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Musical mothering: Middle-class strategies and affect across generations

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Abstract

This intergenerational sociological study of ten middle-class mothers explores the relationship between music and the women's mothering practices. Scholarship seldom focusses on mothers' voices in relation to their work in raising musical children and maintaining musical selves. The study, undertaken in a capital Australian city, employed a narrative methodology integrated with Bourdieusian and feminist mothering theory to analyse the intersections of music, motherhood, gender, class, and generation. Applying Bourdieu's conceptual toolkit illustrates musical mothering is a gendered and classed practice in which mothers make strategic choices to construct 'good' and moral mothering subjectivities. Feminist mothering theory complements Bourdieu's theory by emphasising the emotional labour and affective dimensions of mothers' work through music to make known the extensive work mothers expend in this practice. The study reveals a diversity of mothers' stories to illustrate the joys and tensions in cultivating musical children and sustaining their own musical lives. The findings show that music affords women deeper family connections, increased well-being and a means to be perceived as 'good' mothers. However, producing musical children can generate much pressure because of the careful negotiations and intense scrutiny involved. This study contributes to intergenerational studies of music and family life by highlighting how engagement with music – formally and informally – has significant consequences for mothering practices in Australia.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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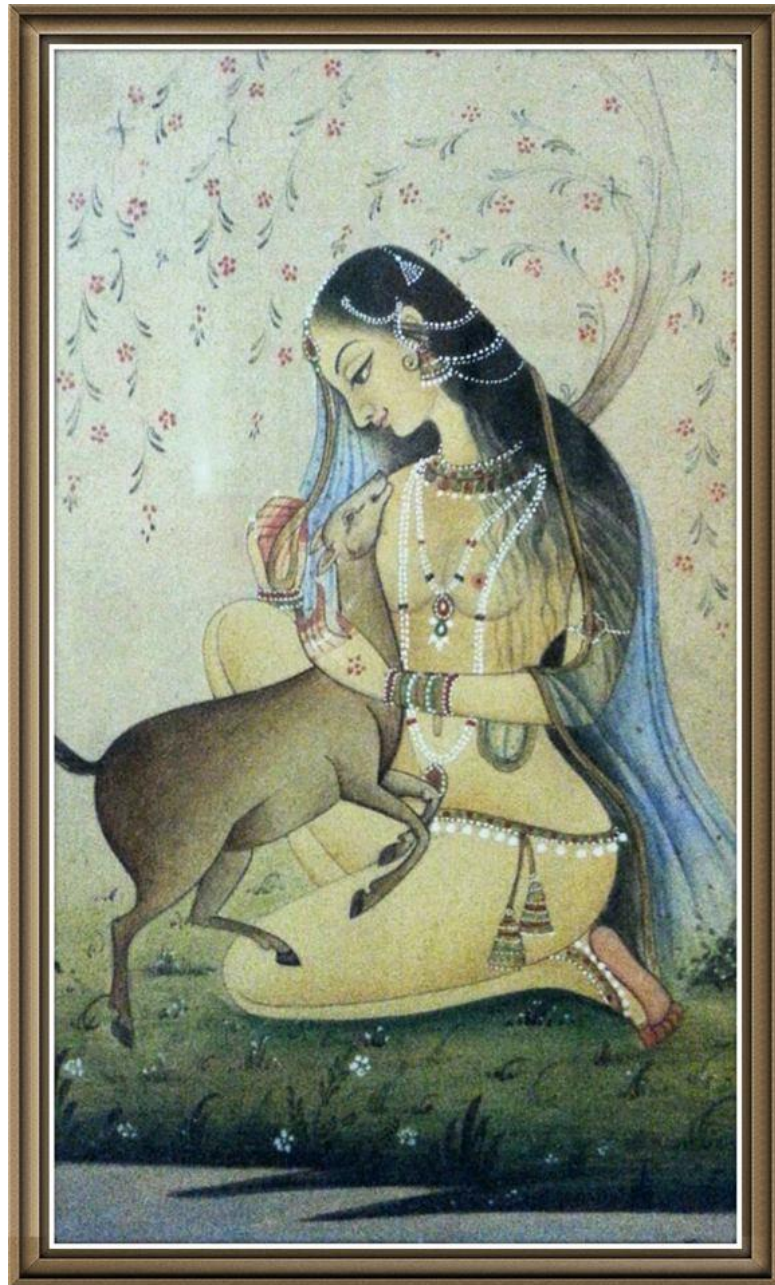
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To my beautiful daughters

Hannah and Rachel

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Mother music

*She always
took a bath
before my father
came home*

*perfumed
and elegant
she sat*

*on the pink
velvet cushion
playing the piano*

*sun streaming
through
French doors
behind her*

*up and down
the key board*

*huge passionate chords
trembling notes*

*hitting
the mellow wood walls*

*the porcelain
calico cat
with emerald eyes*

*the black decoy duck
sitting at the fireplace*

*I under
the piano
listening*

to my mother

(Brereton, 2013, p. 92 – 93)

Introduction – Thank you for the music

Thank you for the music, the songs I'm singing

Thanks for all the joy they're bringing

Who can live without it, I ask in all honesty

What would life be?

Without a song or a dance what are we?

So I say thank you for the music

For giving it to me

- ABBA

Music is everywhere. People listen to it, perform it and appreciate it. It is the sound track of lives. Some people choose music to be a large part of their lives, while for others it is merely in the background. Some mothers want their children to learn music formally and start their education from a very early age, while some choose to pursue other activities for their children. This thesis tells the stories of mothers and their musical mothering to show how and why music is passed down through generations as something that runs in families constituting a way of being. It explores how involvement in music influences the way women mother. This thesis is about music, mothers and children and the relationship between them. ABBA's lyrics to *Thank you for the music* resonate with my experience as a musical mother because they epitomise the meaning that music gives to those of us who love it and share it with others. This song embodies my life and perhaps many other musical mothers. These particular lyrics have been sung to me many times in my life by various groups of people (often groups of children and kindergarten staff with whom I have worked) who did not know each other. I wonder if my children will have it imprinted on my epitaph by way of thanks for giving music to them. What would my life be without music? It has been such an integral part of my life and its relationships. Music has woven itself into my childhood, my adulthood, my motherhood and led me to this research. It has become a fundamental part of who I am and the relationships I have formed in my life through music.

Over the years I have met many musical mothers, as family members, as friends, as colleagues, as mothers of my children's friends, as music teachers, as fellow fundraisers, as clients in my business, and as research participants. For almost all of these women it was

important, perhaps crucial, for them to produce musical children, and for some of these women to also maintain their own musical lives. Why is music such an imperative for these women and what does it mean for them as mothers?

While the mothers I have made music with aimed to develop a love of music in their children, I was not sure if the intensity of this desire was the same as the one I felt or if the ways they went about musically mothering were similar. Conversely, other mothers I knew were not interested in music for their children, preferring other pursuits such as sport or learning another language, or they were content for their children to stay at home and play in the back garden. I could not explain why it was so important to me when I had children, I just knew music was something I loved and something I wanted to share with my children as a fundamental part of the human experience.

For thirteen years I worked alongside musical mothers as their children's teacher, as I ran early years' music classes in a predominately middle-class area in a large Australian city. The participant mothers were mostly stay-at-home mothers or working part-time while their children were still very young. Most were interested in music and had experienced music tuition in their own lives, and some wanted to give their children an opportunity they were denied as a child. A few came along because it was the thing to do and their friends were doing it. These people did not stay longer than a term or two. They were a diverse bunch. Some were deeply invested in the program, while others came along each week without thinking about it in between.

I was interested in a number of things that these classes brought up for me. I wondered why mothers came when, for many of them, they could teach their children musical skills themselves – many were music teachers or had studied music to a high level. They seemed disinterested in the information I would give out about the benefits of music for young children's development. Most interestingly, the mothers seemed more invested in the class than their children, indicated by mothers crying on their last days of the class because they would miss coming, in contrast to their children bouncing happily out the door with a hasty 'bye', ready for their next adventure.

My Master's study encompassed a minor research project on why mothers attend early years music classes (Savage, 2015a). Here started my sociological journey to investigate classed based practices of middle-class mothers. The findings showed the music classes provided the women a way of developing certain dispositions in their children – confidence,

appreciation for the arts as an accumulation of cultural capital, and other traits that provided advantages in education spaces. Mothers attended not only for their children but also for themselves. They enjoyed making friends with like-minded peers, learning parenting techniques from each other and from me, and participating in musical activities with their child. The experiences were mutually satisfying and mediated the tedium of domestic life (See Savage, 2015a, 2015b; Savage & Hall, 2017).

As an academic researcher, I felt compelled to further explore the relationship between music and mothering and the meaning it has for the women in this study beyond the early years' music class to investigate musical mothering more broadly in this thesis. Through my interrogation of the literature around musical parenting, it was rare to hear mothers' voices talking about their own experiences in relation to their involvement in music in the context of family music making. There were many reasons for wanting to continue to pursue this area of research to delve deeper into the intergenerational meaning-making of music for these mothers, for themselves and their children, and highlight the relationship these mothers have with music and how this influences their mothering. Little has been examined regarding mothers' lived experiences of involvement in music for their children or themselves.

Researchers now embrace one term for caring and child-rearing responsibilities as 'parenting', and while this may be accurate as fathers now assume a greater role in child care, this term denies the work that women do in this space (Gillies, 2007; Goodwin & Huppertz, 2010). Mothers mostly do the care work for children. This work has significant implications for women's lives. The gendered nature of mothering is crucial to acknowledge. While feminism has made gains for women in realising greater equity in the workplace, women with children still remain one of the most economically marginalised groups in our society. In Australia, while mothers are usually the primary caregivers of children, they are also the ones responsible for the management of activities such as music in families. Engagement with music, formally and informally, is performed inside and outside the domestic space. Mothers do the additional and often immense amount of labour to facilitate musical involvement which largely goes unrecognised. Therefore, it is important to realise the important work that mothers do.

Mothering is also bound to classed practices (Bourdieu, 1984). Mothers are deemed responsible for their children's outcomes and life trajectories and are blamed when children do not turn out to be model citizens or adhere to social rules. Mothering is tied to classed

expectations of ways of being, where middle-class mothers are conversant with societal codes and working-class mothers, without the necessary resources to compete, are pathologised as deficit in their mothering (Gillies, 2007, 2010; Goodwin & Huppertz, 2010). Formal music tuition, particularly in classical music, is perceived as a middle-class practice as many working-class families are excluded from participation in formal music due to the exorbitant costs and time involved. Formal music lessons are understood to inculcate certain dispositions in children such as perseverance, confidence and resilience (Savage, 2015b). Mothers generally face rising anxiety as positions in educational institutions and workplaces become increasingly competitive, seeking ways to achieve advantages for their children. One way many mothers try to achieve a competitive edge is through extra-curricular activities such as music, which they believe provides their children with important skills and dispositions for the future (Vincent & Ball, 2007).

As a consequence of their anxiety, mothering in Australia has become more intensive, due to the gendered and classed pressure on mothers to achieve the best outcomes for their children and be seen as ‘good’ mothers (Goodwin & Huppertz, 2010; O’Reilly, 2010a). This pressure affects mothering practices, which faces intense social scrutiny. The influence of this pressure on mothers’ well-being, relationships and family life is worthy of investigation because of the substantial impact it has on women’s lives. In fact, given the significance of mothers’ work in producing and rearing children – the next generation of future humans, members of society, leaders, and workers – it is critical that more work is done on this topic. The dearth of interest in this area speaks volumes in the way the world values the roles of some over others.

Music is an activity that is often passed down through families as something they do, and again, the responsibility of passing such rituals is with mothers. Although each family operates differently, and their individual cultures are unique, I am interested to see the similarities and differences in musical mothering practices and how it manifests over generations. I seek to know why music is an enduring interest and what meaning it has for mothers.

Thus, the primary research question for this thesis is:

What is the relationship between music and women's mothering practices?

I will be interrogating the women's practices over generations, examining if and how music and ways of mothering have been passed down in families as a form of cultural transmission. Also, how dominant cultural norms and other structures influence women decisions on how they mother. Knowing that musical mothering as a practice does not occur in every family, I pose these additional questions:

- *What does it mean for the women and how they mother their children?*
- *What are the intergenerational influences on musical mothering?*
- *How does gender and class influence musical mothering?*

Weaving through the discussion chapters of this thesis, as a narrative counterpoint,¹ is my own personal story that makes explicit the reasons for my own musical habitus formation and my subsequent journey into musical motherhood. In fact, all the mothers' narratives are counterpoints as they are different, but still examples of musical mothering. I will not be using my own narrative as data; however, my own experience is the impetus for this research, and as such, the retelling will outline where my understandings of musical mothering derive. Between each of the discussion chapters (4 – 7), I will insert, as separate entities, a small section of my own narrative, which will give the reader some insight into my musical journey. This is important as a self-reflective researcher as well as being important to me as a musical mother because it provides another example of musical mothering and positions my experiences within the discussion. My narrative will be achronological, interspersing my musical experiences from my childhood, my early teaching and musical career. It was early on in my life, I began to observe differences in the ways that families operated. I was brought up in a time when many of my friends' mothers stayed at home, like mine. I remember when my mother was asked to put her occupation on any official forms, she would write 'home duties'. Parenting was very much a gendered activity, with my mother being the main parent involved in child-rearing. However, despite my mother being the parent responsible for her children, domestic decisions were also influenced by cultural norms and personal family decisions, such as my father's insistence that my mother not engage in paid employment.

¹ Counterpoint is a musical term to denote another musical melody that runs in conjunction with another melody. I am aware that humanist, Edward Said (1991), has used the term counterpoint in his work to interpret the differing viewpoints of the coloniser and the colonised, as a theoretical device to interrogate constructions of power. I am using the term as in the musical sense, of my story being interwoven with the women's narratives in this study.

I revisit my journey into motherhood, and how I came to musically mother my children. For me it was not something that I just happened upon. It was an intention I had prior to my children's births, that they would learn music formally and music would be a part of their lives. My narrative also incorporates my teaching and researching with musical mothering. I explain how I came to work with other mothers for whom music was an important part of their life including their mothering, and how they became the focus of my research work.

Outlining the thesis

The thesis is separated into three main parts: Chapters 1 – 3; Chapters 4 and 5; and Chapters 6 and 7. In Chapter 1, by interrogating the recent research on music and mothering both in the field of music education and sociology, I focus on parental involvement in musical pursuits, specifically mothers, rather than on children's musical training on which music education research is largely based. I clarify the definitions used in this thesis as a basis for this study. Parental involvement is a gendered practice, I emphasise, because it is predominantly mothers who initiate and perform musical parenting which is referred to as musical mothering (Savage & Hall, 2017). Practices such as intensive mothering and concerted cultivation (Lareau, 2003) are at the forefront of mothers' work to develop musical children. I argue that mothers, often in pursuit of advantages for their children assume mothering practices which adhere to good mothering logic according to Hays' (1996) definition.

In Chapter 2, justifying my use of Bourdieu's theory of practice as my main theoretical framework, I highlight the classed practices of the women and their efforts to accumulate cultural capital for the family and how musical habitus is formed in their children. Bourdieu's theory shows how the habitus together with the mobilisation of capitals within a field manifest as classed ways of being. The effectiveness of such transactions is often dependent upon one's position in the field, the requisite culturally-valued capitals to be exchanged and the knowledge of how to play the game. Bourdieu's economic analogies help explore the exchange-value of capitals and make clear why mothers seek to build their reserves of cultural capital for the family. Investment in children becomes a prime focus for some mothers. I then argue why the addition of feminist mothering theory is necessary to complement Bourdieu's theoretical framework to give an accurate conceptualisation of musical motherhood.

The addition of feminist mothering theory helps to emphasise the affective and emotional work that mothers do through music. Utilising intersectional feminist theory, I show that all

mothers' experiences are diverse, and while they may share similarities, they are also quite different. Also, in this chapter, I explain that music has a use-value that is beyond exchange and classed strategies, to add meaning to the women's lives. Chapter 3 discusses why a narrative methodology is chosen to explore the women's stories of musical mothering and how this synchronises with both a Bourdieusian and a feminist framework. I describe the participant recruitment and how the data for the study was generated. Finally, in this chapter, I announce the mothers and explain the ways in which I analyse the rich data generated in the semi-structured interviews.

