cultural democracy may support More Music and West End Morecambe to find new ways to work as a beacon. However, should they strive towards this impossible dream: a beacon of community music? Of which, I mean, break free from community music at an institutional position, within the established rule structure, and consider it an 'old name with a new promise' (Higgins, 2012, p. 172). Furthermore, can an emancipatory practice be institutionalised and through doing so, can the conditions of hospitality be destabilised in situ, towards transformation? Perhaps, instead, community music at an institutional position may present new ways to say 'yes'. It may offer opportunities to turn towards the political and social structures which legitimise, as a way to decommission models that restrict, to shine a light on the evolving pathways which are plentiful, albeit messy and out of step with established practices. Opportunities to say 'yes', consider the unequal roles which those in a cultivated environment play. As a community music institution, or as a community musician with strategic responsibilities as a cultural leader, saying 'yes' in this way is not an attempt to eradicate hierarchy. It is to recognise and reposition the power held in these contexts and seek to use it to disrupt inequality. Doing so, through collaborative action with those they most want to reach and those who have historically positioned them to do so. To attempt to position a beacon as equal to the passing ships obfuscates the privilege of its vantage point. However, as part of a shared eco-system, each has a role to play and signifies meaning, relational to the other. Community music at an institutional position may look towards new ways to mobilise such activist positions in its role as a cultural leader. This, as I will discuss in the following chapter, may be considered as 'critical cultural leadership'. Through this,

negotiating shared access rights may stimulate cultural competencies that extend from and are more than More Music through a transformation of meaning, which is symbiotic and collectively valued. However, unlike the cultural competencies that have governed participatory structures of arts and cultural policy, and possibly, More Music, the ways that these competencies are 'always at work' require constant negotiation and 'give and take', through a process of destabilisation and critical position-taking and position-making. More Music is ready for such changes. However, it is unclear if they are ready to break away from the history which has signified how such changes can be mobilised. As with the participants at the windows and doors of the Lantern Festival, what they do next is unknown, but through the invitation to transform, positioned as an activist process of going beyond, they 'just might'.

Tensions: Community music at an institutional position

As Higgins provokes 'I hope that my research will be a catalyst to open the door, leave it ajar, and invite others to walk through' (p. 183); for community music at an institutional position this invitation extends in, out and beyond the Hothouse. Depending on the interpretation of this proposition, it may be possible to assert that community music has achieved such aims: an emancipatory practice which has, through the activists who mobilised such missions with the community arts movement of the 1970s, moved community music from the fringes to the centre of public funding for the arts. This, in itself, is a political act. This repositioning could be viewed as a move towards a cultural democracy, one centred on mobilising arts towards social justice at a devolved organising position, that makes participation available for everyone, when at times, some have had greater access rights over others. However, I would query, from what vantage point? Perhaps, this proposition could be accused of succumbing to 'the vanity of every age to consider itself in crisis' (Belfiore & Bennett, 2018, p. 218), to conceive that the dichotomy between the passion and vision for the work and the structures that enable it to happen is a tension newly at work. However, it is at this central point through which such mobilisation is problematic and remains 'in crisis'. Albeit the political act of moving from the fringes to the centre may have stimulated fertile conditions for such agendas of inclusion to take flight through a 'healthy respect and disrespect for community music's past encounters' (Higgins, 2012, p. 175), it may also have stoked the fires of the neoliberal agenda that would engulf policy for arts and culture: each reliant on the other for legitimacy, as More Music is to West End. Furthermore, could my proposition here be challenged as a rearticulation of

‘boundary walking’? Are community musicians not already, as was challenged to me through my fieldwork, well aware of the social change and cultural agendas that they bridge, often with great stability? My assertion is not to suggest that community musicians and those who may mobilise it at an institutional position do not achieve skilful bridging of such structures through a chameleonic practice. It is to say that when these structures are stable or familiar within the cultural competencies that legitimise the benefits of arts and culture, community musicians as cultural leaders are well placed to bridge these through project specific delivery partnerships. It is to say that when these boundaries are less visible, less stable, within such competencies and rules, they challenge the status quo of how participation is positioned. Such challenges calls to question what the role and responsibility of contemporary cultural leadership responds to, if indeed, it seeks to transform. Against the backdrop of community music’s past and current practices within such structures, those ‘that have a hand in arbitrating funding for music, music teaching and musical resources’ (Higgins, 2012, p. 173), who ‘may want to get involved in everything’ (64 Million Artists & ACE, 2018, p. 3) may find themselves more commonly navigating the messy lines of community development and increasingly unstable margins; particularly due to increasing demand and decreasing resource, where boundaries once seemed familiar and more secure. Through a process of negotiation at such boundaries, community music at an institutional position may offer new ways that organisations such as More Music may be beacons of community music in new situated ways: one of many, not one for many. This becomes a space, like the possibilities for safety within the community music workshop, that needs protecting. It may not be enough to seek to ‘build confidence and spirit’ through community music at an institutional position; it must go beyond that and question the role that arts and cultural participation can play in challenging the inequalities that contribute to restrictions of confidence or spirit. Cultural leaders like More Music, are well placed to move into such spaces. Reflexivity, through critical position-taking and position-making, may support organisations to consider what access to information has been made available to them and what choices they have had to make, in pursuit of a community music past. It may also illuminate how such need has been conceptualised and become taken for granted. Suppose community music at an institutional position is to be conceptualised as a beacon? In that case, the light that shines from it cannot only project out to those they most want to reach, as participants. It must also project out to decision makers in powerful policy positions. This is not to advocate the benefits of participating within the established frameworks for participation, but to make more visible the risk and safety that can be negotiated when what is valued in publicly funded arts and cultural participation moves closer to the possibilities of

cultural democracy. In this way, by considering community music at an institutional position, it continues on the pathway of what it might become. In this way, it strengthens its position as a space to challenge hegemony, whilst it also negotiates the margins – stable and unstable – ready to go beyond. My experience of being with More Music, through this critical ethnography, suggest that openings towards such activist positions of cultural leadership are already unfolding, towards Deeper Local. However, there must also be space for the light to reflect, towards More Music, to support reflexivity in these developing, critical, positions.

Community music, when traced at an institutional position, can be argued to be in crisis: conceptually and within the political and social structures that it operates. An ability to change, through a chameleonic practice, may not be enough to move institutional community music nearer to those they most need to reach in the ways that I have set out in this section. The centre is, by its very nature, always out of reach for some. It is dependent on a given rule structure, and those who can 'play the game', have more ways of accessing it. With community musicians often working in multidisciplinary contexts, these rule structures may be divergent. However, in community music activity, centres are often an attempt towards an open space that those making music may form around: malleable to be within possible reach and visibility of all, for those who want to take part and for those who might. However, as both Bourdieu and Higgins set out explicitly, in different ways, if power relations are not confronted in this, as part of a commitment to challenge inequality, then such possibilities of participation are restricted and risk consumption by dominant practices. For this reason, as Higgins asserts '[any] belief the music facilitator has regarding altruistic desires is also brought under question'. The same provocation must also be understood within the critical positions that community music is operationalised within, at institutional positions of decision making and in the policy contexts that it responds to.

Over my fieldwork, people utilised the Hothouse from West End Morecambe, and More Music was open for the new ways in which their building could be a resource for third sector partnerships. However, this was primarily in instances where music was not the intention of the group. When music was an intention of use of the Hothouse space, it faced towards the seal of approval – the doxa – of More Music. This territorialisation is not intended as conflict. It is intended to transform, as are the cultural competencies and the passion and vision for West End that is rooted in their situated practice. However, their longstanding position-taking and position-making are at risk of reproducing dominant modes of cultural production through the

messages and parameters placed on participation in the area, born through a need to survive. Despite the responsibility More Music respond to, to be a resource within their local community, there are borders still to negotiate. In turning towards a different centre point, it is important to consider what new meaning may be negotiated, between More Music and the people they most want to reach, and how this contributes to an unfolding pathway of collaborative action.

Possibilities: Community music pedagogy as an institutional practice for cultural leadership

Community music at an institutional position requires a destabilising of established notions of 'expert' regarding what great art and culture might mean and, to whom. This can be made possible through understanding situated practices, though community music at an institutional position requires a give and take between those who take part, or might, and the open spaces that drive situated quality and skills development. In this way, the negotiation of the institutional margins of practice operates with intentions set forth by Higgins. For community music at an institutional position to be open to possibilities of this nature, it may require critical position-making and position-taking. The workforce of More Music already works in these ways in many music making encounters. The established social and political symbol of More Music may look to the pedagogy of those within their house, to consider ways that this can inform strategic decision making. For example, when the pedagogical commitment to hospitality permeates the role of the project manager through the West End Development Worker, it shines a light on ways that facilitation approaches, more commonly associated with the community musician, could be utilised as a scaffold for the role of cultural leadership that sits outside of music making; specifically, where cultural leaders aim to mobilise transformation, which may attempt to operate out of step from the hegemonic grip of cultural production. This kind of mobilisation is required in strategic decision making if community music at an institutional position is a space that challenges inequality. More Music is in a position to learn through itself and its living history, to utilise the facilitation methods that have helped bring about its representation as a beacon. It offers hope for how hospitality, through community music, could be understood within arts and culture, as a way to reconceptualise the possibilities of its participatory practice and the role of cultural leaders within this. Being a cultural leader in this way is not only about specific, individual leaders and the decisions they

make. It is the cultural leadership signified by the physical representation held in any house which hosts a publicly funded representation of arts and culture.