It is in Chapter 4 that the participants are introduced. Initially I present three of the mother-daughter dyads to begin to demonstrate the workings of family musical habitus. This is framed around mothers' work in pursuing formal music tuition for their children as an investment in children's futures. Tuition in classical music is interrogated as a classed practice. I look at the tensions, contradictions and benefits produced regarding musical practice. Mobilising Bourdieu's theory, I examine some of the reasons mothers choose to engage their children in formal musical education and explore the potential for exchange-value in their capital accumulation and musical habitus formation. In Chapter 5, I analyse what mothers hope to gain through their mothering efforts as identified through their cultivation of children's musicality. I argue that particular types of music are perceived as more culturally valuable than others, inculcating socially-esteemed social and cultural capital. Some mothers see music tuition as a means to develop desired dispositions in their children implicating them as 'good' mothers and their children as worthy. There is a moral element to their mothering through music which I interrogate. I examine how various fields intersect to influence mothers' judgements on what they perceive to be the right choices for their families over generations. The success of mothers' interventions will be explored to ascertain if the envisaged profits are indeed forthcoming.

Chapter 6 transitions between Bourdieu's theory of investment in economic futures and exchange-value to reveal the affective dimensions of mothers' work in musical mothering. Here I bring in feminist mothering theory to supplement Bourdieu's theories and focus on the emotional labour involved in being a musical mother, exploring the constraints on musical mothers in trying to manage a work/life balance when they are trying to raise musical children and maintain musical lives themselves. This is considered in concert with societal norms and essentialist notions that still regard mothers as the primary and best caregivers for their children. I focus on one of the mothers' experiences of being a professional musician and

mother, and how she juggles these subjectivities, illustrating the emotional and physical toll this has on her. To end this chapter, I show how music can be utilised as a resource for the mothers to cope with the emotional challenges of motherhood. While music is a source of emotional support for some, it is not accessible for all. This difference of experience leads me to argue that such resources can only become available to those with emotional reserves already in place.

In the final discussion chapter, Chapter 7, I delve further into the affective realm to illustrate how music in the family space becomes a platform for affective recognition where mothers and children vie for attention and love. I analyse family dynamics through relationships with siblings and music to show the complexity of these relations. A paradox emerges in music's capacity to unite and divide. Finally, family music-making and the meaning it brings to family members shows that sharing music together is an imperative of musical mothering. Musical mothering is shown to be a mechanism to cultivate family ties and create intergenerational memories that last over lifetimes.

The thesis concludes by bringing all the threads together to answer my research questions on what music means for these women as mothers, how it affects their mothering practices and make explicit the relationships they have with music over generations. Acknowledging that these stories of musical mothering are unfinished, I add subsequent information about some of the mothers since the research was undertaken and look towards the possible futures of the youngest children of these musical mothers.

Chapter One – Recognising musical mothering

Als die alte Mutter

*Když mne stará matka zpívat, zpívat učívala,
podivno, že často, často slzívala.
A ted' také pláčem snědé líce mučím,
když cigánské děti hrát a zpívat, hrát a zpívat učím!*

*Songs my mother taught me
In the days long vanish'd
Seldom from her eyelids
Were the teardrops banish'd*

*Now I teach my children
Each melodious measure
Oft the tears are flowing
Oft they flow from my mem'ry treasure*

- Antonin Dvořák – Op. 55, No. 4

Introduction

Dvorak's famous song, written in 1880, tells of a mother as the transmitter of music within the family home. The tears indicate the meaning of this for both the mother and the recipient as a recollection of times past and the fondness of those memories. The importance is such that the child feels compelled to teach her own children 'each melodious measure' as a form of intergenerational transmission of culture.

In this section I will review the recent literature in the area of music and mothering. Firstly, I will highlight music education research which focuses on parental involvement in young children's music education. My emphasis is on the experiences of parents within this research, specifically mothers, rather than music education, curriculum and pedagogy, to examine the relationship these women have with music. Early years music education research, which often employs mothers as data generators, has utilised various theoretical frameworks, and in recent years has also incorporated "musicology, ethnomusicology, cultural studies, [and] neuroscience" (Young, 2016, p. 9). Although Young (2016) also mentioned sociology in her review, rarely has early years music education investigated issues of class, gender, age, ethnicity or sexuality or mothering practices specifically. I then look at sociology and music

research to show the different emphasis this research has in relation to parental involvement. Highlighting parental involvement as a gendered and classed practice, I clarify these terms as a basis for this study. I argue that parental involvement is a gendered practice as it is predominantly mothers who initiate and perform musical parenting which has been termed as musical mothering (Savage & Hall, 2017). Following from the studies highlighted in the first section, I look at research that has investigated the “concerted cultivation” (Lareau, 2003, p. 1 – 2) of musical children through an “intensive mothering” (Hays, 1996, p. 8). Mothers, often in pursuit of advantages for their children, assume these mothering practices which also adheres to good mothering logic according to Hays’ (1996) definition. I investigate whether these practices are limited to Western cultures or more globally present. Finally, I define what culture is and how it relates to the study and examine research on music being passed down through generations as a form of intergenerational cultural transmission.

Musical parenting through gender and class

Music education research on music in family life has centred primarily on outcomes and participation of children. In studies investigating the use of music in the home or where specific programs are designed to expose the positive benefits for children of musical play through participation in early music activities, mothers’ experiences are rarely mentioned. The generic term ‘parents’ is often used in music education research regarding parental involvement. Longitudinal studies into musical development, such as Pitts’ (2012) mixed-method study collection of 134 autobiographical narratives, is one of the few that has illustrated the participation and influence of both mothers and fathers. These stories are told from the perspective of the musical child and their recollection of their parental input.

Parents who believe that their children will enjoy and be successful in music classes are more likely to have such experiences occur (McPherson, 2009; McPherson & Davidson, 2002). Positive connections are made between children, parents and music teachers when children receive music tuition. This creates benefits for children educationally and psychologically, as children develop confidence and competence in their musical abilities (McPherson, 2009). The type of support that parents give children during their music tuition, impacts children’s perceptions, motivation, and self-efficacy of the lessons (Creech, 2010). Creech (2010), in her study into 337 parent-child-teacher triads and individual violin lessons, stated that these supports were inclusive of collaborative discussions regarding their

involvement, practicing, encouraging teacher-pupil-parent communication and where parents listened to their children's music playing. This dynamic trio has always been pivotal to success according to music pedagogues such as Suzuki (1978). However, such research does not acknowledge that it is mothers that do most of the labour associated with children's musical nurturing.

There have been some studies where parents articulate the benefits of early music tuition and the reasons for involvement in music other than to develop musical skills in children. Involvement in early childhood music programs assists parents to learn repertoire and develop new ways to interact musically with their children (Cooper & Cardany, 2008; Savage, 2015a, 2015b). Parents, in Youm's (2008) qualitative inquiry study of 22 parents, stated that the primary reasons for involvement in their children's early music tuition was to develop themselves, to nurture their own skills in music and child development. Many mothers utilise music as part of their caring work, to bond with and soothe their children through lullabies (Mackinlay, 2009), singing in the car (Gracio, 2016; Koops, 2014) and as an informal and intuitive part of their everyday parenting (Savage, 2015b; Savage & Hall, 2017). Musical mothering is both the incidental and deliberate work that mothers do through music with their children. At home, music is often strategically used for transitions such as the completing of one activity then moving seamlessly to another, for example from playing outside to washing hands for dinner (Savage, 2015a), rote teaching basic literacy and numeracy (De Vries, 2007) or creating the right atmosphere for dinner or bedtime (De Nora, 2000; Savage, 2015a). In a mixed-method study of ten families with children of three years of age, Custodero (2006) found that parents used music to assist with routine tasks at home, as a means of passing on family traditions or creating new ones, or as a mechanism to strengthen the relationships with their children. Parental decisions around music included intergenerational influences, prior knowledge of how music can assist with learning opportunities and previous experience of music as a means of self-comfort and self-expression (Custodero, 2006).

In a quantitative study of 391 new mothers in the UK, Fancourt and Perkins (2017) suggested that daily singing to babies improved the well-being of new mothers and had a positive impact on the mother-baby bond. In a longitudinal case study using a narrative inquiry methodology, Barrett (2009) illustrated how formal early childhood music classes gave her participant mother skills in her parenting work, "encouragement and confidence to interact and play with my baby" (p. 123), helping her to mollify the drudgery of domestic life and feel

satisfied that she was developing her children's cognition. Barrett's participant mother claimed to have post-natal depression and stated the early years music class she attended helped to mediate this. A mixed methods study by Vlismas and Bowes (1999) found similar results with formal music groups developing confidence in the participant mothers. The research used "middle-class, educated mothers" (p. 50) who had not reported any issues in becoming mothers and caring for their babies. Vlismas and Bowes (1999) questioned if such a program might be useful for mothers "at-risk in their relationship with their infant ... [to] relieve the social isolation experienced by many first-time mothers ... particularly if they are depressed" (p. 50). In an Australian mixed-methods study by Mackinlay and Baker (2005), lullaby singing was investigated as a preventative strategy for 23 new mothers and their babies for post-natal depression. In this way, music is utilised as a parenting tool and a means to assist with mothers' mental health and well-being.

Music is also used by parents as a tool for developing desired behaviours as part of therapeutic programs for children with developmental disorders. Research into music therapy for children with developmental issues such as Autistic Spectrum Disorder (ASD) has documented work with therapists who have taught parents skills to work on at home to facilitate communication and social skills, for example (Vismara, Colombi, & Rogers, 2009). Family-centred music therapies, where therapists and parents work collaboratively, were explored as part of a mixed-methods study that investigated the impact of music therapy on the social communication development of early years children with severe ASD (Thompson & McFerran, 2015). Music in this realm is regarded as "transforming the relationship" (Thompson & McFerran, 2015, p. 22) between mother and child demonstrating positive changes in the way mothers perceive, respond to and improve bonding with their child.

Music education is seen as a means to achieve social mobility (Skeggs, 2004a; Hofvander Trulsson, 2013; Wang, 2015). Recent research in sociology and music education has suggested motivations for parental support for children's music education are to seek advantage in social and educational spheres (Lareau, 2003; Reeves, 2015; Savage, 2015a, 2015b; Vincent & Ball, 2007; Wang, 2015). In Lu's (2013) two-year ethnographic study of Chinese immigrant parents, 40% of whom were from the working-classes, Lu showed that while waiting outside their children's music lessons, parents developed information-sharing networks which provided

“working-class parents who participate in community institutions ... greater access to child-relevant information, an unanticipated gain for parents” (p. 314) where success stories abound.

It is important to acknowledge mothers’ involvement in music as a gendered and classed practice, a distinction that has rarely been explored in music education studies. Mothers, including those who may be working full-time, are still responsible for the bulk of child-rearing and domestic labour in Australian families (Goodwin & Huppatz, 2010). In musical families, this labour is inclusive of seeking appropriate music teachers, transporting children to lessons and rehearsals, supervising practice and scheduling family life around such activities (Hall, 2005; Savage, 2015a; Savage & Hall, 2017). As such, musical parenting remains a gendered activity in contemporary Australian society. The term ‘parenting’ has been used more broadly in recent sociological research to recognise the increased participation of fathers in child-rearing, yet this denies it is mothers who still do most of this work (Gillies, 2007). In addition, “this universalising theme of the discourse not only renders invisible inequalities between the sexes, but also those existing between mothers” (Reay, 1995, p. 338). Mothers, who may be working full-time like their partner, are still responsible for the majority of child-rearing and domestic labour in Australian families despite men taking on a more active role (Goodwin & Huppatz, 2010). Mothers are still perceived to be ‘natural’ carers for children, and fathers deemed as not as capable (Doucet, 2006; Goodwin & Huppatz, 2010; O’Reilly, 2010a). Sometimes mothers act as “maternal gatekeepers” (Miller, 2017a, p. 46),² restricting paternal involvement in caring responsibilities for which they feel superior. Vast inequalities still exist in the workplace regarding women who are under-represented in top professional positions and who lack equal pay, often working in poorly paid employment and discriminated against because of their family responsibilities (Goodwin & Huppatz, 2010).

Contemporary mothering practices in Australia reflect similar trends to those of Western overseas counterparts (Goodwin & Huppatz, 2010; see Ennis, 2014 for US and Klett-Davies, 2010 for UK). Such practices include the fundamental beliefs that children are best looked after by their biological mother, who must be self-sacrificing and constantly devoted to her children, and who seeks expert advice on how to be a ‘good’ mother (O’Reilly, 2010b). Women who are “white, heterosexual, middle-class, able-bodied, married, thirty-something in a nuclear family with usually one or two children, and ideally, a full-time mother” (O’Reilly, 2010b, p. 7) are perceived as ‘good mothers’ often demonstrating intensive mothering

² See Miller (2017a) for detailed discussion of this theory.

practices. ‘Other’ mothers, that is working-class, lesbian, disabled, lone and Indigenous mothers, are pathologised as being deficient and therefore, morally ‘bad’ (Ennis, 2014; Goodwin & Huppertz, 2010; Klett-Davies, 2010; Skeggs, 2004a). The good/bad mother binary stratifies mothers and can regulate their behaviour. The effect can deny “the identities of mothers and the meaning of motherhood for individual women, constructing and defining how mothers *feel*” (Goodwin & Huppertz, 2010, p. 6, *original emphasis*).

At this point, it is timely to define what is meant by class, if it can be defined accurately at all. Class is not only about economic means and amounts of cultural capital but rather something that pervades everyday life, affecting human interactions and opportunities within education, families and other institutions, where such structures often reproduce class inequalities (Germov, 2004). Class is not just economic inequality but a dynamic process, fought through symbolic conflict where “cultural privilege and power are seen as ascribed rather than achieved and how ‘the self’ (or the subject) and ... concepts of personhood make class” (Skeggs, 2004a, p. 4 – 5). Skeggs also attributes morality to different class groupings which seek to maintain class boundaries and demonise those outside. Hays (1996) questioned whether stay-at-home mothers can be accurately defined by their partner’s status further complicating the labelling of class within existing frameworks. Furthering the class debate, Reay (1997) stated that “we need to reinvent social class as a dynamic, mobile aspect of identity that continues to permeate daily interaction” (p. 226). Likewise, Lawler (2005) describes class as

dynamic; as a system of inequality which is continually being re-made in the large and small-scale processes of social life: through the workings of global capital and the search for new markets, but also through claims for entitlement (and of non-entitlement), through symbols and representations, and in the emotional and affective dimensions of life. (p. 797)

Class is indeed a slippery subject and fraught with concepts of superiority and othering, marginalisation and prejudice (Gillies, 2007; Skeggs, 2004a). Class is often defined by occupation, income and levels of education (Hays, 1996; Lareau, 2003). In Ilari’s (2013) study of middle-class parents from nine countries, she found class to be locally defined and articulated, aligning with “notions of middle-class as a specific cultural pattern” (Ilari, 2013, p. 193). Hays (1996) rightly labelling class a “very tricky concept”, settling on two main categories in her analysis, namely “middle class to upper-middle class” and “working class to

working poor and non-working poor” (p. 212). A recent quantitative study of 1200 Australian adults undertaken by Sheppard and Biddle (2015) was based on Bourdieu’s theory of class and cultural capital, and used a five-category system, utilising a latent class analysis. Class was calculated using six measures inclusive of household income and property value/ownership, social capital in the form of social contacts and occupational status, and cultural capital in the form of attendance at ‘highbrow’ (attending the opera/theatre, listening to classical music) and ‘emerging’ (watching sport, going to the gym) activities (Sheppard & Biddle, 2015). There were no gender differences associated with class membership although age showed some disparities where some of the youngest participants (18 – 24 years) and the oldest participants (55 + years) attributed themselves to be middle-class when they were working-class (Sheppard & Biddle, 2015). The perception of class within the participants of the Sheppard and Biddle (2015) study is contradictory, many of whom labelled themselves as working-class but were in fact identified as being middle-class and similarly those who were identified as being affluent-class perceived themselves as middle-class. This has implications for how people identify themselves, what attributes they consider to be related to class and how class taxonomies demonstrate some fluidity. Bourdieu (1990) astutely points out “nothing classifies somebody more than the way he or she classifies” (p. 19 – 20). While this may give information about the participants’ subjectivities and the way they perceive themselves, it also has implications for the researcher. This is relevant in my study when looking at the classed practices of the women and the intergenerational influences on mothering to reflect upon the durable and changing class statuses within family groups.