Possibilities: From taken for granted to taking a chance

This living history of More Music has shone a light on the peripheral participation, which also gives situated meaning to the ways that More Music work in the West End. Much like the ways that community musicians come to know who is in the room when they engage in music making together, ways that More Music know participation in West End Morecambe may achieve such connectivity with others. This is understood within, but not limited to, the life-wide inequalities which may border and permeate creative practice. Particularly, through approaches to project management that embody the pedagogical flexibility of the community music facilitator, through a promise of hospitality. Such approaches require destabilisation of established understandings of who takes part and who does not. It also requires a process of deterritorialisation. This may include a reconceptualisation of what More Music represents and to whom. Through this destabilised position, it stimulates reflexive spaces, fostered through openness, to respond and reconceive cultural value, with others. This is brought to light through the 'unfolding pathway' towards transformation of the beacon, which may be possible for More Music when renegotiating the important borders and how to move beyond them. Through such reconceptualisation, the possibilities for community music at an institutional position are open to emancipation, with others. Particularly, with many who have historically been, albeit unintendedly, cast in the shade of the beacon.

Being More Music: a living history

Despite the bounded nature of this inquiry, More Music cannot, and should not, do this alone. What I am proposing is a challenge to More Music to leap once more into unknown possibilities for community music; this time, explicitly at an institutional position, if transformations through arts and culture are to be open to all with the safety envisioned through the community music workshop. However, having considered the social and political structures legitimising decisions and the way More Music has encountered them, such histories have enabled community arts to mobilise at more central positions. As such, More Music is unlikely to be

the only community arts dreamer who took up such space. The tension between being a cultural leader and beacon of community music in West End Morecambe is not a new crisis for More Music, nor for the fields in which it operates. However, by choosing to align themselves as a representative of West End Morecambe, to 'place the work in a global context', More Music has significant power. This power manifests through the seal of approval and the capital generated, which can be converted to satisfy a multitude of requirements, through historical position-making and position-taking. By opening the doors of the Hothouse, to move towards Deeper Local, More Music also opened to door to new ways of understanding how these tensions can be put to work in new ways, if not always resolved. A beacon needs to use its position to shine a light on such new ways, whilst warning of the danger of its past practices which haunt the structures that gave it legitimacy. In this way, it operates as a force to challenge inequality through an institutionalised position. In doing so, it may help a wider reconceptualisation of being a cultural leader. There have been moments of pause, where More Music step back and ask critical questions of their role and the distance that they have travelled, doing so knowing that the destination is unknown and will encounter many unstable boundaries. Critical reflections of such journeys may ask: what road has been taken; what routes did we mark, or were marked for us; what intersections were constructed to action intentions to 'build confidence and sprit in individual and communities through the arts, especially music'; and, where could this – and should this – go next? These questions are posed to conceive of ways that community music at an institutional position can contribute to collaborative action, towards challenging inequality through arts and culture. This becomes an activist process towards transformation, through a 'strategic praxis' that readjusts 'in relation to the flux of daily living'. It becomes an action towards resisting 'an all-encompassing capital system that may provide obstacles to active cultural participation and choice' (p. 169); particularly, through distinctions of what falls within parameters of qualifiable quality, and community practice, which resides in the messy contexts of community development. More Music is equipped for the critical junctures beyond their current position. They can signpost routes in and out of the Hothouse, and they also have the mobility to navigate them, even if their design and development are not given planning permission through the seal of approval which has historically guided the pathway to arts and culture in West End Morecambe. It is critical that cultural leadership that works with intentions towards community music, whether through its music making or its pedagogical possibilities, is an activist process of critical position-taking that utilises the powerful position as a gatekeeper, to unlock historical borders, with and for others as well as within their own practice.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have invited the reader into my worldview of More Music as understood through historical analysis and fieldwork. Through the ways that More Music used their position to open the doors of the Hothouse, towards the possibility of working with more depth of partnership in West End, it showed the resilience and 'confidence and spirit' that they hoped to bring to those with whom they worked. At times, it appeared that More Music's longstanding commitment, despite generating a strong arts and cultural reputation for 'great art and culture for everyone' in West End Morecambe, also went against them. At times, they appeared quite far removed from the West End they 'most wanted to reach'. Throughout the fieldwork, the notion of 'reaching' has been problematic. Despite perceiving themselves as a neighbour within West End, their worldview of West End was, at times, quite far away from the needs and ambitions of Deeper Local. This had implications for who had access and who did not, and what kinds of interventions were legitimised from their central position, and which were not. Time and time again, on my train from Morecambe to Glasgow, this came back to the doxa of More Music; particularly, that the quality that they could offer was needed in West End because 'people deserved better', and More Music felt a responsibility to ensure that 'high quality community music' was achieved. Further to this, how More Music could design and deliver projects was needed, because 'it's hard to understand the funding'. In their role as a cultural leader, they wanted to gift their skills and experience to possible partners, to raise the capacities of the whole group. However, what they wanted back, as I understand it, was a symbolic and institutional retention of quality, or possibly, they were indebted to a system of practice that demanded this of them. Working within this system had implications for their perceived dominance and the need to mentor others in the area. To raise the quality and skills of West End's arts and culture was essential to More Music and was rooted in their passion and vision for doing the work. However, at times this projected a distinction between their work and others. In engaging in mentorship with such intentions, there was a chance that More Music was operating as an organisation who wanted to 'get involved with everything' (64 Million Artists & ACE, 2018, p. 3) because they could see the possibilities of their involvement. This had implications for the ways that an inclusive musical Morecambe could be supported, and the role More Music would have in the social and political structures that enabled such support. As with more centralised attempts to enact a cultural democracy, this possible over-representation could risk reinforcing a dominance: holding others at their current position,

through distinctions of what is ‘high quality community music’ and what is not. Finally, the passion and vision for such doxa are underscored by a cultural assumption of need. The West End needs More Music. This belief has guided who More Music has been, the strategic partnerships they have formed beyond Morecambe and the ways that they understand their situated community practice as participatory. This is particularly evidenced in the fieldwork through their festivals programme. It is crucial to More Music and its supporters that they ‘build confidence and spirit in individuals and communities’ who engage with their work. And, in many ways, they do. However, through the light that shines from the beacon, there were times when More Music missed, or dismissed, the ways that people were taking part in their vision of West End Morecambe and the ones who just might: out of sight of the beacon. More Music needs West End to help them keep connected to ‘why they got into the work in the first place’ (Langley, 2010). Furthermore, in many ways, the West End need More Music. Community music at an institutional position is not impossible to mobilise. However, an established mode of community music at an established institutional position may fall short of the possibilities of the passion that guides it. Instead, a reconciliation and deterritorialisation of the doxa of More Music may keep the doors of the Hothouse open to the new ways of knowing West End. Such knowing may come through critical position-making and critical position-taking that looks to those in the darkest alleys or the highest windows, and asks: where can we go, together?

In the next chapter, the last of three discussion chapters in the thesis – I will take the ideas and provocations outlined through this chapter to reconceptualise what becoming More Music might mean. This following chapter sits within what would traditionally be called the ‘conclusions and recommendations’ in a PhD thesis. I would not assert such power over More Music nor naivety in my position and the power that it holds, to reduce the complex living history of More Music into a series of recommendations. Such actions could be interpreted as a new iteration of ‘how to’ interventions, through which the cultural sectors hegemonic grip can be given new legitimacy through partnership with scholarship. Instead, I look to some possible ways forward that build on the confidence and spirit of More Music, as a way through which they might work as part of West End, through new openings. The road is long, and the passageways are winding, and the endpoint is not found at the conclusion of this thesis. However, many route maps will be designed and repurposed over time, as More Music work towards a Deeper Local. Through the decisions of this inscription, I consider the conditions of hospitality that border them, and how they can be reconceptualised over time with More Music

through their powerful position as a cultural leader. What I offer in the next discussion chapter are a series of what Higgins might refer to as ‘touchstones’ (2012, p. 171): ones that may spark an idea or form a new song, as one part of a collective action towards transformation through community music at an institutional position.

Chapter 7

Becoming: Towards the role and responsibility of a community music organisation in the UK

[…] the critical ethnographer resists domestication and moves from “what is” to “what could be”

Soyini Madison (2019, p. 5)

Critical cultural leadership: where can we go, together?

When asking *where we can go, together?* those with the historical power to mobilise action as gatekeepers can advocate and increase the viability of possible new collaborative opportunities for participation and partnership. In particular, partnerships and ways of working which may feel out of step with established and dominant ways of understanding participation within the arts and cultural sector. This requires a willingness to risk the stability of established positions, to move to critical positions of leadership that bring those with and without historical decision making powers into closer proximity to each other and their experiences, within their particular rule structures. Working in this way is not an attempt to remove oneself from the conditions of a dominant structure, in pursuit of becoming more connected within another. It is also not to disassociate their work from a system that has contributed to their evolution as a cultural leader. Instead, it is position-taking, as a process of becoming a *critical* cultural leader. This recognises ways that destabilising established positions in one structure can be a movement towards better understanding across others; valuing difference and how this can contribute to more activist positions of power, which seek transformation within collaborative action. Critical cultural leadership becomes a process of breaking free from restrictive participation ecologies, by challenging the role played in attributing meaning to participation, through strategic decision making and creating new ways to be collaboratively responsible for its negotiation. In moving towards critical positions of cultural leadership, this is not to suggest that those within established spaces of cultural leadership are not critical within their practice. It is to suggest that by operating through critical cultural leadership, those who seek to be part of changes for the better, through arts and culture, use their powerful positions to influence and challenge how 'change' is framed and by whom. Doing so, to connect perspectives of participation that support more democratic and situated meaning for what arts and culture can, should or could 'do'. This includes being critical of whom this is best serving, and the roles played within this. I assert that such action works towards 'common ground'.