For the purposes of this thesis and to be consistent with other class-based analyses in sociology, class will be defined into two categories – working-class and middle-class – where middle-class describes families with one or more parent possessing a tertiary education degree, higher than average income and higher cultural capital inclusive of educational and social capital (Hays, 1996; Lareau, 2003; Skeggs, 2004a). Whilst sociological research has predominantly centred on middle-class mothering with regards to intensive mothering practices (Ennis, 2014; Hays, 1996; Lareau, 2003), or when discussing mothering and extracurricular activities (Lareau, 2003; Savage, 2015a, 2015b; Vincent & Ball, 2007), music education research has rarely acknowledged classed differences in musical families. In this study I focus on the classed practices of musical mothers, highlighting the similarities and differences in their experiences. It is now to concerted cultivation and intensive mothering practices that I now turn.

Concertedly cultivating through intensive mothering and music

The term ‘intensive mothering’ was first used by Hays (1996) to describe the kind of mothering that is “child-centred, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing, labour intensive, and financially expensive” (p. 8). Hays’ (1996) study was based in the US using a survey questionnaire and interviews of 38 mothers with children who were between 2 – 4 years of age. Hays categorised these mothers into four groups according to household income, and as working or stay-at-home mothers. The mothers varied according to ethnicity, age, numbers of children, levels of education and marital status. Intensive mothering practices have been documented as being damaging to women’s health, self-esteem and well-being, creating anxiety and stress for mothers (Golden & Erdreich, 2014; Hays, 1996; Lareau, 2003; Reay, 1998; Shirani, Henwood, & Coltart, 2012). This dominant mothering practice is considered normative in current Western societies certainly within the middle-classes (Vincent and Maxwell, 2015).

Parenting has become a consumer-driven activity where parents seek early childhood services and activities that will actively promote children’s achievement (Reay, 1998; Vincent & Ball, 2007). Intensive mothering is equated with good mothering. Atkinson (2016) articulates the localised specificity of ‘good mothering’ in his definition,

The dominant definition of ‘good mothering’, for instance, tends to represent the practices of the dominant ethnicity and the dominant class or at least the cultural faction thereof, possible only with the possession of certain resources. In many instances, therefore, it produces shame and guilt amongst those who, with less symbolic capital within the ethno-national space (Hage, 1998) and/or economic and cultural capital and drawing on local, practical models and methods of coping rather than the latest ‘official’ advice, are unable to provide the forms of interaction, pedagogy and support demanded. (p. 51)

Atkinson (2016) identifies the classed nature of ‘good mothering’ which he states is readily available to resourced mothers, that is those with economic and cultural capital. The responsibility of life’s success lies with the individual who supposedly has an array of choices with which to develop these capitals, perpetuated by aspiration, consumerism, competition and the so called advantages of globalisation (Ball, 2003; Bok, 2010; Gale & Parker, 2015;

Simpson, Lumsden, & Clark, 2015). With fluctuating economic conditions and increased choice in educational markets in Western societies, parents have become more anxious to make the ‘right’ decisions regarding their children’s schooling to achieve future success (Reeves, 2015). For musical mothers seeking tuition, the right teachers, instrument-choice, ensembles and future-oriented opportunities are imperative for success. This takes time and substantial economic resources and cultural know-how to achieve.

In neoliberal times, the raising of aspirations has emerged as a legitimate policy domain, particularly targeted at low-income families, aimed at changing intergenerational disadvantage (Hartas, 2016). Parents with low educational achievement are understood to have “little or no aspiration ... [and are] framed within a deficit model” (Bok, 2010, p. 83). Parenting programs have been established to overcome this deficit model to improve outcomes for children and are intended to enhance social mobility (Bok, 2010; Gale & Parker, 2015; Hartas, 2016). Parenting practices that do not fit the hegemonic form are pathologised as deficient by the dominant classes where poor parenting is blamed for society’s problems (Gillies, 2007, 2010; Goodwin & Huppatz, 2010). However, intensive mothering practices cross class boundaries too, where “marginalised mothers do not have a choice as to how to mother, as it is imposed on them by society’s views and expectations of them” (Ennis, 2014, p. 20). Working-class women make similar investments as middle-class women yet have less return on their investments due to the exchange value of their existing capitals (Reay, 1995, 1997; Skeggs, 2004b). Working-class mothers want their children to be successful and happy, however often apply a “natural growth” (Lareau, 2003, p. 3) approach to their mothering where intervention in children’s lives is minimal.

Middle-class mothers aspire for their children to be unique and stand out from the crowd whereas working-class mothers want their children to fit in (Gillies, 2007). Gillies’ (2007) work is based on two studies in the UK, a small-scale qualitative case study of five white, working-class, lone mothers and another based on findings from a national survey study of parents with children 8 – 12 years, where the experiences of 25 working-class mothers and 11 fathers were subsequently documented from in-depth interviews. Working-class mothers work hard to promote resilience in their children, aiming to provide security and coping skills when life was filled with “disappointment, frustration and vulnerability” (Gillies, 2007, p. 146), while middle-class mothers pass on privilege and feelings of entitlement. Middle-class mothers strategically utilise music tuition to foster the dispositions and future goals they hold for their

children (Vincent & Ball, 2007). Music is seen as a mechanism for acquiring social capital, academic achievement and advantage (Reeves, 2015; Savage, 2015b) affecting social reproduction and social mobility (Hofvander Trulsson, 2013; Skeggs, 2004b).

Intensive mothers devote their lives to the selfless commitment to their children while strategically developing their child-projects to compete favourably in a competitive world (Vincent & Ball, 2007). This is seen as the epitome of contemporary society's 'good' mother ideology and upheld as best mothering practice. Yet, this type of mothering has cultural contradictions, as Hays (1996) and others (Ennis, 2014; Arnold, 2014; Savage, 2015a; Savage & Hall, 2017) point out. This intensive practice is often seen to be physically and emotionally draining on mothers, where mothers lose their sense of self, and feel guilt or shame when they make choices other than to be devoted to their child (Arnold, 2014; Atkinson, 2016). The burden of responsibility extends to making the 'right' educational choices with "constant worries about getting things wrong, [and] about failing the child" (Ball, 2003, p. 171). This mothering ideology has also been labelled as "status safeguarding", a term created by Milkie and Warner (2014), which they see as the "core work" (p. 67) of intensive mothering. Mothers sacrifice their own desires in "creating a thriving child who is distinguished as unique, more fundamentally, over the many long years to adulthood, set to achieve a similar or better place in the social hierarchy compared with his parents" (Milkie & Warner, 2014, p. 68). Mothers work tirelessly on a decades-long project where each individual child is moulded in such a way as to highlight their unique talents and abilities to afford cultural capital and upward social mobility (Ball, 2003; Skeggs, 2004b).

I suggest that there is a continuum of intensive mothering, which is not always linear, but rather where some mothers dip and choose between intensive mothering practices adjusting intensity to personal circumstances, preferences and influences. At one end of the continuum are mothers who spend all their time scheduling, strategising, and facilitating their children's activities – including paid tuition and unpaid activities – often so much so that children have no time to themselves, while at the other end of the scale, mothers might engage their children in only one or two extracurricular activities or mothers allocate some specific time in which to do certain things with their child, which may not involve paid tuition, but is still a concerted effort above the caring work of mothering. For some mothers, opportunities to engage with their child in such activities might only occur when they are not working, or if a particular opening occurs. For example, some mothers only take their children to swimming lessons in

the summer months or might enrol in an intensive course of lessons until their child is an adequate swimmer and then may cease lessons. Similarly, a mother might attend a music class with her child while a friend is attending but stop once their friend no longer goes or she gives her child an opportunity to try new things out to see what the child might like. The intensity is related to the amount of time and labour required of the mother which is over and above her caring work.

For some mothers, music is part of a deliberate plan, where mothers spend vast amounts of time and money to foster their children's talents and create opportunities for their children's music-making (Savage, 2015b; Vincent & Ball, 2007). From children's earliest years and sometimes through to adulthood, visits to the theatre, concerts and other arts-based activities are carefully planned and organised, inculcating these cultural practices as normative (Reeves, 2015; Savage, 2015a, 2015b; Scherger & Savage, 2010). Music tuition begins through enrichment activities and is designed to develop a love of music and foster associated skills. Mothers use music tuition as a valuable tool to give their children a 'head start' in dispositions considered valuable for the educational market, their choice of school, such as an ability to sit still, concentrate and self-regulate – prerequisites for discipline – and to acquire cultural expertise, such as a preference for 'good' music (Savage & Hall, 2017). In this sense, musical mothering can be a significant means by which children are inculcated in some of society's cultural codes and how to play by the rules of school (Ilari, 2013; Simoncini & Caltibiono, 2012). Participation in extracurricular activities, such as music, can assist children to get sought-after places at elite schools and many mothers perceive a relationship between music tuition and academic achievement (Savage, 2015b). Therefore, some mothers feel a sense of assurance that they are doing all they can to secure the best outcomes for their children through music. Hall's (2018) ethnographic study employing the narratives of 11 choirboys, 13 parents and 12 mentors, shows the work mothers' do to invest in their children's musical development while mothers are simultaneously trying to appear to be merely cultivating their son's 'natural' talents. Hall highlights the emotional labour "shown in the mothers' stories of commitment, thinking, planning, decision-making, counselling and worry about their son's musical development" (p. 91). Hall (2018) accentuates the mothers' contradictory behaviours in guiding the boys' musical journeys, yet also appearing to give them 'choices', which is imperative in their quest to be seen as 'good' mothers.

Lareau's (2003) seminal ethnographic research with twelve families, is part of a larger US study of 88 children aged 9 – 10 years of age from middle-class, working-class and poor families to look at family life. Lareau's (2003) study showed how many middle-class mothers devote much of their lives to facilitating their children's pursuits and skill set, whether it be at home or institutionally, developing contacts with professionals and spending less time with extended family. The systematic nurturing of children in a concerted fashion to develop certain talents, is a process referred to by Lareau (2003) as "concerted cultivation" (pp. 1 – 2). This is different from intensive mothering as concerted cultivation is the intentional development of particular skills and dispositions where intensive mothering concerns the amount of time and labour needed to make this cultivation possible. Participation in extracurricular activities is seen as mandatory to develop a "good" child and imperative for mothers, to be seen as "good" mothers (Lareau, 2003, p. 3). Mothers are "generating their children's biographies" (Vincent & Maxwell, 2015, p. 5) so their children can compete favourably in future educational and employment markets. This "intentional parenting style" (Lareau, 2003, pp. 346 – 347) is the privilege of the middle-classes where children's leisure time is institutionalised to maximise their cultural development through expert tuition (Perrier, 2013). Blended families, lone parents, parents enrolling children in care prior to preschool, parents with boys and parents with "low educational expectations" (Cheadle & Amato, 2011, p. 700) reported lower levels of concerted cultivation in a large-scale quantitative assessment.

Criticisms of Lareau's (2003) theory of concerted cultivation include the idea that access to financial resources is the prime reason for non-involvement in extra-curricular activities rather than mother's child-rearing beliefs (Chin & Phillips, 2004), that it is not only a middle-class phenomenon, and that girls are more likely to be 'cultivated' in families that expect high achievement (Cheadle & Amato, 2011). Parental time constraints, work flexibility, locally available classes and economic resources were all cited as multiple factors influencing participation in extra-curricular classes (Bennett, Lutz, & Jayaram, 2012; Chin & Phillips, 2004). Middle-class mothers with inflexible work schedules could compensate by paying for tuition or indeed, organising others to take their children to classes (Reay, 2010). In response to criticisms of Lareau's work, Weininger, Lareau and Conley (2015) argue that maternal education levels significantly influence whether children participate in extra-curricular activities, rejecting the view that lack of parental resources and structural constraints are key determining factors. Weininger, Lareau and Conley (2015) state that extra-curricular activities are resources for acquiring other culturally specific skills in middle-class families. However,

there seems some consensus that children's participation in the arts continues to be a popular means by which middle-class mothers primarily perform this kind of cultural institutionalisation (Reay, 1998; Savage & Hall, 2017; Vincent & Ball, 2007; Wang, 2011, 2015) and demands the mothers' resources, emotionally, financially and psychologically (Hays, 1996).

Intensive mothering through music is not restricted to English speaking countries (Savage & Hall, 2017). In her qualitative interview study with fourteen mothers in South Korea, Cho (2015) stated that concerted cultivation was highly evident in middle-class families. Mothers saw music as a means to flaunt and reinforce social standing, and the individualisation of their children assisted the formulation of extensive resumes for competitive school marketplaces (Cho, 2015). Musical proficiency, particularly in Western classical music on "noble" (Prior, 2013, p. 183) instruments such as piano or violin, provided an opportunity to stand out from others without such skills. In Hong Kong, Choi's (2015) visual ethnographic study of nine families, with children 3 – 7 years of age, demonstrated concerted cultivation techniques are employed by middle-class mothers to make learning opportunities from everyday activities.

Concerted cultivation was evident in forty-three Brazilian mothers' practices who were interviewed as part of Ilari, Moura and Bourscheidt's (2011) qualitative study. Mothers stated they attended early childhood music programs for socialisation and "affirmation and reproduction of their social class standing", feeling "highly pressured by the media ... [who] experience the anxieties of our current times ... caught between beliefs concerning bonding with their children and the acquisition of commodities or between intuitive parenting (Papousek, 1996) and expert advice (Furedi, 2002)" (Ilari, Moura, & Bourscheidt, 2011, p. 62 – 63). Of note, all of the above studies have been conducted in countries influenced by Western societies and where the mothers have been influenced by Westernised modes of thinking and neoliberal government policies (Lee, Tseng, & Jun, 2015; Wang, 2015).

Chinese, Korean and some Japanese middle-class, immigrant parents use music tuition as cultural capital to gain admission to prestigious American schools (Wang, 2015). Asian "music moms" (Wang, 2015, p. 28) are self-sacrificing to an extreme, highlighting one end of the intensive mothering continuum, giving up their professional careers and often putting their living arrangements with their partners on hold to assist their children to pursue musical aspirations (Wang, 2015). These wealthy middle-class mothers project an image of

authoritarianism in creating disciplined, hard-working and high-achieving children (Wang, 2015). The “traits of self-sacrifice, pushiness and determination embodied in the ‘music mom’ have increasingly become associated with being Asian” (Wang, 2015, p. 29). For these mothers, their cultural capital helps to mediate the racialised marginalisation they encounter by altering their subjectivities as the “rightful inheritors of this field of high culture and resignify[ing] the pursuit of classical music as a means of preserving ‘Asian’ identity” (Wang, 2015, p. 61). However, their parenting is vilified for lacking in balance, and their children criticised for their musical “robotism” (Wang, 2011, p. 130). Such Asian mothering is still pathologised by ‘American’ mothers as ‘bad’ through their excessive demands on musical practice and discipline. Concerted cultivation is practiced in families in many non-English speaking countries where intensive mothering through music is visible particularly within the middle-classes.

Another factor influencing concerted cultivation is maternal age. In Iceland, Gudmundsdottir and Gudmundsdottir (2010) conducted a mixed-method study to review the benefits of a parent-infant music class for young mothers. The six older mothers in the study all had preconceived ideas on how music would be part of their children’s lives. Contrastingly, the six younger mothers were waiting to see if their child showed an interest in music before continuing with lessons, despite all mothers acknowledging the benefits of early music education. While all the mothers in the study enjoyed singing with their children, Gudmundsdottir and Gudmundsdottir (2010) suggest the findings reflect the mothers’ current economic status as the older mothers were generally more affluent and able to afford expensive lessons. This finding is substantiated by Cheadle and Amato (2011) who also associated higher levels of concerted cultivation with maternal age. Maternal age, therefore, could be a factor in whether mothers intensively mother through music. However, the reason for this requires further investigation.

Ilari’s (2013) study, examining the case studies of middle-class seven-year-old children from nine diverse countries, namely Greece, Netherlands, Denmark, England, Spain, Kenya, Taiwan, Israel and the United States, revealed evidence of concerted cultivation in all families in varying degrees. Ilari (2013) posits that organised music classes may function as child-care arrangements for working-parents. Alternatively, for some mothers, music is seen as “a way of life” (p. 194). In Sweden, immigrant middle-class parents chose classical music as a way of reproducing their status for future generations, to counteract potential downward mobility

(Hofvander Trulsson, 2013). This highlights the importance of considering the cultural context when looking at the reasons why mothers concertedly cultivate their children. As Ilari (2013) suggests, while middle-class parents in these countries may have more available resources, “parenting continues to be influenced by local realities and contexts” (p. 193) stating that wider social issues surrounding children’s lives need to be considered.