Common ground is a site of action that goes beyond 'boundary walking': a way of working that is taken for granted through the work of community music at an institutional position. As such, boundary walking is an established privilege within a community musician's chameleonic practice. This, in itself, may have become shorthand for the positional dexterity of community musicians in strategic positions of power, legitimised by cultural competencies. Community musicians and cultural leaders operate at the boundaries of different contexts, and

this can be considered a ‘position of strength’ (Higgins, 2012, p. 6). However, attention has not been given to this position as one that needs ‘protecting’ as a ‘space to challenge dominant forms of practice’ (Ibid) at an institutional position. It is a position stimulated by the emancipatory intentions that those at these margins bring for why they do the work. It is also maintained through conditions which legitimise community music programming that responds to particular policy agendas. In this sense, it is a position of strength within the field of cultural leadership. It is a position validated by the seal of approval of its funding, its reputation and its visibility, stimulated from a centre point of a dominant rule structure that it subsequently reinforces; risking detachment from intentions for being there that seek access, inclusion and equity. This conflicts with and causes tensions for boundary walking, as an activist process that ‘points towards a centre but with a sense of going beyond’ (Ibid). Through critical cultural leadership, the ‘sense of going beyond’ becomes the imperative for being there, and the critical positioning that comes from challenging ‘how’ and ‘why’ offers openings towards cultural democracy that resists the hegemonic histories that restrict these positions. Within the context of critical cultural leadership, common ground is to recognise ‘common’, through difference; recognising the plurality of ways that experiences may frame perceptions of participation, and, to acknowledge ‘ground’ as a site of action which is rooted in a sense of place and responsibility to those that connect to it. Responding to questions of ‘how’ and ‘why’ is a negotiation with others that is in closer proximity than when reaching out, or planning from, established central positions. The borders crossed in this process of reaching out are reimagined as ‘intersections’, at which critical cultural leaders are well placed to scaffold towards it as a dialogic space: ready to facilitate and actively listen. Acknowledging hospitality is an ethical responsibility alongside the ability to intersect boundaries of experience. Here, cultural leaders working with community music principles can confront less visible or stable boundaries and bring disparate decision makers closer together, through a common purpose. Embracing a pedagogical perspective of community music is not necessarily to suggest it is applicable only in cultural leadership, as it pertains to community music activity. Considering critical cultural leadership in this way acknowledges the access point made through Higgins’ conceptualisation of community music as hospitality. It follows this route, in itself an unclear destination, to identify some of the conditions of travel, for how critical cultural leaders can work through community music practices at these intersections, towards hospitality. With ‘why’ and ‘with whom’ guiding all decisions and actions, the gatekeeping practices that inadvertently operate at the margins of established rule structures become a scaffolding pathway. Here, critical cultural leaders work to deteritorialise boundaries with and for others, as opposed to feeding established

directives that provide parameters for what this means, despite the good intentions often embroiled within this. This may make intersections to common ground more accessible or appealing to those who cultural leaders most want to reach, historically targeted as beneficiaries within the UK arts and cultural sector, as an exchange at more familiar borders: organisation to organisation; funder to funded; practitioner to participant. Collaborating with people towards common ground is not to recognise them as possible participants, historically outside of decision making within established rule structures of participation. Similarly, when participants have been invited into such processes of decision making, it must be acknowledged that they have done so within hegemonic structures. Instead, working with the people cultural leaders may most want to reach is to do so, side-by-side, at the intersections of understandings, as collaborative policymakers. This confronts the power held in these positions and moves beyond this, towards a more complex and intersecting centre point; of which, how to get there and why is a process of negotiation and understanding across difference. Working in this way becomes a commitment to collaborative action that challenges conditions within a given context, towards unknown ways of working. Included in this is a responsibility to challenge established ways of valuing and validating participation, whilst also not perpetuating the problem by pretending that these systems of value are not there or refuting them, outright. Through putting to work the inheritance of cultural leadership and community music, those that position themselves in this way, within an institutional context, challenge a possible doxa that has historically relied on the impacts of community music activity and the backing of cultural policy for legitimacy, doing so in a strategic move towards collaborative action to scaffold perceptions of participation, which opens an opportunity to negotiate understandings, through closer proximity to others. Challenging the position of gatekeeper, to suggest it can operate in new ways, brings those that 'have a hand in arbitrating funding' (Higgins, 2012, p.173) and those they most want to reach, together; doing so, through a process of critically and reflexively questioning the role and responsibility of those working in leadership positions with intentions to transform, which may have resonance to the passion and visions synonymous with community musicians and their practice. A role and responsibility of working through community music at an institutional position, as a critical cultural leader, is not to recognise the conditions permeating from dominant rule structures and find creative ways through it, as has gained legitimacy through a chameleonic practice. It is to utilise the powerful position of a gatekeeper between policy, people and perceptions of participation, and to mobilise this to 'perform new tasks' (Robbins, 2000, p. 34) that disrupt hegemonic participation policies. Doing so, by bringing these facets closer together, to find ways to negotiate the conditions of

established practice through critical cultural leadership; adjusting what they mean with a clear mandate for why, in collaboration. In this way, critical cultural leadership may be understood through community music as hospitality. It responds to Higgins' (2012) call for 'the space to question and challenge dominant forms of practice' (p. 6), whilst going beyond this to 'consciously cultivate environments of trust and respect through an overarching desire to '"hear" the others "voices"' (p. 156) through institutional spaces of gatekeeping. This process becomes a strategic and pedagogic choice that disrupts the cultural competencies that inform historical ways of playing the game of culture, whilst retaining the spirit of why cultural leaders 'got into the work in the first place' (Langley, 2010, p. 68).

In the preceding chapters, I have suggested that community musicians in strategic leadership positions may take for granted the transformational capacities of their work and the power this produces through its capital. Breaking free from this, through a critique of how and why cultural leaders inhabit particular spaces, may contribute to challenging these historical practices. Through this, who is deemed to participate and who does not is repositioned, through negotiation of how this is understood from divergent perspectives. At common ground, towards this way of collaborating, any preconceived status of 'expert' is disbanded. At common ground, those historically outside of the participation hegemony do not require intervention; they are policymakers with valuable perspectives. At common ground, they are side-by-side with those who historically have aimed to regenerate their environments in pursuit of measurable transformation. At common ground, those that represent established modes of participation and funding need not approach common ground with the intention to 'troubleshoot' or deliver. These can be considered critical modes of doing, with the power to challenge inequality through the process of becoming something new. In this sense, notions of expert are not only disbanded, they are challenged. Through this, critical cultural leaders critique how and why such capital has been accumulated, repositioning it to understand how it can be converted to work for the possibilities of others. Critical cultural leaders and those coming into closer proximity to common ground will likely glean only the most surface level of a lived inequality. For this reason, common ground is an unstable site of action, due to the disruption of established positions of power, through the process of collaborating across perceptions of participation. As such, those with historical capital within participation ecologies must listen and negotiate towards reconciliation and question what structural changes are required for access, inclusion and equity to be more than a way to justify the existing rule structure, which it is at risk, at times, of replicating. Suggesting there is a need to reconsider how participation

is framed and by whom, is not a new proposition and, as Brook *et al.* (2020) suggest 'recognising the problem does not solve it' (p. 24). However, when considering it as a way in which community music in the UK operates and is legitimised in and through institutions within the contexts of arts and cultural policy, it may be a familiar proposition with a 'new promise' (Higgins 2012, p. 172). The doxa of More Music that I suggest through chapters 4 and 5, can, with a view to work towards common ground, be reconceptualised to support critical cultural leadership: building from a longstanding commitment to a sense of place, whilst recognising ways that 'place' has been historically legitimised within cultural policy, often to serve the 'national interest' (Durrer *et al.*, 2019, p. 317). By illuminating a doxa that may underscore institutional decision making, it opens possibilities for those operating from this perception of participation to critique how such meaning has been made. It also confronts how this may be both transformative and restrictive in nurturing a creative place, and how it may become a useful tool for scaffolding towards common ground between policy, people and perceptions of participation, through critical cultural leadership, as an activist process of negotiation. This is not primarily to serve the 'national interest', although this is one of the intersecting points that contribute to negotiation at common ground. It is to work critically as part of arts and policy governance structures by utilising their powerful positions as gatekeepers to open discourse of where the national interest may not mirror the living histories of the places and people they most want to reach. In this way, 'tools', as a familiar term in participatory contexts, becomes not an instructional manual of how to run a great workshop, build an organisation, or work with people in particular socioeconomic disadvantage, within the established rule structure. Instead, 'tools' can offer a constructive way of knowing, towards more sustainable and representative participation ecologies. Through repurposing established meaning and doxa, this becomes a way to dismantle historical distinctions of participation. Such meaning is recycled to form a scaffold for more democratic ways of understanding participation. It is done so in collaboration with those within divergent rule structures, whom community musicians in strategic leadership roles have the capital to intersect. Established and celebrated networks and strategic relationships can be utilised to challenge constructively through a critical, destabilised position. More Music and institutions that resonate with the propositions I suggest can also harness the energy that comes with the belief that 'high quality community music' should be accessible to all; reconfiguring and negotiating what this means, to whom and why. Negotiating this also includes challenging the ways this may historically reinforce hegemony. Through this, More Music may offer those who find similar tension between passion and vision, and the established conditions of the game of culture, an example

of critical practice within an institutionalised context that seeks to participate in transformative musical experiences. However, without challenging what has come before, doxic conditions that underscore decision making also represents a threat to this progress.