Mothers’ aspirations for their children can be so woven in their personal desires that mothers’ own social and cultural lives are lived through their children’s musical activities (Faircloth, 2014; Savage & Hall, 2017) where “mothers seem to understand their children’s success as a reflection and enhancement of their own” (Hays, 1996, p. 159). Mothers justify to themselves that they are doing all they can to support their children’s perceived talent as integral to their mothering role (Wang, 2015). Apart from reinforcing or acquiring social capital from their children through music (Savage, 2015a; Savage & Hall, 2017; Vincent & Ball, 2007; Wang, 2015), mothers are also nurturing their own psychological and spiritual growth (Desai, 2014), creating positive bonds with other like-minded women (Savage, 2015a; Vlismas & Bowes, 1999; Wang, 2015) and “a sense of self-worth and agency” by being an active part of the “good motherhood club” (Ennis, 2014, p. 9). With the concerted cultivation of their children as central to their lives, the “‘self-making’ of these women ... has become a key means by which mothers ... develop their own identities” (Faircloth, 2014, p. 181). Within the specific context of an early years’ music class, some mothers tactically utilise their children’s music learning by concertedly cultivating their own musical skills and support networks for their own personal benefit and well-being (Savage, 2015a; Savage & Hall, 2017). The fusion between fun, learning and emotional closeness is described as “enriching intimacy” (Stefansen & Aarseth, 2011, p. 392), expressing the shared enjoyment in joint activities between mother and child and the emotionality of pedagogy in the home. This demonstrates a contradiction to the apparent selflessness of intensive mothering to show that mothers derive personal benefits from such practice, giving some mothers a sense of purpose and personal success (Hays, 1996; Ennis, 2014; Faircloth, 2014; Savage, 2015a).

Skeggs (1997) writes, “women find their own worth embedded, reflected and enhanced in the quality of their caring performance” (p. 63) and I suggest, regarding early years music education, in the role of the musical mother (Savage, 2015b). For many mothers, this intensive practice echoes their lives as professionals in the workplace and gives their lives perceived value. Mothers who feel they have lost much of their self-worth after giving up their careers to stay at home to look after children, attend enrichment activities as a way of building their own

self-esteem and sense of self (Savage, 2015b) even if these lives are entangled with heightened anxiety (Ball, 2003). Having deferred successful careers to nurture their children's musical ambitions, mothers often cite moral obligations to sacrifice themselves for their children's potential solo professions. Sometimes these mothers refer to themselves as 'bad' mothers as they feel incompetent at mothering compared to their efficacy as professionals in the workspace (Wang, 2015). Maternal subjectivities can be fraught with ambivalence.

Intensive mothering and concerted cultivation, as specific parenting styles, are enacted by mothers in order to achieve the goals they have for their children. These behaviours are shown to have a connection to children's educational outcomes (McPherson, 2009). Parents use their perceptions to guide children toward the extracurricular activities they believe their children are more likely to be successful in (Pomerantz & Dong, 2006). Similarly, children learn what they are good at and moderate their aspirations to their awareness of their strengths and talents (Hartas, 2016). Internalisation of the limitations of their cultural capital deters children and parents from seeking further opportunities (Stahl, 2016). In contrast, Hartas' (2016) study, based on a national household longitudinal survey in the UK of over 5000 high school students between 10 – 15 years, found that cultural capital was the key determining predictor of parental and children's aspirations, and parental involvement. Hartas' (2016) study indicates that participation in extracurricular activities did not necessarily support children's educational aspirations.

Thus far, I have shown that middle-class mothers utilise concerted cultivation through an intensive mothering to secure advantages for their children in educational spheres. Music tuition is seen as a means to bolster cultural capital and provide children with culturally valued dispositions. Intensive mothering is perceived to be detrimental to mothers' well-being, as anxiety-provoking and labour intensive yet conversely, as beneficial, providing support for women. Either way, conforming to the logic of 'good motherhood' was imperative. Similarly, concerted cultivation is evident in middle and working-class families, yet the benefits derived from such practices are closely related to available resources. Involvement in music is also perceived as a way of transmitting and maintaining social status. This family cultural transmission is what I will look at next.

Passing on culture through intergenerational family musical engagement

The transmission of culture is a prevalent theme throughout the research literature regarding music and families, however, culture itself is an abstract concept. According to Swartz (1997), “culture provides the grounds for human communication and interaction; it is also a source of domination” (p. 1). Generally, it conceives of a shared system of beliefs and values that are learned and enacted by members of society. Campbell (1998) writes, “cultural transmission occurs when through children’s engagement in games, stories, songs and other lore that have been selected (whether consciously or not) by adults as “the best” standard or most representative ideas of a people” (p. 45). Passing on of cultural traditions is often the responsibility of mothers who, in the domestic space, are the primary caregivers of young children where this initial transmission transpires. Culture, in some forms, is utilised by the middle-classes as a source of privilege, where certain types of culture, that is those that are highly-sought after, are suitable for exchange (Skeggs, 2004a). In this way, Skeggs (2004a) identifies that the term ‘culture’ is indeed contentious stating, “culture as a term has always been slippery means we must define it not just as symbolic, but also as a resource in the practices and relationships in which we engage daily” (p. 174).

Everyday musical practices, rituals and routines, and the language around these, constitute culture and assist the development of the self (Conkling, 2018). Conkling defines a “cultural community” (p. 29) as dynamic, where traditions may be in common with others, however practices are under constant change and reappraisal amongst each other. This is particularly pertinent when considering ethnic groups where there is a “tendency to conflate ethnicity with culture” (Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003, p. 21) where individuals are seen to be “carriers of culture” (p. 19). It is more helpful, according to Gutiérrez and Rogoff (2003), to consider differences rather than deficits in a cultural-historical (and sociological such as this) approach which attends to contextual and temporal limitations. Culture can be shared between people, with or without the same ethnicity, over generations (Murry, Smith, & Hill, 2001).

Dyndahl (2013) suggests that music scholars have often looked at culture and music from a hierarchical perspective supporting notions of high and low culture. Dyndahl (2013) proposes joining Williams’ (1958) idea that ‘culture is ordinary’ with Small’s (1998) notion of ‘musicking’ to show that music,

instead of being merely a transcendental, aesthetic object, should be viewed as a variety of acts – including making music, performing music, listening to music, and dancing to music – as well as the everyday usage of popular music and media culture. In that case one might begin to appreciate the craft of musical as more than the traditional skills, and rather understand it as the full spectrum of producing, practicing, perceiving, and debating all aspects of music. (p.10)

This is particularly salient for this study as participants' involvement in music is unique, yet there are similarities and differences within the configurations. There are three mother-daughter dyads where there is an entrenched family tradition of instrumental tuition in classical music, however for all dyads, music forms a pattern of everyday life and is integrated into family lives with varying amounts of effort. The ways the women interact and function with music is highly personal and a way of living ideas (Frith, 1996). As Dynbahl (2013) elaborates,

A cultural view of music indicates that musical activities and actions, including music education always already take place *in* culture; there is no other place or space for them. Likewise, these phenomena and practices inevitably also construct culture; i.e. they should be regarded *as* culture. (p. 11)

This is the culture the mothers pass onto their children, that is passed through generations. Through this thesis I will reveal the relationships these women have with music and what it means for their children and themselves.

Musical children often have strong familial musical influences as Pitts' (2012) UK study of 81 "autobiographical narratives" (p. 9) revealed stating,

A vast number of respondents mention listening to music in the home as part of their childhood memories: fathers appear to be more prominent than mothers in this respect, though mothers are more likely to have sung to and with their children, and to have been role models through their own musical activities. (p. 49)

Here, Pitts acknowledges the mothering work involved in musical families. It is interesting that many of her participants cite their fathers' influence, yet I argue, like Pitts, that this may be because the mothers' musical practices may be so usual and ordinary that they become invisible in the everyday experience. However, musical interaction via mothers is a means to pass on cultural heritage, as explained by Custodero (2006), by "modelling for her children what her parents had done for her – she uses the same parenting strategies, updated with contemporary musical material and her personal style" (p. 44). In a large-scale survey study conducted by Custodero and Johnson-Green (2003), findings showed that positive parental musical experiences were likely to affect the positive participation of music in their children. Mothers who have been involved in music as children are more likely to encourage their children to learn music due to "familial identity and because they perceive their children (and themselves) to be musical" (Reeves, 2015, p. 20). This concurs with other studies stating parental perceptions of children's musicality correlates with their children's participation and instrumental tuition (Nagel, 2010; Nagel & Ganzeboom, 2002). Similarly, children who have been encouraged to participate in arts-based activities by their parents are more likely to continue to participate into their adulthood (Nagel, 2010; Nagel & Ganzeboom, 2002).

The family is a primary site where the transmission of musical values and tastes occurs (Bourdieu, 1984). Gracio's (2016) qualitative study of 59 white Portuguese women illustrated how musical interactions with their children enculturated a particular style of music, in this case rock music, family bonding, memory work and music education within the domestic space. Yet Coulson's (2010) study reveals that preferences for certain forms of music, citing hip-hop, jazz, R&B, 80s rock/pop, can be acquired through later influences from which to form musical identities. However, Coulson (2010) in her interview-based study of 17 UK musicians agrees that the family is a primary site for cultural socialisation. Parental preferences for rock music correlated with daughter's preferences for rock music, but not sons, according to a study by Bogt, Delsing, van Zalk, Christensen and Meeus (2011), while parental preferences for highbrow and pop music were transmitted to children of both genders. Similarly, in Morgan, MacDonald and Pitts' (2015) qualitative study with 10 middle-class mothers of teenagers found that mothers and daughters often shared musical tastes while this was not so with sons. Sons were less likely to listen to their mothers' opinions and conform to mothers' desires (Morgan, MacDonald & Pitts, 2015). Music was also utilised as an "active ingredient" in family ways of being, and consolidating relationships (Gracio, 2016, p. 84). Through musical activities, formal and informal, ways of socialising children to cultural and social rules were enacted (Campbell,

2011). Nagel and Ganzeboom (2002) acknowledge the role of mothers in the transferral of cultural preferences. Reeves's (2015) study states that participation in the arts is both a conscious and unconscious activity, with some parents aware of the institutional advantages it may bring while others are cognisant of the importance of music for family cohesiveness.

Song has always been an important medium for passing on cultural heritage. In many societies, music and dance are part of the enculturation process and seen as imperative for children's holistic development (Mapana, 2011). Mapana's (2011) study of the Wagogo peoples in Tanzania illustrated how singing, dancing and drumming are incorporated into the daily lives of children, primarily through their parents, but also through other relatives and the wider community. Oral history transmission aids the formation of cultural identity and a sense of belonging. In a study of the Araquio music of the Phillipines, Ibarra (2017) stated that enculturation of this theatre-ritual begins in the 'wombs' of mothers, where the customs are embedded within musical practices. According to Merriam (1964) "enculturation refers to the process by which the individual learns his culture, and it must be emphasized that this is a never-ending process continuing throughout the life span of the individual" (p. 146). Where this was usually considered as a process of transmission from older to younger generations, this has been refuted by early childhood sociologists such as Corsaro (2005) who advocate that children are agentic and "even as they are partly enculturated by their surroundings, and that they engage in the creative appropriation of features from existing cultures in order to incorporate these revisions into the culture that they build as part of their everyday life" (Mapana, 2011, p. 341 – 342).

In this final section I have shown how music is part of family cultural transmission where family rituals and traditions are enacted as ways of being, uniting family members. I defined what is meant by culture and the importance for this study. While transmission is usually perceived to go from older to younger generations, research states that children can influence these cultural processes. It was interesting to note family dynamics and differences within siblings, where sons were less likely to share musical tastes with their mothers. Mothers were shown to be the primary facilitators of family cultural transmission.

Concluding summary

In this review of the literature, I have shown how previous research in music education highlights the importance of parental involvement in children's musical education yet fails to acknowledge the classed and gendered aspects of this engagement. These aspects are taken up by social researchers illustrating the differences in practices between diverse classed factions. I began to show that parental involvement is a gendered practice as it is predominantly mothers who perform the labour involved in developing a musical child which I refer to as musical mothering (Savage & Hall, 2017). I explored studies that focused on practices of concerted cultivation and intensive mothering to show that intensive musical mothering is largely a middle-class practice. Mothers feel pressured to follow the logic of 'good' motherhood as defined by Hays (1996). I defined what is meant by class for the purposes of this study to show that this contentious term is locally contingent. Lastly, I explored the literature regarding the transferral of culture to see what recent research states about music being passed down through generations as a form of intergenerational transmission.

In outlining current research in music education and sociology of music, I highlighted the dearth of research of mothers' lived experiences of the meaning and importance of developing 'musical' children from their viewpoint. Participation in classical music tuition and ensembles is distinctly the realm of the middle-classes, where mothers aim to provide children with enhanced opportunities in prestige educational institutions which would transfer to stable employment in a precarious workforce. Through extra-curricular activities more broadly, mothers hope to develop socially-valued dispositions in their children. What is missing in the literature is a differentiation of the women's social practices and an understanding of the constraints that affect and alter participation in the field of music within middle-class practices. Little was heard from the mothers themselves of the meaning it gave to their lives, rather than the lives of their children. The research foci were generally on children rather than the experiences of mothers, and so this study aims to herald the voices of the women to show how and why music is important to them, as something to be passed on to their children.

Bourdieu's sociological theory considers the relations between "culture, social structures and action" to highlight the workings of society and the power structures within (Swartz, 1997). In the next chapter, I justify my use of Bourdieu's theory of practice to demonstrate how mothers pass on their culture to their children through music. I also highlight

the limitations in Bourdieu's theory for this study and rationalise my utilisation of feminist mothering theory and post-Bourdieuian theories to assist to explain how the pursuit of a musical habitus influences the women's mothering practices and impacts the relationships that mothers have with music.

Chapter Two – Theorising musical motherhood

Mothers are defined by their dual subjectivities (as daughters and mothers) and therefore by a temporally layered self, returning to and recreating the maternal archive, becoming, un-becoming and re-becoming women, daughters, mothers, subjects. Maternal subjectivity is defined, therefore, by increasing temporal complexity and by an internally dynamic, generationally contiguous self: as the mother is creating her child, she is also (re)creating herself.

(Bueskens, 2018, p. 206 – 207)

Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce Bourdieu's theory of practice as the theoretical framework I will be utilising for part of this thesis. Bourdieu's social theories reveal how social structures and culture interact to inform and differentiate agents' practices. Firstly, I show how certain forms of music are perceived as markers of social class. Through engagement in particular genres of music, agents display their class status. I introduce Bourdieu's definition of the family and his view that mothers are the primary accumulators of cultural capital and social reproducers within the family space. I reiterate that mothers' aspirations to develop classed dispositions in their children are integral to be seen as 'good' mothers, and to adhere to cultural expectations of motherhood. Bourdieu's theory explains the 'invisible' strategies middle-class mothers employ to gain advantages for their children. Secondly, I open Bourdieu's toolkit and define some of Bourdieu's terms and concepts which I will utilise throughout this study. I explain why mobilising the concepts of habitus, capital and field and how they intersect is imperative for understanding the mothers' practices with music. This will reveal the ways in which mothers navigate the fields motherhood and music, utilising their accumulated capitals to develop musical habitus. Thirdly, I will explain why Bourdieu's theory does not quite capture the diversity within the women's experiences. I show how the inclusion of feminist mothering theory assists to understand mothers' work as individualised and highly contingent upon contextual and structural factors, demonstrating how this intersects with various fields. A post-Bourdieuian conceptualisation of musical mothering will assist scholars to look at the emotional and affective dimensions of mothers' work to inculcate musical habitus. Looking at

the mothers' practices to produce musical children, I look at the emotional labour employed in this process and how this affects the women's well-being and sense of self. I explore family dynamics and the intersection of generation, gender and class to interrogate how musical habitus is formed, maintained or divided. I show how music becomes a means to create a sense of unity and family belonging.