Illustrating 'common ground'

By engaging in the kind of critical cultural leadership that I suggest, those who seek to widen participation towards access, inclusion and equity, may move closer to reflexive, collaborative decision making that challenges hegemonic practices. This is an attempt to negotiate towards common ground between those traditionally in, and out of, measurable impacts of participation, doing so by employing pedagogical approaches within community music that resonate through hospitality. Through this, it becomes a way to deteritorialise how quality is understood, constructed and situated within emancipatory agendas at strategic positions of leadership. Through the recognition of the powerful position they hold and a commitment to a reconciliation of how this power can be put to work, critical cultural leaders can reflexively challenge dual inheritances, plural rationalities and the doxa that this may foster. Scholarship beyond community music is also facing towards a critique of power and decision making within participatory arts contexts. Community music and cultural policy scholarship must collaborate to conceive of some of these tensions of critical positioning, as they have historically been out of sync and offer valuable insight to each other. However, it is important to reinforce that 'common' in the way that I am suggesting, is not to imply 'same'. It is to gesture towards 'shared' as a way to understand the plural perspectives that encounter each other through difference, as interactions that can inform and challenge assumptions and deeply imbedded beliefs that have dominated decisions in arts and cultural participation. In this way, engaging in critical cultural leadership as an activist process, towards 'common ground' is to suggest that it is not a fixed or designated space, arrived at and built upon. It takes influence from Higgins' (2012) proposition of a cultural democracy to come, as part of a pathway, in development, through the ways that community music is engaged in. It develops from this, to consider Hadley & Belfiore's (2018) provocation that understandings of cultural democracy must be situated in its 'present historical moment' (p. 221). It is a proposition suggesting that cultural democracy is unlikely to be made possible through institutions within existing frameworks. Working towards the idea of 'to come', through the proposition of 'common ground' makes space for community music at an institutional position to do something

different, with shared purpose, as a critical cultural leader. Community music at an institutional position, as a critical cultural leader, mobilises the powerful position as a gatekeeper, to open communication between policy, people and perceptions of participation in spaces made common through their shared instability. 'Common ground' is an unstable and ever-changing site of action, engaged in through negotiation and collaborative action.

The following diagram is an attempt to illustrate one of many possible examples of where common ground might be found through such critique. These sites of common ground are situated across the established boundaries of rule structures; where negotiated, intersecting central points may be less visible from the established positions held in particular rule structures. The size of the circles, which represent 'rule structures', is not to suggest that each are equal; their function in this diagram is to represent their intersections, relating to their central points. The size of the circles would expand and contract, within the perception of participation they are positioned from. Such relational understandings can be supported through a move towards the connecting intersections of the diagram. In this way, common ground is a centre point that is unfamiliar for all. It is scaffolded by - but not governed through - the role of critical cultural leaders and their responsibility to increase access, inclusion and equity through participation. I am focusing on the ways that critical cultural leaders can scaffold, as part of an activist process, to respond to the questions outlined in chapters 1 and 2. However, as an unfolding idea, the scaffolds that others make for critical cultural leaders (for example, partners in community development contexts) also deserve attention. The outermost layer in this diagram represents examples of existing rule structures most commonly intersecting community music activity in the UK. The dislocated border represents traditional policymakers and funding representatives. This can also be considered as a letter 'C', inverted in, as a way to model democratisation of culture, which historically informs how policy is shaped. The middle layer represents familiar spaces of participation and familiar borders that are commonly established sites of decision making or intervention. Finally, the innermost layers represent possible common ground, with less familiar decision making, but where those working through community music at an institutional position may be well placed to connect people, policy and perceptions of participation. The latter may support openings towards collaborative action and more situated meanings for participation. The spaces in the middle, which represent 'common ground' are intentionally left blank. This is to show that, although interconnection across different groups can be made possible, the current picture, as I have discussed throughout this thesis, suggests that decision making within these spaces, which

represent a broader intersection of those involved or impacted by participation policies, are less inhabited spaces. Common ground, as sites of negotiation, are not destinations in themselves. As such, they are left blank to make clear that not all perceptions of participation represented on common ground, will always be equally weighted in every decision making process or easy to articulate. It also suggests the possible historical disconnection of some rule structures from others. Through the process of negotiation on common ground, to support access, inclusion and equity, dominance may be found, or voices made louder, in some segments more than others. This is not to suggest that this dominance is static, becoming a reproduction of the central issue of institutionalised community music that I have discussed. Instead, it is to recognise that on common ground, fluidity and a sense of going beyond must be harnessed, through the ways that perceptions of participation intersect, and the negotiation that follows. This process is vital if more equitable and collaborative action towards decision making for participation can be supported, and historical sites of symbolic violence can be put to work in new ways, towards transformation.

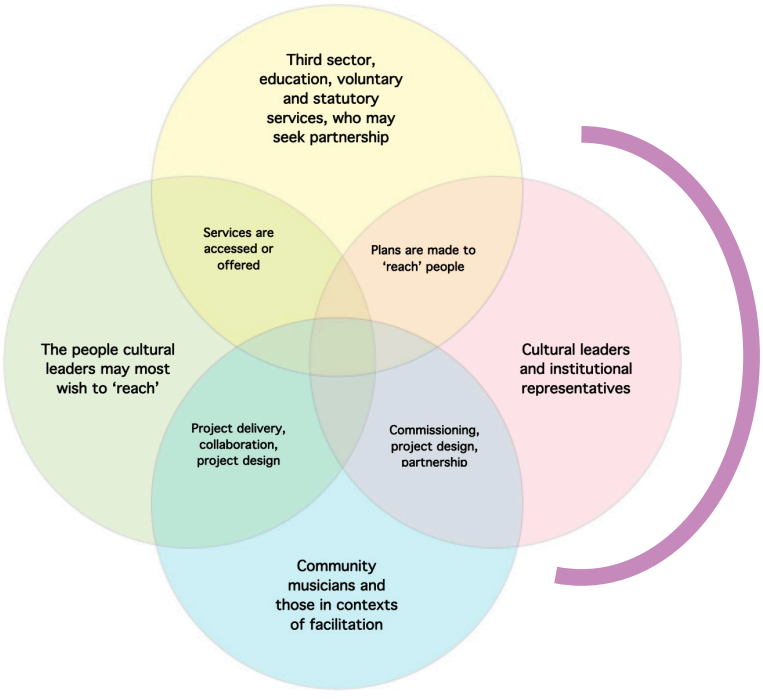

Figure 14 - Venn diagram of common ground, familiar borders of strategic decision making for participation and possible spaces of negotiation

One of the challenges facing action towards common ground may be a dislocation between policy, people, and the perceptions of participation that influence the kind of arts and cultural activity that takes place. In the case of More Music, their longstanding commitment and support for their work have promoted a kind of decision making structure that takes for granted that the cultural leadership enacted through the institution can bring about positive and transformative change. I have outlined examples of where I have understood that it does, where it does not, where it could and where it might, through conceptualising their role and responsibility as operating at an institutional position. At familiar intersections of partnership, the doxa which I have outlined appears more stable. However, when More Music's role as a cultural leader operates at less familiar borders, with people from the local area that are less familiar within strategic partnerships as decision makers, the doxa and the actions taken are unstable and can be perceived as risky. This instability appeared to bring More Music closer to the kinds of community development that community music is often understood to support, as discussed in chapter 3, whilst also destabilising their established position and approaches to partnership. To conceive of this as a possible opening to critical cultural leadership, those working in this way bring the organisation into closer proximity to the lived experiences of those they most want to reach and, I am confident there are others, of whom, this study has not included. They also possess the kinds of capital that can influence how this can be perceived by traditional policymakers and within the institution itself. As such, the intersections of common ground that I have illustrated here represent a situated practice with local partners. Such intersections can also be considered with critical cultural leaders and their relationship to funders and traditional policymakers. As such, the narratives critical cultural leaders construct to satisfy funding obligations must make space to bring others into that discourse with them. I suggest that when the dislocated border from Figure 14 is recentred and positioned from the common ground, out, it may become a way to illustrate plurality in participation as a more representative starting point for how decisions are made. In this way, critical cultural leaders may support a space to both challenge dominance and protect difference in the ways that participation is valued and understood, doing so, in ways more complimentary to the visions of cultural democracy often espoused through community music practices. This is illustrated in Figure 15:

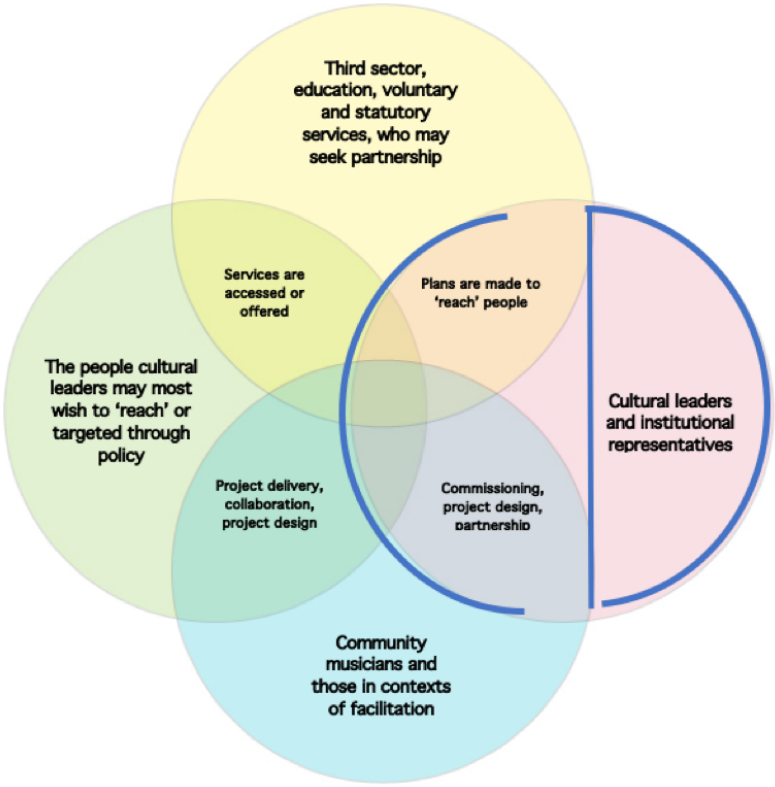

Figure 15 - 'Common Ground' as an intersecting, plural starting point for decision making

I now look at three factors – people, policy, and perceptions of participation, to frame a conceptualisation of how community music through hospitality may be understood to contribute to critical cultural leadership as an activist process, towards common ground.

People

Community musicians working within strategic positions of cultural leadership operate at positions which can be understood to be gatekeeping, at intersections of policy and participation. Despite this, the neoliberal conditions of these positions have implications for processes of decision making in participation, particularly who is involved in this. Within and beyond institutional structures, community musicians work with individuals who are, through their encounters of music-making and project management, deeply connected to people that organisations such as More Music, seek to engage. The approaches to situated leadership and being with others, through collaboration that can flourish in these contexts, are ways of working that can support cultivated environments. Through this, ideas develop as a give and take between musical identities, contexts, and a recognition of the unequal relationship that

manifests through a process of intervention, as Higgins suggests through the call, the invitation and the welcome. It is the reflexivity demanded through this recognition and the critical questions that flow from it, which challenge historical constructions of participation. I suggest such reflexivity can be put to work, through institutional positions, by working through community music principles in strategic positions of leadership. Questioning who is represented within this, and how established cultural leaders utilise their position in the field for greater mobility of others is one of many possible steps towards becoming a supporting scaffold on the journey to common ground. In this way, the representation of people that organisations may most want to reach must be visible and recognisable within their decision making processes. This may be particularly important in bridging perceptions of those who may be outside of measurable impacts of participation or may view organisations like More Music as a 'big organisation'. This recognition needs to be visible within the decision making structures, not just as partners, but within the institutional structures themselves, such as on boards and in the cultural workforce. Here, working towards common ground within the 'flux of daily living' contributes to an organisational habitus that has identified the ways their position is restrictive to others and makes space for this to be confronted, by working through this reflexively with others.

Continued and focused efforts to make this pathway to the Hothouse accessible for those who may traditionally be outside of the common cultural competencies that it embodies, requires more visible representation of West End Morecambe. This is both within activity and through the institutional position itself. This is not to suggest that this is not already in play, in More Music. However, whilst an 'us' and 'them' dichotomy is given legitimacy through what is taken for granted – notably, through the production of 'quality' – there remain access codes for collaboration and partnership that place roadblocks on the process towards common ground. Particularly, if the notion of expert and the power to retain narratives of participatory quality remains in the grasp of established cultural production, which positions West End as 'in need'. By connecting with people through a sense of place, recognising historical distinctions and recycling capital to work with others in new ways, may become a scaffold that negotiates new ways of understanding how people take part in and experience musical collaborations. This takes place through intersections of people, policy and their perceptions of participation. A role and responsibility of a community music institution must be to challenge the structures that have legitimised its growth. Through doing so, it becomes a way to connect more representationally with the people and ideas they most want to reach.

Policy

Community music at an institutional position is a product of dual inheritance and plural rationalities. Through a chameleonic practice, community musicians have been able to convert the capital forged through this, which supports competencies needed to adjust how participation is communicated, to whom and how. This has enabled community music to move from the fringes to the centre of public policies for the arts. However, to take a step back and look at a possible history of this trajectory, the lines that can be traced towards an institutional position for community music are not wildly dissimilar from that which can be traced of Bourdieu's own journey. Bourdieu, as a descendant of 'peasants' (Medvetez and Sallaz, 2018, p. 1) situated his experience as being without the established class backing that would grant many of his peer's direct routes to convert social and economic capital into cultural capital. Such conversion privileged them with institutional capital that would set them up in the labour market, and for Bourdieu, was not preloaded with the privilege of access. Instead, he could be considered to be a 'precocious and ambitious membe[r] of the subordinate clas[s]' who moved towards the 'upper echelons of the social structure' (p. 2). Community music, as a descendant of the community arts movement, could be seen to follow a similar path. This is not to be considered as 'peasants' but as a social group outside of the established modes of access that privileged a particular arts and cultural lineage, which, over time, has become part of the governing structure for art and cultural participation. Bourdieu himself considered his dexterity in his progression as '"oblats miraculés" or dedicated servan[t] to the academic cult, who achieve[s] a miraculous trajectory but nonetheless feel like [an] outside[r] to the consecrated educational elite' (Ibid). Through their movement from the fringes to the centre, community musicians could be argued to have utilised a chameleonic practice to mobilise opportunities for people to participate in the arts as 'precocious and ambitious' members of the community arts movement. Such actions supported community musicians in leadership positions within established arts and cultural policy structures, through the inclusion agenda of the 1990s, underscored by the ambition of the 1970s activists. This agenda may have increased the visibility of their passion and vision within the centralised gaze of public funding for arts and culture. For Bourdieu, this trajectory goes upwards. When looking at the funding structures as a relationship map, the trajectory would indeed go up, with funders and cultural gatekeepers given responsibility for policy, towards the top (within which, they have their own relationship maps to traverse). However, it also moves towards the centre: a core of cultural competencies. These intersect many boundaries, dictating what falls within and outside of the production of

participation when community music activity intersects the governing structures of the 'consecrated elite'. Such mobility has contributed to understandings of community music as a chameleonic practice. This has stimulated fertile conditions for community music to gain recognition as a participatory practice in academies, in cultural institutions, as the foregrounding for cultural institutions themselves and, as part of evidence-bases for policy in arts and culture. Although, as Lonie (2018) suggests, it is unclear how reporting influences the policy decisions made. This disparity and dislocation from passion and vision within the structures that govern arts and culture, influences who is considered a policymaker. As an activist process towards common ground, a role and responsibility of a community music institution must be to destabilise and advocate for new meanings for who is considered a policymaker and how voices are represented within this; reconciling that this may disrupt the stability of established positions.

In the case of More Music, the policy shifts, and the strategic direction of the organisation's participatory focus, are very closely aligned. Sometimes, they are round the table, other times, they follow the direction of travel. Towards common ground, it may be pertinent to ask: who is round the table or interpreting policy through participation, and what purpose have they for being there? Due to their longstanding presence, More Music is in a unique position to bridge relationships and possible openings to common ground in West End Morecambe, for those that may appear to be at different ends of a continuum: policymakers and participants. Common ground requires disbanding of such dichotomies and would recognise individuals as both policymakers and participants, irrespective of the rule structure that they historically represent. As two roles that everyone negotiating through common ground has the responsibility for, designing the intersections that connect different perceptions of participation cannot be done by critical cultural leaders alone. However, they are well placed in their commitment to relationship building and to access, inclusion and equity, to utilise their powerful position towards these ways of working. Through this, they open the possibility to be a supporting scaffold towards and beyond the intersections of negotiation on common ground. They are doing so through mobilising pedagogical practices that resonate with community music through hospitality, as a way to conceive of their role as a critical cultural leader.

Perceptions of Participation

The compromise between passion and vision, and the structures that govern arts and culture, might be most recognisable in and produce, what Ingram and Abrahams (2016) refer to as 'habitus tug' (p.146): dissonance between where you come from and where you find yourself when fields of play have been historically dislocated. Despite the unease with established governing structures for arts and cultural participation that I have discussed, without connection between cultural sector infrastructure and community music projects, it would possibly risk continued stratification of who is in and outside of strategic decision making. Such stratification may create new articulations of a familiar problem for the value of arts and culture. Positioning community music, or any mode of participation committed to cultural democracy, as an alternative to or distinct from organisations that work within cultural sector structures may reinforce unhelpful distinctions. This may manifest in what Bourdieu may recognise as 'a different translation of the same sentence' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 83) for ways that cultural production is valued and by whom. Instead, common ground may bring these contexts (e.g. community music projects, community development needs, traditional policy making spaces) nearer to each other, so that difference can be negotiated and better understood, in situ. If 'there is no way out of the game of culture' (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 4), then critical cultural leaders must negotiate the pluralities of their institutional responsibility and the competencies that have enabled them to retain a position of strength in the game; doing so alongside others, with whom they may not always see eye-to-eye, or those they may have to convince. This position acknowledges that their role and responsibility within this may need to move to more acute positions of disruption, if practice is to work towards transformative possibilities in participation. As such, for organisations like More Music, the boundary walking of the community musician remains essential within their practice. Moreover, through critical cultural leadership, such intersections become a strategic juncture that connects those with the power within the governing rule structure to resource it, with those who just might collaborate. Through such gatekeeping, the rules of the game of participation may be challenged, and critical cultural leaders may work strategically with intentions more resonant for why they established their practice. However, if the work is to be more rooted or transformative, then negotiation between the social and political structures must support new ways of utilising powerful positions. Through the intersections of the fields of play, those historically beyond the grasp of established policy practices – as the community arts movement once was – are more equitably represented in policy making. Taking this position, as critical cultural leaders,

acknowledges that it is preloaded with inheritance and reconciles the expectations that come along with this.

A role and responsibility of a community music institution must be to make space for established conditions that give a seal of approval for 'quality' to be redefined. Doing so, through context-specific meaning and ongoing negotiation with those involved; recognising that this may disrupt established notions of quality in participatory contexts. For example, if only that which is considered and reported as 'high quality community music' is valued in participation narratives, it is in danger of reproduction. In the case of More Music, the doxa contributed to governing perceptions of participation. Despite seeking to 'build confidence and spirit and individuals', the mentorship and visions of access, inclusion and equity are subject to conditionality, through their dominant narratives of participation. This risks holding others at their current positions through project design that works within these conditions, as well as holding the institutions themselves at centralised positions within dominant rule structures. Movement towards common ground seeks to utilise the experience of community music at an institutional position, whilst also reconceptualising what this powerful position can do, towards transformation. In this, the conditions of participation are negotiated and better understood through the plurality of meaning they hold, from different perspectives. Through such scaffolding, critical cultural leadership through community music at an institutional position becomes a powerful ally of a place, through collaborative action. Systemic inequalities are deeply rooted in the production of cultural sector participation narratives. Going beyond subverting these conditions within the existing rule structure, towards actively challenging their construction, by asking 'how' and 'why', requires complex structural navigation and connection across difference. To conceive of a role and responsibility of a community music institution is to suggest that those working in these strategic positions undertake their practice with an ethical commitment to challenging inequality and, as such, disrupting the conditions which may have enabled their trajectory of support. Through critical cultural leadership, More Music can bring the confidence and spirit of their workforce (who value the plurality of people and their ideas) and a pedagogical commitment of hospitality to the centre of the organisation's critical decision making, strategic design and purpose; in doing so, destabilising the existing rule structure of participation and breaking open new meaning which will support their process towards common ground. Such destabilisation is within reach for More Music, as a possible example of community music at an institutional position. By collaborating with others on their journey - a journey they have already begun - they face towards new openings for the ways

they may be a scaffold to common ground for others, in particular those who have given their historical position legitimacy. More Music has opened its doors to such common ground, and this thesis is one small step towards supporting their future navigation of it.

More Music: a critical cultural leader and example of community music at an institutional position

If community musicians in cultural leadership positions resisted too fervently the structures that have legitimised their position between policy and participation, in an attempt to get back to 'what brought them to the work in the first place', community music, as a field of practice, may once again find itself on the fringes of public policy for the arts. It may also risk contributing to more space at the top or centre, where further social stratification of who is making decisions at senior positions could contribute to 'inequality talk' (Brook *et al*. 2019). Community musicians at strategic positions of leadership and as part of the cultural workforce have the skills and resilience to subvert such talk. They can, through reflexive accounting of their roles and responsibilities, move it towards meaningful, collaborative action through a malleable approach to working with others, at the interface of many thresholds of responsibility: a plural rationality, always in development and ready to take new risks. However, there is work to do to move such pluralities closer to common ground as regular sites of strategic praxis. This is not a chameleonic practice within the existing rule structure; it is a movement to something new. It is not 'changing its spots and keeping its heart' (Moser, 2010, p. 75), but owning its position and its power and utilising it for the common good, within values conceived and negotiated through partnership. In this way, community music at an institutional position may mobilise through critical cultural leadership with high visibility. Through this, living histories of situated inequality that interact with access, inclusion and equity in arts and cultural participation can develop from the passion and vision of community musicians in strategic positions of leadership as well as the institutional power they hold. This does not seek to reinforce otherness but seeks to acknowledge and negotiate difference and perceptions of participation, transparently. Critical cultural leaders acknowledge the spectres that haunt their inheritance. They recognise that those who have come before them may have compromised emancipatory visions so that new openings, such as common ground, are a future promise of their past practice. Critical cultural leaders engage in an activist process towards common ground and view this as a way to support radical sites of social justice. Those who are working

in this way face towards the social and political structures that govern arts and cultural participation and the inequality that stimulate it. Doing so, critical cultural leaders ask, ‘where can we go, together?’.

To lead to my conclusion, the best way to illustrate the argument set forth here is through an example of becoming More Music, as a critical cultural leader. More Music’s location is by the sea and over time has become noted, and projected through the organisation, as a beacon. How this is represented through their seminal Lantern Festival is important in illustrating the ways that More Music’s participation has been structurally positioned and institutionally understood; although I remind the reader that there are many possible interpretations of participation in West End Morecambe, which is both part of its charm and part of its problem. I want to reacquaint you with the Lantern Lady, to illustrate a possible role and responsibility of community music at an institutional position, through critical cultural leadership.

Figure 16 - The Lantern Lady

Figure 17 - A glimpse of the Lantern procession in 2017

Instead of the threads holding her from above, the Lantern Lady’s actions are connected to someone on the ground. That person needs to be flanked by others, who can reinforce the heavy structure. These people also help guide the person with the weight of the Lantern Lady on their shoulders. Together, the representatives keep her grounded and well-balanced and the procession behind her is keeping momentum, whilst the Baybeat Street Band set her rhythm. While those on the ground keep her upright, the Lantern Lady herself is put to work in different ways, to welcome participation, unknown. For the child at the window, watching the

procession pass by, such mechanics and balances are out of sight. For the child, a beautiful mystical character is floating through her street and brings magic to her window. She responds to a new opening: it is a story, it is a song, it is a dream. Alongside the puppeteers guiding the Lantern Lady's route from the ground, and the people who have more visibly opted-into 'participation' in the Lantern Festival, the child at the window has become part of her story. She is helping her along her journey, participating in new ways, outside of measurable impact. This is not a journey to the Hothouse (although this might be an intersection that their journey negotiates), but back, next year, to the same street, where the child, a year older, may tell tales to younger siblings, or recall the visitation for themselves: invited in, once more. The child is the reason that the Lantern Lady is there. She is not there 'because people are poor', but yet, in some ways, she is perceived to be. The Lantern Lady and those who hold her up are there to 'celebrate the local community'. She is also there for dreaming: More Music's dream of building confidence and spirit through the arts, and the child's dream, which is also in development and may always be her privilege to keep to herself, out of reach of the structures that have made the Lantern Lady possible. She may also choose to share her story. It is the resilience and responsibility of More Music to always come back through the streets of the West End each year. It is also the child, often out of sight, that creates an integral part of the Lantern Lady's meaning: a meaning that is plural and often, outside of how decisions are made. Those who guide the Lantern Lady cannot always see the child at the window; they need to focus on the path ahead, as they lead the procession and those who participate, forwards - to the centre, while holding her upwards – as a beacon. Those who produce the event within More Music may be at the Hothouse already, undertaking the intricate work of event production, also out of sight. As such, they do not glimpse the dreamer at the window, where the Lantern Lady may have moved from visitation to invitation through a negotiation of meaning that is out of reach of the governing structures of participation yet has the possibilities to intersect it. They cannot see the traces they leave behind them, beyond the margins of the procession and the child may not see the centre point, towards which the procession travels, nevertheless, they travel: together. At this moment, through 'common ground' how these stories – the Lantern Lady and the child at the window – intersect with each other, will be opened through the proximity of More Music (as a critical cultural leader) to the divergent rule structures that overlap, through negotiation. In this way, to look beyond the route they travel and look towards the scaffolding it sets forth for openings to future participation, can place the possibilities of the Lantern Festival within an 'unfolding pathway' (Higgins, 2012, p. 175) of transformation, towards critical cultural leadership.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The possible role and responsibility of a community music institution

More Music shine their light as a beacon towards the places where they believe community music can have the most impact. They have made more publicly funded arts and culture available in West End Morecambe. This light and its potential to illuminate places, where community music can be put to work, are malleable. I suggest the spaces it may be best to illuminate on, moving forward, are the places where decisions for arts and cultural participation are made, within the governing structures that produce particular perceptions of participation.