Bourdieu, music and mothering as social practice

Formal education in music is often perceived as an elitist activity (Bourdieu, 1984). This is not to say that those from working-class backgrounds never engage in formal music tuition. Programs such as *El Sistema* in Venezuela (Bull, 2014; Uy, 2012) and their various offshoots enlist children from lower socio-economic groups to participate in their orchestras, and private schools often offer cultural scholarships to students who show promise but who may be lacking financial resources. Some public schools in some Australian states offer heavily subsidised formal music tuition with an aim to make these classes more affordable. However, the vast majority of children learning and participating in formal music education are those from the middle-classes (Savage, 2015a; Vincent & Ball, 2007). For Bourdieu (1984), music is a symbol of status, segregating those who are members of particular social classes and distinguishing classical music as a marker of "taste" and an "affirmation of class" (p. 26). Choices parents make regarding music tuition are often linked to the social and economic positioning of families (Reeves, 2015; Savage, 2015b).

Historically, the dominant class maintained its status in society through the transmission of wealth via the inheritance of property. However, under conditions of modernity, advantages were also and equally reproduced through the transmission of cultural capital, through family dispositions and formal education (Bennett, et al., 2009). Bourdieu's (1984) theory explicates the family and the home as the primary site of social reproduction, where mothers take on the central responsibility in transmitting cultural capital. He explains how the middle-classes establish boundaries of acceptance within certain fields to reproduce culturally valued behaviours, setting them apart from others who do not share these dispositions. In utilising a Bourdieusian class-based analysis of the lived experiences of mothers, I explore the capital accumulating strategies they employ and how they navigate the field of music against cultural norms and structural constraints. This presents a way of looking at the mothers' choice-making. As Bourdieu recognises, "class is lived as an embodied

subjectivity, orienting individuals to the opportunities and constraints that characterise their lives” (Gillies, 2007, p. 35). This suggests that practices such as concerted cultivation may only be successfully operationalised by mothers who have the requisite cultural capital.

In *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1984) writes of taste and consumption practices, and specifically discusses music. Music to Bourdieu is the ultimate signifier of taste – “nothing more clearly affirms one’s ‘class’, nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 18). For Bourdieu, a penchant for classical music is not just an aesthetic choice but rather a product of privileged social conditions (Prior, 2013). Being able to talk about, understand and appreciate classical music signifies cultural capital, which Bourdieu states, the elite have enculturated over generations. Lower middle-classes have attempted to appear cultured through more middle-brow forms of classical music consumption while the working-classes have not entered the conversation, excluding themselves from a space where they feel out of place (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Prior, 2013). While Bourdieu’s comments pertain primarily to Western art music – classical music – this narrow view has been challenged in recent times to suggest middle-class cultural capital incorporates a more rounded appreciation of music (Prior, 2013). Where once univore tastes, specifically a preference for high-brow classical music and opera, was optimal and garnered cultural capital, recent research states that knowledge and broader understandings of music – an omnivore palette – are more indicative of higher social standing and cultural capital (Prior, 2013).

Classical music is representative of middle-class dispositions such as self-regulation, discipline and self-strengthening (Bull, 2014; Hofvander Trulsson, 2015). Bourdieu (1984) argues children are inculcated into bourgeoisie society through ‘high-brow’ music which “‘is justified in existing by its perfection, its harmony and beauty, a world which has produced Beethoven and Mozart and continues to produce people capable of playing and appreciating them” (p. 77). The “upper sections of social space” (Atkinson, 2011, p. 176) prefer difficult and more obscure forms of music while the working-classes tend to consume popular and mass-produced culture. Taste, for Bourdieu, was often assessed through distaste, manifest as disgust or “sick-making” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 56). According to Bourdieu, taste within classical music differentiates members of the middle-class even further. As Bourdieu elucidates,

The different fractions of the dominant classes distinguish themselves precisely through that which makes them members of the class as a whole,

namely the type of capital which is the source of their privilege and the different manners of asserting their distinction on which are linked to it. (p. 258)

Bourdieu states that this middle-class distinction, therefore, is not homologous and a struggle for distinction between members of the same class still occurs. Coulangeon (2015) argues that Bourdieu's theory should be considered relationally, where class fractions' tastes and attitudes can change over time. While Bourdieu describes the stratification of the middle-class using taste in music as a marker, Bourdieu's signifiers of musical taste have been regarded as outdated in more recent research (Atkinson, 2011; Bennett et al., 2009; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007; Coulangeon, 2015; Peterson & Simkus, 1992; Prior, 2011, 2013). Rather than a homological argument, where cultural stratification equals social stratification, as Bourdieu theorises, alternate viewpoints have encompassed two theses – an individualised perspective and an omnivore/univore theory (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007). The individualisation notion appropriates neoliberal ideas of self-making and differing ideas in cultural consumption in the construction of the individualised self (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007). The omnivore/univore binary was devised originally by Peterson and Simkus (1992) proposing that those with higher levels of education and upward social mobility tend to be more open to new ideas and therefore have more eclectic musical tastes, consuming music of many genres, with cultural univores' tastes as singular and linked to lower status and levels of education.

Agreeing generally with this summation, Chan and Goldthorpe (2007) state that while cultural omnivores can demonstrate an affinity to the individualisation argument, these agents also show a cosmopolitanism which delineates their cultural and social superiority reflective of the homological argument proposed by Bourdieu. In addition, Chan and Goldthorpe (2007) argue that omnivores display a cultural knowledge of musical consumption as a form of social action, that is, knowing what music to play at what time, demonstrating an aesthetic sensitivity to music and what it does. Prior (2011) argues that Bourdieu ignores this function of music, and citing the work of DeNora and Hennion, states that Bourdieu sees music as an accumulated capital rather than an exchange of an encounter with music and as a form of creative agency. Atkinson (2011) proposes that taste eclecticism is differentiated by class, age and gender, while Coulangeon (2015) adds education to the correlations with musical tastes, citing the upper class having univore tastes of highbrow music, the middle-class having extensive omnivore tendencies, and popular music being the most widely consumed by younger aged people. This also speaks back to contemporary forms of taste. Interestingly, Bennett, Emmison and Frow

(1999) found that in Australian society, the social value placed on being ‘cultured’ was not always congruent with being in the economically privileged group, but rather status distinction was aligned with conspicuous consumption. Attendance at highbrow musical events such as the theatre, opera or ballet however, still signify social distinction and act as a means to further differentiate the social classes.

Another marker of social distinction is the type and quality of musical instrument selected for study. Prior (2013) states “a child who grows up in a household in which they are encouraged to play a ‘noble’ instrument like the piano or violin is already accumulating nascent mastery over legitimate musical culture” (p. 183). When studying a musical instrument, particularly of the “noble” variety, the quality of the instrument creates a differential sound, usually the better quality the instrument, the better the sound it produces. So, a sign of middle-class authority could involve the investment of an expensive, high-quality instrument. Greater cultural capital is afforded in the learning of specific musical instruments. As stated in the literature review, many aspirational Asian parents want their children to learn Western instruments such as piano and violin which have more exchange-value as currency for entry to Western educational institutions. Similarly, in Australia, the learning of musical instruments often starts in the first year of formal schooling and has become widespread as a selling-point amongst private schools in recent years. Typically, this involves learning the violin which caters for smaller sizes for smaller fingers. Piano is another first instrument of choice for private tuition. Bourdieu states that those who are fluent in society’s legitimate culture, have advantages over those who are not (Bennett et al., 2009). The middle-classes are socialised from an early age into recognising and understanding legitimate culture which is exploited in educational and cultural settings. Mothers accumulate cultural capital in families (Bourdieu, 1984).

The family has been recognised as a realised category, a “structuring structure”, and a site of reproduction (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53). The institution of family has its own discourse and is considered a social body and a construction (Bourdieu, 1996). It is within the family that children have their first social interactions which are constructed around societal norms. Specific practices are aligned with certain classes which vie for position within a field. Bourdieu (1996) states that family operates as a field, “with its physical, economic, and above all, symbolic power relations ... (and) its struggles for conservation and transformation of these power relations” (p. 22). Mechanisms of the field are made to appear natural yet are produced

by the field and constructed by individuals to maintain their place in the game (Bourdieu, 1984; Grenfell, 2012). The family works as a field in the Bourdieusian sense as it:

is united by interest in a particular mode of *recognition* and a cluster of taken-for-granted assumptions about ‘what one does’ revolving around it (or *doxa*), yet dispersed by unequal possession of the powers (or capitals) necessary to garner that recognition and spurred to engage in various *struggles* and *strategies* to gain them. (Atkinson, 2014, p. 224, original emphasis)

Doxa, as Bourdieu (1998) explains, is “a particular point of view, the point of view of the dominant, which presents and imposes itself as a universal point of view” (p. 57). In music, these practices become what Bourdieu describes as *orthodoxy* – where the doxa is recognised as such and accepted as the only means of practice (Deer, 2012). As an example, the route to learning a musical instrument is via professional lessons; music lessons are expensive, and time is needed to take children, so these two factors alone often exclude many families from participation. Assertions by mothers that this is something they just do, defies the choice to participate, the amount of effort involved in this practice and how this practice is maintained by the field as the primary, only or best route to learning music. Other means of acquiring musical skills, for example self-teaching via the internet or playing by ear, is often seen as deficient by those who have acquired their skills through more formal routes. This maintains the illusion of one correct path to a musical career or to acquire musical skill mastery.

Family doxa, however, may not be homogeneous with factions struggling for recognition within the family field (Atkinson, 2014). Mothers assess the requirements of social fields outside the family, for example in the fields of education or employment, and make choices for a plan of action, developing strategies to achieve their aims for their children’s futures based on what they judge to be viable. Middle-class mothers have a ‘feel for the game’, to use Bourdieu’s (1984) analogy, to know what is expected or required to meet their end goals. Investments that mothers make in their pursuit of their children’s musical advancement without the assurance that their investment will be successful, Bourdieu (1984) labels as *illusio*, because mothers become so invested in the ‘game’, they lose the capacity to think rationally about the game itself. For middle-class mothers, the game is worth playing because they think they have a real chance for success and it is worth the investment (Bourdieu, 1998). As Bourdieu (1998) writes:

It is the fact of being invested, of investing in the stakes existing in a certain game, through effect of competition, and which only exist for people who, being caught up in that game and possessing dispositions to recognise the stakes at play, are ready to die for the stakes which, conversely, are devoid of interest for those who are not tied to that game and which leave them indifferent. (p. 78)

In some families, the learning of a musical instrument is something of an expected practice, an activity their family has always engaged in, something they do without questioning. This is what is meant by 'doxa'. Mothers 'play the game' through concerted cultivation and intensive mothering practices to develop musical children.

It is at this point that some mothers make decisions on what is not for the likes of them and exclude themselves from the game and from this perspective, make themselves complicit in maintaining the dominant norms (Bourdieu, 1984). The bourgeois, with their capacity for spending time and allocation of the necessary resources to afford tuition over a prolonged period, can sustain involvement in this practice, whereas those lacking in the requisite resources are unable to compete and therefore exclude themselves at the outset stating tuition in classical music is not 'for them'. Bourdieu (1990) states, "agents shape their aspirations according to concrete indices of the accessible and the inaccessible, of what is not 'for us'" (p. 62). This self-limitation resonates with Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) ideas, as, "the level of aspiration of individuals is essentially determined by the probability (judged intuitively by means of previous successes or failures) of achieving the desired goal" (p. 111). This may go some way to explain why not all mothers choose formal music classes for their children.

Bourdieu's (1984) concepts of habitus and field are pivotal to a class-based analysis of strategies that mothers employ, focussing on intergenerational and social influences and relations in using music to achieve their goals for their children. Although many aspects of social life appear natural, it is through interrogating the women's mothering work that the strategies used to navigate their worlds becomes visible. It is to Bourdieu's tool kit I now turn to show its relevance to this study.

Utilising the Bourdieusian toolkit

Bourdieu's (1984, 1990) theoretical framework examines how society functions through social positioning and the impact of social class using the concepts of habitus, field and capital. Habitus is defined as "a system of lasting and transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions and makes possible the achievements of infinitely diversified tasks" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 18). Formed prior to birth as conscious and unconscious dispositions, the habitus is a form of intergenerational transmission and is defined as an incorporated bodily knowledge, a "bodily hexis", which is taken for granted (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 69). Habitus is the bodily form of an institution, as a priest is the "Church made flesh" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 57). From this process of internalisation, the habitus can generate new capacities involving social thinking, before becoming embedded in an individual's being (Bourdieu, 1990). The habitus aims, through practices, to achieve desired goals and is "always oriented towards practical functions" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 52). It is through looking at habitus, by seeing how cultural and social capitals are operationalised, that practices become visible (Stahl, 2015).

Bourdieu (1984) developed a formula for interrogating practices based on relations between habitus, capitals and field: $[(\text{habitus}) (\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$. None of these entities can work alone but intersect to produce practices through these "thinking tools" (Wacquant, 1989, p. 50). By looking at how the individual's habitus interacts within the field, by the position they hold, and what capitals are being utilised, one's practices become apparent (Maton, 2012). The field structures the habitus just as the habitus feeds back into the field thereby producing an interactive relationship "as a meaningful world ... with sense and value, in which it is worth investing one's energy" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127). In this way, the reproduction of those structures becomes evident. Mobilising Bourdieu's concept of habitus, I explore family and musical dispositions, some of which will be classed, and how that has influenced future generations. In considering habitus, I look for the values and dispositions that are privileged. I seek to find the ways of being that are exercised without thinking, highlighted within the routines and practices that form part of the women's daily lives. I examine the women's mothering practices to see the constraints and structures that impact their everyday experiences to establish links between the mothers' desires and cultural norms.

The actions of habitus, played out in social fields, are so ingrained as to appear ordinary. From this perspective, members sharing similar habitus within fields will accept certain practices as natural. Hall (2015) cites the example of the professional musician who “by learning and practising a range of skills over many years musicality becomes so deeply ingrained that it becomes ‘automatic’, giving the appearance of ‘innate’ talent” (p. 47). Similarly, within some families, the learning of music in subsequent generations automatically becomes an expected practice (Bennett, Emmison, & Frow, 1999; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Reeves, 2015; Skeggs, 2004a). Born into a certain space, individuals are socialised differently and subsequently tend to inhabit fields they feel they belong to (Bourdieu, 1984). A mis-fit will manifest as feeling like a fish out of water. Those with a habitus mismatched to a field, will struggle to perform naturally and may give themselves away as not being authentic.

Bourdieu (1990) argues that people are not aware of the structures that have formed them in a conscious way; however, as Webb, Schirato and Danaher (2002) articulate, the habitus is “durable and ... potentially subject to modification ... agents use their understanding and feel for the rules of the game as a means for furthering their own standing and capital within a cultural field” (p. 41). Habitus affords choice and agency, but these are limited by the individual’s social positioning (Stahl & Dale, 2015). Habitus generates “thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions ... whose limits are set by historically and socially situated conditions” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 54) where individuals adapt their choice of actions within certain fields. Far from habitus being deterministic, Bourdieu suggests that opportunities can arise to change future directions and alter life trajectories. Habitus is also understood as a “socialized subjectivity” (Stahl, 2016, p. 667) which is not fixed and changes in relation to fields. From every experience and interaction, habitus is being recalculated, reformulated and renewed in a continual renaissance of the self.

Utilising a Bourdieusian perspective to investigate mothers’ practices in this study, I will highlight classed ideologies and practices within musical mothering. Bourdieu’s (1990) economic analogies describe his view of the world using capitals and their potential for value and exchange. Gillies (2007) writes, “habitus is not just the internalised experience of class and other forms of identity, it is also characterised by access to particular kinds of social and material resources” (p. 36), namely capitals. Capitals are separated into four groups – *economic*, pertaining to money and assets; *cultural* – cultural tastes, appreciations, knowledge, collections (also known as objectified capital), use of language and deportment (embodied capital), level of education (institutionalised capital); *social* - family, cultural or religious

background, social networks and affiliations and finally, *symbolic* which stands for all other things representative of cultural value that may be exchanged, for example, credentials (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990). The intersubjective nature of symbolic capital means that others must recognise the capital to be valuable otherwise it becomes worthless, thereby demonstrating a relational aspect to this (Bourdieu, 1990).

Skeggs (1997) adds gender to cultural capital, rather than naming it gender capital, explaining that femininity and masculinity can be used as cultural resources and, similar to other cultural capitals, offers varying levels of symbolic capital subject to context; “gender, class and race ... provide the relations in which capitals come to be organised and valued” (p. 9). In this thesis, I focus on cultural capital as an expression of class status where cultural capital acquired from music is exchanged for economic capital. However, feminists such as Skeggs, acknowledge that Bourdieu’s toolkit does not account for the complexity of women’s lives and have searched for ways to extend Bourdieu’s thinking tools to explore women’s perspectives of lived experience.