As cultural leaders, much time is spent attempting to evidence changes within people's lives, through arts and cultural participation. Through critical cultural leadership, what may be achieved if instead, the changes sought are the ones made to the rules and manoeuvres which give such intentions to change, legitimacy? There are fabulous people at the thresholds of arts and cultural institutions, waiting to welcome. However, the spaces where they hope to welcome, have a series of physical and symbolic access codes. Although many cultural leaders may do their best to subvert this, doxa may play a role in concealing these barriers. Furthermore, these strategic positions remain at the mercy of the governing structures of cultural policy. Whilst participation is understood from the centre out, or top down, the possibilities of community music at an institutional position are in a dangerous place. This point has been clearly illustrated through the UK response to COVID-19 and the cultural leaders who have awaited their fate at the hands of a London-centric cultural renewal taskforce[51].

The people and places located in this study are bold and bring great joy to many. However, this is underwritten by a governing structure, beyond More Music, that depends on deficits for legitimacy. Such parameters hold the possibilities of cultural institutions, such as More Music, at their current position. Through their attempts to work towards Deeper Local, these governing

[51] At the time of writing, Arts Council England have distributed around £98 million of £160 million in pubic funds made available for the UK arts and cultural sector, through the Cultural Recovery Fund. Around 56% of the overall fund is reserved for the ACE's National Portfolio Organisations. More information here: https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/covid19/data

structures have offered an example of how this can create tension. However, I have faith. Despite my criticism of community music as a chameleonic practice, those inheriting its capital have the power to organise through the competencies this fosters, particularly to reconfigure the malleability that a chameleonic practice manifests, towards somewhere new. Such organising can contribute to collective action. However, cultural leaders cannot and should not do this alone, as a group who know the game of culture. Those targeted at the heart of participation must be at the new centre-points of decision making for publicly funded arts and cultural participation. Furthermore, these centre-points must intersect at less stable boundaries, more representative of the plurality of perspectives that encounter participation. Here, they must inform participatory policy. This is not an invitation or visitation within the established rule structure. Working beyond stable margins mobilises the powerful position that critical cultural leadership have to bring policymakers – established and unknown – together. Doing so, to excavate the meanings participation has been afforded, and recycle them, within living and situated understandings today as a process of reflexive meaning-making that intersects people, policy and perceptions of participation. In this, there is also a responsibility to safeguard the voices of those historically targeted through participation if, for whatever reason, it is not safe or responsible for them to raise their voices themselves. In this way, those who gatekeep between a passion and vision for transformation, and the structures that govern the work must continue to find creative ways to raise them, with them. They must also contribute to better understandings of why. Working in this way is not a reproduction of the status quo for the dominant ways that value narratives are shaped, as I discuss in chapter 3. Knowing there is a problem with how participation is validated, and having the power to subvert it, is one role and responsibility that those seeking transformation as cultural leaders can respond to and More Music are an example of an organisation who attempt to do so. However, to understand critical cultural leadership as operating through community music as hospitality, it must take notice of 'deeper and more critical reflection[s] on the underlying processes and assumptions of community music initiatives' (Bartleet and Higgins, 2018, p. 7). As with the 'to come' within the possibilities of hospitality, it is a way of working with others that acknowledges conditions of practice, whilst working with the belief that there are ways that they can move beyond this. In this way, critical cultural leadership is an activist process of negotiation. Community music at an institutional position takes Higgins' conceptualisation of hospitality in community music and confronts it through a call to those working in leadership positions. In this way, it is a position that attempts to critically consider underlying – or as I have argued through this thesis, governing – processes and assumptions that demand return on investment, through community

music activity in the UK. I have sought to understand hospitality as a relationship through position-making (as a beacon) and position-taking (as a cultural leader). I hope to have offered a way to apply Bourdieu's sociological theory of practice as a way to understand possible conditions within Higgins' conceptualisation of community music through hospitality, specifically for those working as gatekeepers between policy and participation in publicly funded community music activity. This can be considered as a way to conceptualise how power is put to work within structures that community music in the UK commonly operates within, in particular, how this intercepts the transformational intentions of those who work through emancipatory agendas. From this perceptive, a role and responsibility of a community music institution is to take a step back from its current position. Through this, space is made to consider how the governing structures of its practice may be over-representative, or at times misaligned, from the values that it proclaims to drive their passion and vision for participation. It is a responsibility to question established roles, as a way to conceive of their possibilities, specifically, if the skills, networks and experiences at such positions open new strategic ways for community music to work as part of collaborative action. These possibilities are pre-loaded with a critical and cultural legacy of community music in the UK. This is one that celebrates, whilst also warning of dangers that previous pathways have encountered, at intersections of arts and cultural policy. Such action goes beyond recognising the conditions of hospitality that border publicly funded community music, towards an activist position closely aligned with community music's UK inheritance; specifically, ways to utilise the capital gained from working within the policy conditions of public funding, to become a collaborative ally with others. In this way, community music at an institutional position has a responsibility to resist hierarchy and hegemonic cultural practices and to follow the pathways to participation that are possibly beyond established ways of valuing participation.

In the case of More Music, the longstanding commitment to representing a historically dismissed place may have been a scaffold for others to find their way to Morecambe, to call it home and to contribute to its creative possibilities. Over time, the light from the beacon of More Music has drawn people from their windows and doors. It has drawn people to the festivals and possibly contributed scaffolds to unknown creative spaces. Such spaces operate beyond or beneath the beacon's light; out of reach from established perceptions of participation. However, through a promise of hospitality, of which this research is part, I believe More Music is prepared to open the doors to the Hothouse, take a look around, and say *where can we go, together?* There are many allies, established and to come, who will work

with More Music to scaffold towards this common ground. To work towards common ground, together, the biggest challenge for More Music may be to shed the skin of the chameleon that is privileged through the cultural competencies of its practice and to be prepared to destabilise their position as an expert. In doing so, they go where the shared perception of participation may lead them, of which, the 'music' within community music may be but one of many creative and critical parts that will be vital to their critical cultural leadership within West End Morecambe. Through a longstanding commitment to building 'confidence and spirit in individuals and communities', there is more music in Morecambe, just as was planned at the residency's arrival in 1993. The cultural ecosystem developing in Morecambe, composed of those who have chosen to invest their creative passion and vision into the area, could also be argued to be part of More Music's more than musical impact within the West End. The role and responsibility of community music at an institutional position is not fixed: it is fluid, it is one of constant negotiation, and the meaning it holds is malleable, in development and is to come. One of the resounding warnings from my reading of community music's past practice is that when mobilised towards the centre for funding arts and culture, community music has an important role to play in making sense of policy through practice. For this reason, community music does not and should not be discarded from the dominant funding mechanisms, if those working towards hospitality in critical leadership positions challenge that which may be taken for granted. However, a more acute challenge to its hegemonic and legitimising conditions require action and support. In doing so, such critical positions reconsider purpose, aims, how to get there, and with whom. In this way, community music at an institutional position, such as More Music, can work towards a promise of hospitality: unstable and unknown, through a commitment to utilising a position of power as a scaffold to more democratically negotiated perspectives of participation.

More Music operates through multiple modalities: a plural rationality. Whom they are required to be at any given time, within West End Morecambe and beyond, is always in response. The fluidity through which these modalities change has become taken for granted. As such, representatives of More Music do so often with seamless manoeuvres, across familiar boundaries. Through the historical analysis, I considered this within the context of what has brought their work to Deeper Local, mirrored by my arrival in West End Morecambe in 2015. Here, I documented critical instances in their evolution which have given rise to their position-making as a beacon of community music, and their position-taking as a cultural leader. Through the units of analysis in chapter 5, I look at critical instances from my time with More Music,

between 2015 - 2018. These are a way to consider their positions through their Deeper Local ambitions, where, at times, they reach beyond the familiar territory and test their positions within unfamiliar partnerships. Exploring how such risk taking interacts with their centralised vantage point within the established rule structure of arts and cultural participation has enabled this critical ethnographic inquiry to move towards a conceptual framework of community music at an institutional position, as critical cultural leadership. In chapter 6, I suggest ways that this position interacts with my conceptual framework and discourse from the literature of cultural leadership, cultural democracy and cultural values, community music, and bordering and gatekeeping. Through this, I have considered what the role and responsibility of critical cultural leaders might be, when understood to work through the pedagogical commitment to access, inclusion and equity, that is understood to guide the practice of community musicians. As a conclusion to this, I have called to those who may recognise ripples of More Music in their work, to stand with them to reconceive the possibilities for the power of community music as a strategic praxis for cultural leadership.