As such, other researchers have added their own prefixes to varying types of capital. Reay (2004) adds emotional capital to the mix to describe women’s work in resourcing others with care, love, self-sacrifice, time and attention. Reay highlights the classed and gendered aspects of parental involvement in family life, citing Allatt’s (1993) empirical work on mother’s use of emotional capital in families to advance their children through skills learnt in their own formal education, and Nowotny’s (1981) work on families in the private schooling system. Working stealthily within the shadows of the private sphere, mothers develop and manage their children’s emotions to nurture skills in perseverance, resilience and confidence. These abilities hold children in good stead in competitive academic and musical fields. As Lawler (2000) notes “children’s needs, especially their emotional needs, are the point of motherhood” (p. 125). Additionally, Coulson (2010) writes of musical capital as “the interconnected cultural, social and symbolic assets that musicians acquire and turn to economic advantage in the music field. These include resources such as musical training and skills, network building and reputation gained through participation in particular musical events” (p. 257). It is Coulson’s view that eclectic musical experiences in children’s early years, with later exposure to a wide variety of teaching to acquire skills, supported by institutions and provided with performance opportunities, affords children with the best chance of becoming professional musicians. Although the development of professional musicians is not the subject matter for

this thesis, three of the five mothers interviewed for this research had worked in this capacity. The unrecognised mother work involved in children's development as musical beings will be explored in this thesis.

Consideration of the social space of the individual participants, locally and globally, and their relation to the structures, enables greater understanding of social phenomena and the interactions of the people within it (Grenfell, 2012). Meaning is expressed in the narratives of the mothers by incorporating cultural norms that may have affected interactions between family members or between the participants and others. It is through performances with others that mothers define themselves as mothers; this, in turn, informs the knowledge of their experiences with their own mothers. There may have been many sub-cultures formed by specific groups which all form part of these wider cultural narratives. These sub-cultures amalgamate to create society as we know it and therefore the individual participant stories collected are partial cultural representations of mothering.

Whilst habitus may appear to reproduce previous generational traits, it also mutates through subjects' agency to adapt to specific contexts due to its social nature yet maintains those essential elements of "who you are" (Lawler, 2004, p. 112). Practices are not solely the result of an individual's habitus, but the effect of the interaction between one's habitus and current and past circumstances (Stahl, 2016). As Stahl (2016) points out, embodied dispositions are passed on through generations, impacting upon the present and the future. For this reason, an intergenerational focus on participants in this study will investigate gender norms, class-based practices and influences to understand the mothers' lived experiences and ways of being and highlight their future imaginings.

Habitus, field and capital as concepts are enmeshed as transmission of privilege and a hierarchical pattern of domination. Effectively, status and privilege are not earned but rather gained through advantages in social status and capital exchange. Bourdieu argues no matter how intelligent or talented an individual may be, their success is limited by their social dispositions providing a framework for exploring social inequality (Lareau, 2003). The boundaries established by the dominant group obfuscate pathways for those outside that group in a game with ever-changing rules (Appadurai, 1986). The transmission of cultural capital through specific practices such as music tuition, reproduces classed positions, where parental practices of cultural cultivation in the past are manifest in the future through their children's continued engagement (Lahire, 2010; Reeves, 2015; Scherger & Savage, 2010). Within the

field of classical music education, a relationship exists between cultural capital, class, educational achievement and parental involvement to create boundaries which maintain classical music's elite membership (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Hofvander Trulsson, 2013; Lareau, 2003; Magnúsdóttir, 2015; Reay, 1998). Magnúsdóttir (2015) comments,

the field of music has been important for parents to construct a 'worthy' child, but what counts as worthy is shaped by the family habitus in terms of social class, race, gender and ability ... and the rules and regulations within the music field ... as well as the status of the music field in the hierarchy of the social space. (p.162)

Therefore, as Reay (2015a) points out, "Bourdieuian analysis demands a recognition of power, struggle and hierarchy" (p. xvii). In sum, Bourdieu offers a view that societal structures regulate individuals, who are subsequently reproduced by these structures (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). In this way, Bourdieu's work has been used as an explanation for social reproduction and "gender socialisation" (McLeod, 2005, p. 12). Gender and class, as social positions, provide a means in which capitals become valued and organised as part of lived experiences (Skeggs, 2004a). Bourdieu's theory of habitus offers a way of looking at how gender norms are created and, together with field, a chance to investigate practices where habitus and field show how gendered dispositions equate to social reality, within and outside of individual actors, respectively (McLeod, 2005). It is through habitus and field that the practices of gender become visible (McLeod, 2005). While this is useful in identifying structural constraints and how genders are socially constructed, there are limitations in Bourdieu's theory when considering the diversity of women's experiences and of women themselves.

According to Bourdieu (2003), researchers should assess the social world in which they are located and consider practices within that world relating to their own "social origins, [her] position and trajectory in social space, [her] social and religious memberships and beliefs, gender, age, nationality, etc., but also, and most importantly, [her] particular position" (p. 283). Bourdieu implores researcher reflexivity and for a grasp of one's own "universal logic of practice" (p. 286) to be acknowledged. I aim to be reflexive in my work to continue to develop awareness of my own position as a middle-class musical mother and of the privileges afforded to me. Rather than presenting "vanity reflexivity", I acknowledge that my representations of the women's stories in this thesis are diverse and dynamic, and contingent on the power relations and "structural and spatial locations" (Kenway & McLeod, 2004, p. 527) in the

researcher/participant relationship. According to Bourdieu's theory around reflexivity, I aim to explore the conflicting positions in the field, and how the mothers navigate tensions and potentialities to reveal the reasons for their choices in motherhood and music.

While Bourdieu's theory is useful in looking at classed aspects of practices, he fails to consider the diversity within classed practices, particularly in women (Atkinson, 2016). He tends to homogenise the experiences of women and has shown no connection to feminist thinking (Adkins, 2004). While Bourdieu's social theories are valuable for looking at lived experiences through capital-exchange for example, I supplement his work with the addition of feminist theories to counteract his shortfalls (Adkins, 2004). In exploring the mothers' work to develop musical children, I will need to incorporate feminist theories to reveal the emotional and affective labour involved in this process. Mobilising feminist theory, with the concept of intersection at its core, I aim to highlight the multiplicity of practices embodied in the relationship between the fields of motherhood and music, and class and gender.

Integrating feminist mothering theory

In Bourdieusian terms, motherhood could be envisaged as habitus, capital and field. Motherhood is a social concept, a social construction which encapsulates issues of gender, but also issues of morality and social value, not unlike music. Motherhood is performed differently by different classes and in different societies but also *within* classes and societies. Investigating motherhood through habitus and field "lead[s] us to reconceive the cultural and social practices of gender" (McLeod, 2005, p. 12). Gender is embodied, performed and constructed in interaction with social fields (Lawler, 2004; Stahl, 2015). Femininity as a gendered and classed experience relates closely to dominant discourses of motherhood where judgements based around respectability are ubiquitous and culturally significant (Skeggs, 1997). For instance, beliefs that women should be married before they have children, behave and dress in specific ways, all signify whether a woman is considered a 'good' mother, even before their practices are scrutinised. As was noted in the literature review, 'good' mothers are white, heterosexual, married, tertiary educated, having had children in their thirties (Goodwin & Huppertz, 2010). Notions of 'good' mothers feed into patriarchal power constructions where women are supposed to give up their lives, selflessly, for child-rearing within the domestic space. Similarly, mothers are judged as solely accountable for family consumption choices. There is

a moral dimension where mothers are responsible for making the right choices regarding their children's futures, thereby achieving 'good' outcomes by which these mothers are judged.

O'Reilly (2016) states "mothers need a feminism of their own ... any understanding of mothers' lives is incomplete without consideration of how becoming and being a mother shape a woman's sense of self and how she sees the world" (p. 1) and that "motherhood ... is the unfinished business of feminism" (p. 2). Being a mother impacts women's lives significantly, particularly regarding relationships, paid employment and caring responsibilities. While feminists have paved a way forward for equity within employment spheres for example, such equities are still missing for women with children (Bueskens, 2018). "Matricentric feminism" (O'Reilly, 2016, p. 25) posits not how mothers can fit into society but how society can adapt to accommodate the needs of mothers. The institution of motherhood is oppressed under patriarchy and controlled by the dominant cultural discourse of the time (O'Reilly, 2016). It seems obvious to state that mothering is a social practice – a woman's relation with her child. Yet how women mother is directly related to their personal histories, the contexts they find themselves in and the resources available to them. Cultural expectations and family practices partly influence mothering behaviour; however, these are temporal and dynamic (Bueskens, 2018). Current trends in child-rearing practices, often based around economic and broader societal factors, also impact upon how women bring up their children. Skeggs (1997) has been critical of motherhood studies based on "partial experiential descriptions" (p. 20) arguing that it has been represented by those who have the means in which to do this, namely resourced middle-class women. The differences in experiences are "problematic", states Skeggs (1997, p. 20) because they are usually analysed within historical explorations and "rarely understood through the theoretical categories which analyse *processes* of differentiation" (p. 20, original emphasis). By looking intersectionally, the influence of class, gender, and ethnicity for example, besides the utilisation of capitals, leads to a more comprehensive analysis of the constraints and processes that differentiate lived experiences. In addition to class-based analyses, Skeggs (1997) advocates investigating how "cultural approval, moral superiority and distinctions from others" (p. 21) are made and accumulate value. Further to this, Skeggs (1997) states

(T)he explanatory power of feminist theory develops from interrogating the production of categories, their applicability, the experiences of them and from assessing their explanatory adequacy for different groups of women in

different relations of power at historically specific times and places. This is how knowledge becomes situated. (p. 21)

Feminist theory is appropriate for exploring concepts of mothering and the work involved in creating and developing musical selves and children, primarily because it is usually women who do this work. This is not to state that women are the only agents in the caring and mentoring experience, however, as Skeggs (1997) elucidates, “feminist theory ... sees experience as central to the construction of subjectivity ... processed through practice, discourse and interpretation” (p. 27 – 28) which is the foundation of knowledge. The emphasis here is on the evolving and fluid nature of experiences and knowledges as partial representations, in a process of constant re-evaluation and interpretation, against presently available theories and perspectives (Skeggs, 1997). In this study, it is through the intersection between mothers’ practices of nurturing musical children against current discourse and within the constraints of their everyday lives that will reveal their musical mothering experiences and the meaning it has for these women.

It is fundamental to note that mothering as a social practice has value and power in few situations. In current Australian society, motherhood is seen with ambivalence, as detrimental to women’s career prospects, a servant position and financially expensive, yet simultaneously valorised as a fulfilling and meritorious pursuit of self-sacrifice, nurturance and important for building the future citizens of the nation. So, how does the maternal subjectivity manifest in mothers who want to raise musical children? Mothers who develop successful, independent and ‘useful’ children are celebrated while mothers who produce children who are welfare-dependent, immoral or lacking in aspiration are pathologised and blamed for their children’s outcomes (Atkinson, 2014; Gillies, 2007; Lawler, 2000). While mothers with vast swathes of economic resources, and with male partners, are still the most powerful within their field, even well-resourced middle-class mothers can slip outside the dominant cultural narratives and struggle to be recognised. As a theme of this thesis, some of these women utilise music as a means for acceptance and legitimacy within their communities, to position themselves as ‘good’ mothers.

Reiterating, the ‘good mother’ is “defined as white, middle class, married, stay-at-home moms, while ‘good’ mothers from a politic of maternal empowerment are drawn from all maternal identities and include lesbian, non-custodial, poor, single, older, and ‘working’ mothers” (O’Reilly, 2010b, p. 7). This broader definition of maternal identities acknowledges

the intersectionality, or social identities, of mothers which are often used to discriminate and marginalise groups outside the hegemonic norm (Crenshaw, 1991). According to O'Reilly (2008),

a theory of feminist mothering begins with the recognition that mothers *and children* benefit when the mother lives her life, and practices mothering from a position of agency, authority, authenticity, and autonomy ... Likewise, from this standpoint, a woman's race, age, sexuality, or marital status do not determine her capacity to mother. (p. 11, *emphasis in original*)

O'Reilly (2016) has separated matricentric feminism from other feminist scholarship stating that mainstream feminist thinking in recent years has largely ignored mothering as a practice, which she aims to challenge. In line with feminist mothering theory (O'Reilly, 2008), I acknowledge all mothers' experience and circumstances to be different, and within this thesis do not assume that mothers are all the same. It is also acknowledged that not all women want to become mothers and that mothering does not always meet all the needs of women. Feminist work on motherhood has intersectionality as its central tenet, acknowledging that all mothers are unique, and how individuals within families "negotiate systems of privilege, oppression, opportunity, conflict, [and] change across time" (Few-Demo, Lloyd, & Allen, 2014, p. 89). This is centred around issues of power, structure, agency and intersectionality (Allen, Lloyd, & Few, 2009). Motherhood is framed as a cultural practice not a natural, biological function within matricentric feminism (O'Reilly, 2004). In feminist mothering theory, gender essentialism is challenged (O'Reilly, 2010a) arguing mothering can be practiced by mothers, fathers, or carers of either gender (Ruddick, 1989). While I acknowledge mothering, as a verb, is something that can be practiced by fathers and others who care for children, I wish to argue the fact that this is mostly practiced by women and should be acknowledged as such. In saying that, this highly influential and powerful practice has the potential to impact on future generations, by reshaping values and attitudes and challenging ideas.

O'Reilly (2008) frames the practice of feminist mothering into four categories: motherhood, family, child-rearing and activism. She writes "[f]eminist mothering ... challenges traditional gender socialization, critiques gender (and other) equities at home and in the world at large, champions motherwork, and calls for the empowerment of women through maternal activism and an identity outside of motherhood" (p. 20). O'Reilly (2008) sees feminist mothering as a potential for activism, commenting that it is "patriarchal motherhood that limits mothering to privatized care undertaken in the domestic sphere" (p. 11) whereas feminist

mothers can “use their position to lobby for political and social change” (p. 11); therefore, childrearing becomes a “social-political act” (p. 19).

Bourdieu’s (1990) economic analogies describe his view of the world through the accumulated capitals and their potential for value and exchange, and to recognise inequalities through his concepts of habitus, field and capitals. However, feminist mothering theory offers additional concrete suggestions for how individuals in dominated groups may function to realise common goals, such as lobbying for low-cost child care and extensions to parental leave, thereby offering agency by generating collective power. Assisting marginalised groups to navigate successful outcomes requires recognition of the resources needed to do this and of the barriers preventing it (Appadurai, 2004). In this study, I will look at the restrictions influencing the women’s musical mothering choices, such as having to work in paid employment or being limited by location or lack of resources. Although, it is widely accepted that most mothers have aspirations for their children, the capacity to realise these is often thwarted by structural constraints (Appadurai, 2004; Bennett, Lutz, & Jayaram, 2012; Bok, 2010; Irwin & Elley, 2013; Gillies, 2010; Lareau, 2003; Reay, 2010; Skeggs, 2004a; Vincent & Maxwell, 2015). Therefore, the capacity to aspire is a class-based practice, and “means the better off you are (in terms of power, dignity, and material resources), the more likely you are to be conscious of the links between the more and less immediate objects of aspiration” (Appadurai, 2013, p. 188).

Feminist mothering theory also recognises the mental work and the emotional labour that pervades the mothering experience. This is highly salient when looking at musical mothering to show the diverse experiences of the women and their efforts to produce musical children. The experiences of mothers are not the same, even those who appear to share similar experiences and circumstances, and therefore, by utilising feminist mothering theory, I endeavour to reveal the diverse experiences of musical mothers, highlighting the affective and emotional dimensions to develop a musical habitus in their children and uncover the meaning music has for these women.

Concluding summary

In this thesis, I utilise Bourdieu’s ‘fields’ as the fields of motherhood and music, and how they intersect. I focus on middle-class motherhood and the strategies these women in the study engage in to uphold their classed positions within the field of music. I explore the choices

mothers make in developing their children's musicality and examine the capitals mothers mobilise to assist them to achieve their aspirations for musical children. In capital exchange, although economic capital is salient when looking at classed positions, it is cultural capital and its exchange-value that is most relevant in this study. I investigate whether the dispositions, values and traditions of one generation have been passed on to the next and reveal the outcomes of mothers' practices to create musical children. Rather than being a replica of the past, the habitus is "internalised as a second nature and so forgotten as history" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 56) and although it can reproduce over generations, it can similarly adapt to its present context and relations with others (Lawler, 2004). Therefore, the mother-daughter relationship can be explored from the perspective of the past and present, to consider changing subjectivities over time and implicate how the intersection with other fields may alter the women's positioning and self-identity (Bueskens, 2018; Kenway & McLeod, 2004).

In this chapter I have justified my reasons for employing Bourdieu's theory of practice and feminist mothering theory to realise the relationship these middle-class women have with music in cultivating a musical habitus in their children. Bourdieu's theory will assist me to uncover how mothers develop their children's musicality and what dispositions they try to develop and why. By looking at musical habitus over the lifespan, the exchange-value of these interactions will become evident. Feminist mothering theory will help me to reveal the emotional labour involved in making musical children, and how this affects mothers' well-being and sense of self. It brings forth the use-value of music and its value, aesthetically and functionally, in the women's lives, to show the depth of meaning music encapsulates, in contrast to its potential for exchange (Frith, 1996). Feminist mothering theory will explore mothers' work in the family to create a sense of belonging through music, linking to Bourdieu's habitus as 'who we are' as part of the intergenerational transmission of culture and of social reproduction.

Bourdieu's notion of habitus with consideration of dominant cultural narratives, highlights the classed practices of the women. I aim to see how these women negotiate the field of music through their mothering practices together with their utilisation of capitals, and how this adheres to dominant cultural expectations. Intersecting this with gender, ethnicity and generation, the differences within the women's classed experiences will become evident. I will also incorporate ideas of Atkinson (2016), as an extension to Bourdieu's thinking, to look at family dynamics to consider the affective dimensions that musical motherhood presents. Each

mother, as daughter, mother and for some, grandmother, will reveal their subjectivity which is based upon their past, present and projected future selves. I endeavour to reveal the meaning of the relationship between mothering and music for these women, acknowledging that this is a snapshot in time and only represents a partial picture, and to highlight the labour involved in producing musical children. This will focus the study on the lived experiences of mothers within the field of music, reconciling the work of Bourdieu with feminist mothering theory and other post-Bourdieuian thinkers to encapsulate what it means to be a musical mother.

Chapter Three – Stories of musical motherhood

*What did I clearly say
Children should listen*

*No, no, please
What were you not to do
Children must see
No*

And learn

*Why could you not obey
Children should listen
What have I been to you
What would you have me be
Handsome like a Prince*

*Ah, but I am old
I am ugly
I embarrass you
No*

*You are ashamed of me
No*

*You are ashamed
You don't understand*

I am no longer a child, I wish to see the world

*Don't you know what's out there in the world
Someone has to shield you from the world
Stay with me*

*Princes wait there in the world, it's true
Princes, yes, but wolves and humans, too
Stay at home
I am home*

*Who out there could love you more than I
What out there that I cannot supply
Stay with me*

*Stay with me
The world is dark and wild
Stay a child while you can be a child
With me*

- Stephen Sondheim
Stay with me lyrics © Warner/Chappell Music, Inc

Introduction

Contextualising the intergenerational relationships against broad societal trends regarding employment and education places women within the cultural norms of the day. This highlights societal structures and cultural expectations explaining why women perform their mothering in particular ways. When speaking of the past, narrators describe events in the present as a re-telling and re-imagining of previous events given the knowledge, understanding and experience of everything leading up to that present time (Andrews, 2014; Bourdieu, 1990; Lawler, 2000). This incorporated history is evidenced in the habitus and evolves in new contexts according to current structures (Bourdieu, 1990). In analysis, a Bourdieusian framework “always seeks to capture the objective structures in social space and the subjective experiences of the individual agents and relationships between these” (Hardy, 2012, p. 247). When interrogating interactions between individuals or trying to understand what is happening in social spaces, Bourdieu states that it is necessary to look at the immediate and wider contexts to see relations between individuals and structures (Grenfell, 2012). Bourdieu sees the structures of a society or culture as a regulating framework which puts constraints on individuals which in turn, mediates their practice. In this way, my thesis points to the subjective experiences of women incorporating music into their mothering practices within late 20th and early 21st century Australia.

Storytelling as social practice links with Bourdieu’s (1984) notion of habitus as being relational with the bringing of past experience and history to the present and future. Story is a “connection to a life lived in a particular time and place” (Fleetwood, 2016, p. 174). In this research, the personal stories demonstrate an intergenerational cultural transmission of music through mothering and mothering practices through music. Narrative inquiry methods enable the researcher to delve inside mothers’ stories to show how practices have been passed through generations to illustrate musical habitus. Therefore, stories of mothers’ experiences with music and motherhood will explicate the meaning-making within musical motherhood for these women.

In the first section of this chapter, I define what narratives are, what value they have for researchers and why I have chosen this methodology. I discuss counter-narratives and how these stories act as forms of resistance to dominant cultural norms, offering further ways of exploring positionality and identity. How this approach fits within a Bourdieusian and feminist

framework will be addressed to justify why this method is useful for my study. I also justify the inclusion of my own narrative within this thesis. In the second section, I explain how I plan to generate the data for the study to include the chosen interview style and how that integrates with a feminist perspective. Ethical considerations and clearance, and recruitment of participants will then be discussed. Finally, I introduce the ten mothers in the study, five of whom are mothers and five who are also grandmothers. I explain the analysis procedure from which the rich data has been generated. From there, the stories of musical mothering will be shared.

Narratives and counter-narratives of mothering

Narratives are defined as “texts which bring stories of personal experience into being by means of the first-person oral narration of past, present, future or imaginary experience” (Andrews, Squire, & Tamboukou, 2008, p. 37). In this study I use the terms narrative and story interchangeably yet tend to think of a narrative as an over-arching collection of small stories. The experience-centred narratives of the women in this study focus on the personal experiences of being a mother and their engagements with music. My research into musical mothering uses experience-centred narrative to share the mothers’ stories and thinking around being musical mothers. Some researchers state that narratives should be sequential, which is said to produce meaning in relation to pivotal moments within a person’s life (Squire, 2008). Other researchers suggest a non-linear approach is more representative of human reality where our recollections navigate between past, present and future, with the meaning of words altering upon each retelling and re-experiencing (Andrews, 2008). The sequencing of particular stories at specific points within the mothers’ narratives will link moments of time and meaning thereby revealing generational and contextual elements within their varying subjectivities and their significance. Through storytelling, participants realise their own experiences within the context of social norms and how they fit within dominant discourses (Miller, 2017b). As Miller (2017b) writes, “the stories we tell are guided by reference to dominant cultural, social and political discourses as we make sense of our experiences and present our gendered selves in particular and strategic ways to others” (p. 43). Retelling stories of musical motherhood may evoke women’s recollections of their musical childhoods and revive certain emotions they had at that time, for example, which may have been dormant.

Particular stories are told at specific times to reflect their importance to that point in the mothers’ lives. Narratives are sequenced in ways that present certain states, real or imagined,

to reveal character changes over time in a sequence of events as a means of unfolding identities (Bamberg, 2004). Phoenix and Brannen (2014) explain that participants “clarify(ing) what they believe their audiences need to know in order to understand ... placing limits on what they say ... deploying emphasis, repetition and direct appeals to the audience’s attention and judgment” (p. 13). Participants present themselves in a particular way to an audience. Narratives are about how people see themselves within the social spaces they live in and the cultures they inhabit (Riessman, 2002).

Similarly, how stories are performed indicate the narrators’ subjectivities and how they might position themselves in a particular field. Riessman (2002) stresses the importance of investigating not just what was said, but how it was said. The use of language within narratives – the emphases, pauses, silences – and paralinguistics – gestures, eye movements, utterances – and body movements, divulges how the story-teller places themselves or wishes to be perceived by their audience. However, it is important to note that these positionings are dynamic and under constant review. This relational aspect of story-telling is concerned with how the participant wants to be perceived by the listener. Similarly, the performance of the narrative is informative of the narrators’ efforts to ensure the listener understands what the narrator is trying to convey (Bamberg, 2004; Brannen, 2013).

Performance of the story is important, where the varying narratives will differ in social and cultural context, yet are united in their subject (Squire, 2008). The ways in which stories are recounted and remembered form part of the “social act of remembering ... re-interpreting how things were in the past and establishing the significance of the experiences”, of mothering and being mothered (Murakumi, 2004, p. 49). This social act is a shared experience between researcher and participant and is influenced by a perceived relationship and mediated by shared understandings. As Stahl (2015) writes “the individual is constructed through his experience within the world and through their reflexive relationship with their own subjectivities” (p. 46). In selecting which stories to share, the participants share their subjectivities and choose narratives that stand out to them as important and relevant (Squire, 2008). The process of sharing narratives provokes recollections of forgotten or submerged memories and deeply personal reflections upon present life, in this case of mothers with their children and/or mothers with their mothers, and additionally, our mutual subjectivity as musical mothers creates a newly formed bond.

An important consideration within a narrative approach is the researcher-participant relationship in which each story is situated and more broadly, the social and cultural contexts in which it occurred. In this way, narratives become collaborative productions between storyteller and listener (Squire, 2008). The mothers' recollection of events "reform both the experience and its meaning", thereby the experience is "constructed and refined through social discourse, in this case the act of the telling" (Austin & Carpenter, 2008, p. 371) and becomes a relational act. As this is an intergenerational study, I recognise that the mothers' narratives reflect their varying subjectivities, that of mother and that of daughter, perhaps that of musician and the being or becoming of these and the complex interweaving of these. In this way, subjectivities are under constant reconstruction as stories are told, evolve and are retold. As Bamberg (2004) notes, "lives are lived, but stories are told" (p. 354).

Narrative methods capture the lived experiences of individuals, which may collectively be viewed as part of a wider cultural understanding. Presented narratives are only ever partial representations of individuals' stories. It is impossible to capture the whole of one's life experience within a single narrative, and even if it was possible, the narrative would be ever-changing with different versions emerging as the individual encounters new and different experiences or reflects upon such experiences in different ways (Riessman, 2002). Repeated stories, told many times over time, may alter with embellishing or in light of new experiences (Riessman, 2002). Stories from mothers and grandmothers may not be the same, even when life experiences have been shared. This also offers an interesting perspective to view participants from different standpoints – their own, their social partner and the interviewer. Participants may speak of past events through their knowledge of the present. Recalling stories of their past, when women became mothers for the first time (and for some participants this may be fifty years ago) for example, may be difficult to remember accurately considering the experience of the years between influencing and clouding that memory (Andrews, Squire, & Tamboukou, 2008).

Viewpoints on their practices may have altered when the mothers became aware of subsequent cultural changes. This may have become evident when their daughter became a mother. Women's subjectivities alter when they become grandmothers, and yet they are still mothers and often daughters, too. Therefore, the women's stories (r)evolve through these varying relational subjectivities to demonstrate varying accounts of their lives. Stories may have lost their intensity or become less significant or details may have become hazy since the

original event. It is contentious whether remembrances are accurate when speaking of the past through the present.

Yet, Riessman (2002) explains that it is not necessarily important if stories are factual or not as they provide a lens for seeing into the identity-making of the teller and how they position themselves within their world. There is a link to habitus, as formed in the past and yet shaping in the present to “generate perceptions, appreciations and practices” (Bourdieu, 1990, p.53) often with a view towards the future. The intergenerational transmission of mothering and musical practices is indicative of the values and beliefs of the individual, considering what they feel to be ‘right’ at any given time, and in relation to cultural practices, and family and personal beliefs (Brannen, Moss, & Mooney, 2004). In other words, decisions mothers make at any one time are made on the currently available choices visible to them, are dependent upon existing contexts and judged as viable by the mothers through their histories and past experiences (Calhoun, 2013; Maton, 2012). The ever-changing, dynamic nature of existence means that any narrative can only ever be partial.

Narrative methods reveal participants’ practices, contexts and discourses, which interconnect with subjectivities to show choices, reconstructed histories and imagined futures that are both visible and possible (Andrews, Rustin, Sclater, Squire, & Treacher, 2000). Bourdieu uses stories of experience in his work, notably in *Weight of the World* (Bourdieu, Accardo, & Ferguson, 1999) to show habitus, and how people construct their world and are structured by it (Kenway & McLeod, 2004). The mothers’ narratives in this study, which are “socially and historically specific” (Lawler, 2000, p. 14), reflect how they position themselves in relation to others, and are descriptive of specific fields they occupy. As a musical mother myself, it was evident that there were often moments of shared meaning, assumed knowledge and things that did not need to be said to be understood throughout the interviews. This was also true when the mothers shared other subjectivities with me, such as being a teacher or being of a similar age. As Skeggs (1997) elucidates, “recognition is one of the means by which experiences are interpreted ... (where) positionality is understood and responded to” (p. 29). However, this is not to assume that our musical mothering experiences are the same at all and I endeavour to remain cognisant not only of our similarities, but of our differences also.

Normative discourses of mothering maintain essentialist notions such as mothering is not only natural, intuitive and easy, but that child-rearing is a fulfilling and self-sacrificing occupation for all women (Miller, 2005). The reality of this for some women is far from

accurate; mothers and their circumstances are diverse and dynamic. For many women, constructions of motherhood present as counter-narratives to the hegemonic form. Counter-narratives, as defined by Andrews (2004) are “the stories which people tell and live to offer resistance, either implicitly or explicitly, to dominant cultural narratives” (p. 1). Andrews (2004) states that challenges arise when the narratives of the story-teller do not quite match that of the master narrative, which may or may not be obvious to the person telling the story. Counter-narratives are concerned with hegemony and understanding of power (Bamberg, 2004). Through storytelling, agents show how they comply or resist master narratives although complicity does not always correlate to support of dominant narratives (Bamberg, 2004).

When counter-narratives are recognised as resistant to the hegemonic discourse, the researcher must evaluate why the participant has chosen to offer this story and what do they hope to achieve in doing so (Bamberg, 2004). In a critique of Andrews’ (2004) work, Kölbl (2004) writes “which narratives do the subjects themselves regard (explicitly or implicitly) as the dominant cultural narratives? And equally important: how can we validly detect them?” (p. 32). The reflexivity of the participant and the researcher, and their respective habitus influence the ability with which to recognise this. The women’s personal narratives act as a “rhetorical tool(s) for point or claim-making” (Bamberg, 2004, p. 357), offering a way of viewing stories to see how the mothers position themselves against the dominant cultural narrative. This is valuable for the researcher to offer their own point of view and justify their own position. So rather than seeing the mothers’ stories as merely personal narratives, or life stories, the various ways the women present themselves throughout their stories, reveals their identities and provides insight to how they situate themselves, thereby staking a claim in who they are (Bamberg, 2004).

I will explore how mothers make reparations to avoid being misconstrued in their interview, looking for inconsistencies in their narratives that may position them in a way that is counter to the way they might wish to be represented. In doing this, how mothers negotiate their identities against the dominant forms will be revealed, showing how their stories are relational, situating them as agentic rather than determined by the master narrative (Bamberg, 2004). For Riessman (2002) and other narrative researchers, the ordering of the narrative is worthy of analysis, as she writes “one action is viewed as consequential for the next” (p. 698). Told stories have plots that structure the experience in a forward-oriented way, and in addition to themes and drama, create meanings expressing agency and imagination (Riessman, 2002).

The sociological imagination, as defined famously by Wright-Mills (1959) combines a biography of the self and one's own experience within history and social structure, which aligns closely with Bourdieu's theoretical perspective (Fraser & Hagedorn, 2016). Narratives are habitus set to words, as linguistic representations of 'who we are', where agents integrate stories from their pasts to perceive present contexts, to make projections about the future (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Set firmly in the real world, our stories are re-imaginings of past events, potential, and promise, offering "both the possibility of history and of a tomorrow ... revisiting our pasts, in light of changing circumstances of the present, and in so doing, our vision for the future is reconstituted" (Andrews, 2014, p. 3). Here presents a synergy between habitus and narrative, both unconsciously presented but also generative and performative. The sociological imagination is not necessarily fanciful but grounded in the real world as actual possibilities, guiding us with our reason and perception. It is when individuals delve into the intricacies of their story-making that their hopes and imaginings become clear (Andrews, 2014). These imaginings, as forward-looking, strategic thinking link with mothers' future-oriented planning of their children's lives, realising their classed aspirations of developing and becoming neo-liberal subjects (Ball, 2003). The relevance for this study is the forward planning of the mothers for their children's musical futures. The mothers foresee that they wish to have musical children. The idea of imagination refers to one's positioning within the world from which to then imagine possibilities to move to, a "creative tension between temporality and possibility" (Andrews, 2014, p. 6). This lens then allows the researcher to see the narrator's subjectivity and sense of agency – to see where they are, where they may or hope to be and how they view themselves within the world. Stories become the storyteller's personal truth whether or not it is founded in actual reality (Andrews, 2014).