I suggest that community musicians in strategic positions of leadership have a role and responsibility to connect and support 'common ground', understood as unstable spaces of collaboration, where access, inclusion and equity are negotiated across policy, people and perceptions of participation. Through destabilising established perceptions of participation within the arts and cultural sector, I suggest that who is 'expert' is reconfigured and can become more equitable through understanding the conditions within hospitality at strategic positions of leadership. I suggest that, as a conceptual framework, critical cultural leadership explicitly engages in reflexive positioning and constructively challenges dominant discourse. It is a position that uses the capital gained through its historical inheritance as an emancipatory tool, in collaboration with others. At this position, it may be possible for community music to contribute to a strategic praxis which has an openness to transform, as well as to contribute to the kinds of transformations often espoused of participation. Challenging inequality through community music practices as critical cultural leadership must be the guiding objective of working with others that seek transformation. Specifically, one responsibility of a community music institution (as a critical cultural leader) may be to grapple with the tension such critical positioning evokes. Furthermore, responsibility may be to locate this position in ways that can strengthen connection and understanding between allies: traditional policymakers and the people they most hope to reach. As I bring this thesis to a conclusion, if not the conclusion of the argument itself, I suggest five points of reflexivity that may scaffold the move to cultural

leadership as critical position-taking and common ground. These are informed by Soniyi Madison's (2012) critical questions from chapter 2, which supported my own reflexive position-taking as a researcher in this study:

1. Recognising one's position as a cultural leader who strives towards a pedagogical commitment of hospitality, through engaging reflexivity with questions that challenge established positions and practices;

2. Locating such recognition as part of a living history that understands its position-taking as part of an inheritance of community music's past practice in the UK, including its relationship with cultural policy, the community arts movement, and the specific lines of inquiry that have crafted the space for the established position it holds;

3. Contribute reflexive questions through working in collaboration with others who identify their positions in these ways. In doing so, finding ways to make sense of the complex history and plural rationalities that cultural leaders face towards. Pedagogies of leadership, histories of practice, and rule structures may be three possible categories through which to negotiate ongoing meaning, as part of a strategic praxis of negotiation towards common ground;

4. Continue to identify the allies that will grapple with these questions and commit to the instability of a strategic praxis, committed to access, inclusion and equity. Together, using such positions to challenge the social and political structures that reproduce the domain modes of production for community music or any form of participation that is governed by established rule structures for participation. As such, recognising those cultural competencies need not be reproduced under new meaning, and may in themselves be part of the problem;

5. Always be ready to ask: where can we go, together? Moreover, always be ready to take a step back, be prepared not to like the responses, and be willing to bridge and scaffold the journey for others, as a pedagogical promise of hospitality.

Through this thesis, I have concerned myself with one organisation in an attempt to conceptualise possibilities for understanding community music at an institutional position. I

have identified this as community music practice, designed and delivered, through organisations with dominantly centralised public funding or community musicians who are in strategic positions of cultural leadership in such settings. In understanding this through my conceptual framework, I must be explicit in my warning that when I suggest that More Music may become something new, the preceding passages are how I intend this. It is not to reproduce a false binary of what is or is not a community music institution. It is to suggest that when a process of critical and reflexive position-taking is embedded in its organisational design, it can be a position of critical cultural leadership. Such position-taking is always ready to challenge the meaning for what their role and responsibility can do and with whom. To challenge in this way, through the process of becoming critical cultural leaders, is to return to the meanings constructed over time. It is to review them as part of a critical process with others, as a connected relationship on common ground, between established participants, possible participants, music leaders, strategic leaders, funders, and, traditional policy representatives. In this way, all are policy and decision makers and design the perception of participation together, doing so, through lived and increased understandings of inequality; particularly, how it has historically been framed and understood through participation in the UK. Through this, as broader understanding develops, the possibilities of how to understand, engage and challenge the social and political structures around community music at an institutional position and the power it can have can be more fully recognised. Integral to this, is the critical awareness of who decides how such collaborative action manifests, its communication to whom, and why. Underscoring all of this, to conceive of their role and responsibility as something new, critical cultural leaders must ask themselves how they got here and where they may go, together. Community music at an institutional position is a site of strategic power where no one perception of participation governs how quality is understood, or who is representative of the places and people that take part. It is to say that many may be a community music institution, even where their practice does not present as typically or historically musical. It is to suggest that by becoming critical cultural leaders, those in powerful positions commit to a strategic praxis that is in, of and for the many ways that arts and culture can contribute to access, inclusion and equity whilst also being critical of the ways it may not.

More Music offers a very public platform of their past practice, as part of their longstanding narrative of their work in West End Morecambe. Throughout and since the end of my fieldwork in 2018, More Music has undergone many changes and although their mission remains the same, different ways of mobilising it, in less stable spaces, may be at work. As such, through

this thesis and the multitude of ways they operate beyond the parameters of this study, More Music is constructing scaffolds towards common ground, or at least, are ready to do so.

Next steps

The following concluding lines are an understanding that as a PhD researcher, I operate within a particular rule structure of my own. These social and political structures require this project to come to an end, or, at least, a coda where we can return to a familiar section with a new ending. This thesis weaves my conceptual concerns of inequality of access, inclusion and equity with the living history of More Music, in the context of being publicly funded as a cultural leader in the UK. It forms one of many possible histories of their evolution as a community music and education organisation. The fluidity of their plural rationalities, as a call to future praxis, comes with three key questions that remain open and in need of further investigation. They are an invitation to be part of the design process for how we might meet on common ground. I suggest these questions as a way to contribute to continual meaning making, in response to the widening understanding of community music as a living history, to question the role and responsibility of community music at an institutional position, as critical cultural leadership, in pursuit of common ground:

1. What aspects of the role and responsibilities need to be challenged within the existing rule structure, if community music, as a pedagogical approach to leadership in institutionalised settings is to be actioned?

2. For the passion of community musicians to strive for visions of hospitality ‘to come’, within these structural positions, what new reflexive questions demand to be negotiated and with whom?

3. Who will stand with More Music and open their doors to the tensions and responsibilities of being a critical cultural leader, through an activist process, towards common ground?

In asking *where can we go, together?* a commitment is made to work towards common ground, in the construction of a strategic praxis: a negotiated site of collaborative action where participation is understood through difference and reflexivity. In the context of the five points of reflexivity, towards critical cultural leadership, these questions may offer a plurality of ways that an activist process towards common ground could be understood and mobilised. I suggest that they may continue to be considered within the broader political aims of methodologies such as critical ethnography, as a way to challenge social inequality through engagement with critical epistemological frameworks. This may be through invitation, as I have done, which has located Morecambe in a broader socio-political landscape for the structures that frame participation in publicly funded arts and culture. Alternatively, it may be through other critical modes of ethnography, action research or practice-as-research strategies that seek to make space for community musicians, in strategic positions of leadership, to engage in research. Specifically, research that situates their work as a strategic praxis, with intentions to move towards common ground. It may also be something unknown, but that may work with these questions and the propositions in chapter 6. Doing so, as a springboard from which the critical positioning that I have suggested for community music to operate at an institutional position can become a site for reflexivity: towards transformation.

Final thoughts

Although More Music moves carefully through the many modalities of their role as a cultural leader within the established rule structure, the unstable margins were challenging to navigate. This is particularly evident in the case of the West End Weekend, where More Music use all their capital to make it work. However, the same attempts to use their capital are viewed at times as restrictive, as over-representative of the group. I have considered the ways that familiar and unfamiliar borders are perceived and traversed. This has opened a dialogic space to push against for the many ways that an emancipatory agenda of community music may be understood and reconceptualised through the role and responsibility of More Music. Here, community music can continue its design, towards a strategic praxis, rooted in access, inclusion and equity that is context driven and collaboratively led, with community music at an institutional position through critical cultural leadership, as one of its many essential parts. Wherever perceptions of participation manifest within an unevenly weighted narrative of inequality, it contributes to the governing structures of who takes part and who does not, which

risks holding visions of transformation at their current position. It recognises that power dynamics are always at play and will skew perceptions of access, inclusion and equity. In this, towards common ground, More Music's role and responsibility as a critical cultural leader in West End Morecambe is to be a light that guides familiar paths, but also warns of danger. It is a light that follows the traces opened by others, whilst also a light that is one of many – like the thousands of bespoke lanterns that have made their way through the West End for decades. Such action shows they are there, that they turn up. It calls to welcome and responds to the call to welcome from others: the West End they 'most want to reach' who, together, are still in development. Still, unknown. Still, becoming.

As this thesis concludes, as do some of the lockdown restrictions of COVID-19 in the UK, it is a time where language such as 'dislocation' and 'unstable' may feel unsettlingly familiar for those making difficult personal and professional decisions in pursuit of collective public health. This study comes to its coda at a time when the arts and cultural sector is entering into what seems like unparalleled unknowns, without the scaffolding for the kinds of critical cultural leadership I have suggested. However, it may also be a time where the arts and cultural sector recovery can be put to work towards more democratically negotiated perceptions of participation, though the representation of the kinds of critical cultural leadership conceptualised in this thesis. At present, the UK government has convened a Cultural Renewal Taskforce[52], 'made up of some of the brightest and best from the cultural, sporting and tech worlds. Experts in their fields, they'll be instrumental in identifying creative ways to get these sectors up and running again' (Dowden, 2020). As is longstanding in the histories of the arts and cultural sector, the representation of those they most want to reach, and the kind of representatives of cultural leadership that I explore in this thesis, have not been invited to take part in these strategic decisions. Furthermore, as I make clear in chapter 6, the notion of an expert must be approached with caution; this, being an excellent example of why. Within the context of renewal, what is expected of arts and cultural participation is being discussed around a table somewhere; out of reach, through a different kind of social distance. These representatives will shape the recovery for the arts and culture, in the looming wake of COVID-

[52] The COVID-19 response task force includes 'representatives from the arts, cultural and sporting worlds who will join a new taskforce aimed at helping getting the country's recreation and leisure sector up and running again'. Further information here: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/culture-secretary-announces-cultural-renewal-taskforce

19. As a study concerned with ‘doxa’ (that which is taken for granted), the powerful positioning of terminology and its histories in participation within arts and culture must not be erased or brushed over. The terminology of this taskforce is conflicting with the conceptual argument that has emerged from this study. In this moment, those representing critical cultural leadership and their allies have a destabilising new opening: in the face of dogmatic or reductive structures, the obstacles which risk holding others at their current position demands navigation and requires a route yet to be mapped. This is not a route back to the centre, it is a means to somewhere new.

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