As the researcher, I acknowledge that my view and imagination of the mothers' narratives affects the meanings I see in their stories. My own musical subjectivity and musical maternity allows me to be an insider in this research. The mothers' relationship with music reflects my own lifelong bond with this art form and the embedded connection within me. In line with feminist perspectives in qualitative research methods, I have aimed to be transparent in my role as researcher and musical mother with reference to my own story. In the interviews, I shared biographical information about my musical journey if asked by a participant, which is congruent with feminist principles of "emancipatory and egalitarian research" (Hansen, 2006, p. 65). In addition, I have added short sections of my own story within the discussion chapters

of this thesis to present another narrative of musical mothering, which has been the impetus for this research. My own story is not used as data for analysis; instead it brings my researcher subjectivity to the fore.

This approach is imperative to feminist narrative theory and adheres to other theorists' viewpoints that are utilised within this thesis. Prominent feminist mothering theorists, such as O'Reilly (2016), write about their own mothering experiences as examples of their mothering practice and as points of reference. Importantly, I acknowledge that all women's voices have the right to be heard, including my own. Miller (2017b) argues that women's voices are too often "essentialised and taken-for-granted or invisible in public or political contexts" (p. 59). This thesis has afforded me an opportunity to reflect upon my own experience as a middle-class musical mother, which is steeped in desires for acceptability, genuine emotion and meaning-making. My own narrative interjections are brief yet position me within the thesis and offer a classed and gendered account of my upbringing and the contexts in which I was raised and raised my children. The process has allowed me to realise, reconcile and gain deeper understandings around personal issues related to how I was mothered, and how I mothered my own children. It has revealed to me my own subjectivity in the area of musical mothering and made me realise the significant meaning that music has for my life and the lives of my children, and the importance to me of my children having music as part of their lives.

I argue that this method of constructing my own narrative and those whose stories I tell, acknowledges there are many ways to 'do' narrative research within the contexts of women's lives. I believe my narrative helps to build a relationship between myself and the reader of my thesis. As my thesis examines the relationship between music and women's mothering practices, my story provides another example of this, where the reader can interrogate the emergent themes in relation to the other women's narratives if they wish. The autobiographical elements are written as speaking to the reader rather than reflections to the self. As Stanley (1993) notes, autobiographies are rarely told only about oneself but have others' experiences interwoven in the narrative, and are historically, contextually and temporally specific. Therefore, the inclusion of my personal narrative provides another example of musical mothering within an Australian context.

Stories are co-constructions between the story-teller and the listener and my own subjectivity interlinks with the participants' subjectivities to recreate their narratives (Squire, 2008). The perception of the narrator, of the interviewer and of our potential shared

understanding creates an interpersonal story, that is unique to our experience. Similarly, my retelling of the mothers' stories of musical mothering for this thesis is formulated from my own interpretation of their words mixed with my own experiences, understanding and perception of the world. Thus far, I have defined narratives and counter-narratives, and explained the value of story-telling for highlighting the mothers' experiences, subjectivities and social imaginings. I now turn to how the stories of musical motherhood are generated.

Generating stories of musical motherhood

Narrative methodology provides a useful method for analysing the women's stories within a feminist framework. Participants are viewed as collaborators and co-constructors of the knowledge produced within the interview setting. Although Riessman (2002) admits that narrative analysis is not an exact science, nor does it assume to be, analysis of individual experiences through personalised stories conveys meaning-making and identity-formation within and against the dominant cultural narratives thereby unravelling the complexity of the social world.

The usual method for generating data in experience-centred narrative is through semi-structured interviews, using a small number of participants with which to gain deep insights into participants' biographies (Squire, 2008). Within this method, there are often several interviews of each participant to enable the participant to further reflect upon their interview, their personal histories and to add or expand upon their stories considering what occurred in the interview (Squire, 2008). O'Toole and Beckett (2010) suggest that this gives an opportunity for the researcher to "seek clarification, invite expansion or explore a response further" (p. 132). It also gives participants an opportunity to put across their intentions in a more informed manner. Interview questions are usually open-ended with as little intervention as possible, to allow participants a chance to tell their life stories. Rather than participants creating a detailed "big story" (Phoenix & Brannen, 2014, p. 14), the interview will be conversational with semi-structured, open questions to encourage storied responses. Although not stories in the traditional sense with one constant theme, they represent "retrospective accounts of decisions, actions and events, often relating to distant periods of the life course and located in particular contexts, situations, relationships, emotions and moral judgments pertaining to these" (Phoenix & Brannen, 2014, p. 14). These small stories, when collated, will form the participant's narrative, which represents a selective part of their whole story (Riessman, 2005). From their

narratives, I will select small stories of their musical mothering from which to re-represent their stories as told in the interviews where I will become the narrator of the women's stories. This demonstrates the relational aspect of narrative analysis, as Riessman (2015) states, "[l]ike all narrators, I made choices about what to include, what to emphasise, what to ignore – and as a narrative analyst, I recognise that these choices are significant ones" (p. 1056).

Feminist principles in interviewing suggest that effort should be made to find common ground and empathy between researcher and participants. Interviews are socially constructed, and researchers need to demonstrate reflexivity towards their position within the interview, data generation and analysis stages to allow for a more critical perspective on the data, rather than an assumption that all homogenous groups think the same way (Miller, 2005; Rose, 2001). To elaborate, the middle-class women in this study come from different locations, are of differing ages and life stages, vary by ethnicity, and are partnered in different ways, therefore their experiences of musical mothering could be very diverse, despite being of the same gender and class. Feminist methods aim to be mindful of the complex research relations between identities and power which are intrinsic in cultural constructions of differences and similarities and that the research process itself reflects this (De Vault & Gross, 2012). Although essentialist notions of mothering prevail, and motherhoods are compared to hegemonic norms that are largely ignorant of the diversity of women's experiences, the inclusion of feminist methods is imperative to investigate the "interplay between public, social knowledge and private and personal lived experiences" (Birch, Miller, Mauthner, & Jessop, 2002, p. 3) usually relegated to the domestic space. Feminist researchers propose an open exchange where researcher and participant freely give information to each other and questions should be answered "honestly and straightforwardly" to develop ease and rapport (Lawler, 2000, p. 7). This is in opposition to other researchers who advocate a neutral positioning. Having a shared subjectivity – being a mother and a daughter and having a relationship with music – allows me some common ground with the women I interview, although I accept there is no expectation or assumption that our experiences will be similar at all. Although we are all mothers, there will also be many differences between us.

Questions of power were part of the ethics application and this made me consider many issues in the research process. As a white, heterosexual, tertiary educated, middle-class woman, according to research, I am consistent with the norm of mothers who use music in the educational care of their young children (Lareau, 2003; Savage, 2015a). Because of this, I need

to show reflexivity to ensure that others outside this normative construction are not framed within a deficit viewpoint. The researcher-participant relationship is often far more complex than it appears (Lawler, 2000). The participants themselves hold power in that they can refuse to answer certain questions and can withdraw their participation in the research at any point. The success of my research relies upon them. Ethics approval was sought through the Monash University Ethics Committee in line with university protocol.³

I invited participants selected via purposive sampling (Patton, 1990) to show a diverse range of family types to reflect upon possible differences in participant stories and experiences. The aim of this was to show musical mothering in varied contexts, outside the hegemonic norm of middle-class musical mothering as seen in the literature. I sent letters to various organisations that supported low-income families, teenage mothers, and several church groups including mainstream Western religions and multicultural factions such as churches that have mainly Pasifika congregations. I endeavoured to invite participants from organisations where music was being used as a form of general education and as a social activity, but who also worked to support women with children, as opposed to music lessons to acquire musical skills per se, such as the local neighbourhood centre and local church groups that ran ‘musical’ playgroups.

Recruitment was a challenging process. Responses from organisations were slow and unsuccessful, even if initially they had intimated that they would assist. The gendered, classed and cultural implications of recruitment have been made visible in the recruitment for this study. I found it interesting to see how the people in charge of these groups acted as gatekeepers, or moral agents, to make judgements on behalf of the women attending these organisations, and although I do not have concrete evidence of this, I felt that my advances were met with scepticism. Gatekeepers in this instance are social workers, community workers, heads of schools, committees or churches, friends and colleagues, mostly from the dominant classes themselves, who make judgements upon others and who hold the power to grant or deny access to potential participants (Sanghera & Thapar-Bjorkert, 2008). There is a viewpoint that those considered marginalised are often misrepresented or pathologised in research processes and are often portrayed as deficit (McAreavey & Das, 2013). However, there are also considerations whether the gatekeepers, in their good intentions, are perhaps limiting the

³ See Appendices A - E.

agency of the people they are trying to protect and, in that way, maintaining the hegemony and privileging of the middle-classes, of which they are predominantly a part (Sanghera & Thapar-Bjorkert, 2008). The impact of this gatekeeping meant that the diversity of my participant cohort was impacted, thereby limiting the potential scope of this research.

The most successful method of recruitment was via personal contacts. People known to me acted as mediators (Kristensen & Ravn, 2015) to establish contacts with possible participants and who could vouch for my intentions and character. Aligned with feminist research methods, this practice established a level of trust with the women I wished to interview yet offered enough distance to enable autonomy in their decision to be involved. Discussing my research project with personal contacts brought forth suggestions for participants. Through a ‘snowball’ sampling technique (Lewis-Beck, Bryman, & Futing Liao, 2004), possible participants emailed me directly to acquire further information regarding the study, where upon I sent them the relevant paperwork and consent forms. The sample used in this research represents a localised view of mothers and their practices within Australia. For the scope of this project, I have not included fathers in my investigation into parental involvement and music although I acknowledge that fathers are increasingly more present and active in their children’s lives and some are primary caregivers. I view their participation and experiences worthy and warranting of further study in relation to parental involvement, aspirational parenting and music.

Announcing the mothers

I invited mothers to participate in the research if they were participating in a regular musical activity, either themselves or with their partner or child. Mothers were asked to invite their mothers to participate. Participants were recruited through professional and personal contacts. All of the mothers in the study were living in a metropolitan city in Australia, but grandmothers were from more diverse locations, specifically India, Tonga and England. However, all grandmothers were in the same city in Australia at the time of the interviews, visiting their daughters.

Mothers of two generations were recruited to demonstrate how the operations of musical habitus formation may have influenced the mothers’ practices over generations. There was one exception to this where the mother did not disclose that her mother had passed away until the interview had started. I felt that her interview was still relevant as she had taken on the mothering role of her siblings after her mother’s passing which offered another viewpoint

on mothering practice. One mother also suggested her mother-in-law as a participant as, in her Indian culture, women live with their in-law's family after marriage and so she felt that her mother-in-law had also been a huge influence on her mothering practices.

Name	Date of birth	Age	Relationship	Place of birth	Occupation	Marital status	No. of children (ages of children)	Main form of musicking (additional)
Jessica	1985	34	Mother	Outer regional Australia	Professional musician	Partnered	1 (4)	Cello (flute)
Susan	1955	64	Grandmother	Outer regional Australia	Piano teacher	Divorced	3	Piano (oboe,treble recorder)
Aarshia	1987	32	Mother	City in India	PhD student	Married	1 (6)	Singing
Sangeeta	1962	57	Grandmother - maternal	City in India	Primary teacher	Married	2	Singing
Hema	1955	64	Grandmother - paternal	City in India	Art and drama teacher	Married	1	Singing
Kelele	1980	39	Mother	Remote island, Tonga	Student (Cert 4 - teaching assistant)/ hospitality	Married	3 (16, 5, 4)	Singing
Penelope	1967	52	Mother	City, Australia	Primary teacher	Married	1 (11)	Guitar (singing, violin, piano)
Rosemary	1942	77	Grandmother	City, Australia	Primary teacher	Married	3	Singing (piano)
Ashley	1993	26	Mother	City, Australia	Unemployed / nurse	Married	1 (18 mths)	Violin (piano, recorder)
Linda	1961	58	Grandmother	City, England	Administration / midwife	Married	4	Violin, flute (piano, recorder)

Figure 2: participant mother-grandmother dyads in family groupings (All names are pseudonyms)

I met with five primary participants (mothers) and five secondary participants (grandmothers) over a seven-month period. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in public spaces such as libraries, cafes and at participants' homes at times that were mutually convenient. This is consistent with views on making participants feel at ease (O'Toole & Beckett, 2010; Pezalla, Pettigrew, & Miller-Day, 2012), and to accommodate child care and work commitments. I asked participants for their written consent and permission to audio record the interviews. This intent was reiterated, conferred and agreed again upon meeting. Each interview was scheduled for one hour's duration and all but two participants were interviewed separately. In these interviews, the additional person was only present for part of the interview. Most of the women interviewed commented how much they enjoyed the interview and how it made them relive memories they had not recalled for some time.

Each semi-structured interview had similar guiding questions to guide the interview. The guiding questions direct the discussion and maintain some consistency within the interviews so that similar areas are covered in order to answer the research questions (See Appendix F and G). Consistent with a conversational style, the questions were not asked in systematic order rather inserted as appropriate to the natural flow of the dialogue. In line with feminist researching, I related personal information about myself if it seemed appropriate or if the participant asked anything specifically as part of a conversational interview style. My first interview for the study was with a grandmother, even though I had originally intended to interview mothers first. Otherwise, all interviews were scheduled with the mother first and then the grandmother second. I began with the mothers as present musical mothering practices is the study focus. However, through the interviewing process I could see how the women's mothering subjectivities were interwoven within their daughter and grandmothering subjectivities meaning that the ordering of the interviews became less important. Accommodations were made to fit in with time constraints and with issues of location, as many of the grandmothers lived interstate or overseas.

All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed manually as soon as practical after the interview. Reflective notes were also taken immediately after to comment on the interview process, the setting, and descriptive details of the participants' behaviour or mannerisms and details of the environment that I felt were relevant. Interview questions varied in that some participants covered the questions as they were telling their life stories and therefore questions did not need to be asked. On most occasions, I listened through, and often fully transcribed the mother's interview prior to interviewing the grandmother. This offered immediate insights into their relationship and meant that I had gained another perspective about the grandmother prior to meeting them. There was not much deviation from the questions as I aimed to maintain the confidentiality of the mother and did not discuss the responses with family members. In the generation phase of analysis, I was interested to find I had a deeper connection with the women who were closer to my age rather than life stage. This varied between grandmother and mother as some grandmothers were similar in age to me, while one participant mother was a similar age yet had a much younger child.

Throughout the interview, the interviewer makes interpretations and decisions on how to proceed. These decisions are based upon the interviewer's subjective experience and methodology. This requires the interviewer to be aware of their positioning as this may influence the outcome of the interview. The interview process is itself relational in that it is co-

constructed with interviewer and interviewee. The stories that emerge are conditional on the relationship between the participants, the context of the interview, the histories the participants bring, a determination of what the participants might want out of it and a reflexive view of the individual's own subjectivities. Bourdieu proposes that the relationships between structures and practices are circular, influencing each other, again relational in that two features affect the other (Stahl, 2015). Nothing can be seen in isolation as there is always some attachment or relationship to another, whether it be a subject or object. So, when looking at individuals, it is imperative to scrutinise their environments – social, contextual and cultural – to see the possible influences.

Participants were invited to read through the transcripts for accuracy and alter or delete any of the transcript they did not wish to be included or clarify or embellish any parts of their narratives. This enabled participants to provide additional data as mothers modified or justified their original narratives and for the mothers to give further information if they desired. This also emphasises that narratives are communicative and co-constructed with interviewees and interviewer both playing roles in the telling of stories. 'Member-checking', therefore, enabled participants to validate the transcripts and alter as required (Stake, 1995).

In analysis, I opted for a three-stage approach, based on the work of Brannen, Moss and Mooney (2004) and their four-generational study of working and caring in family life, and McLeod and Thomson's (2011) generational work (see Fig. 3). The data was analysed in three stages: 1) individual analysis (individual coloured circles) investigating individual habitus, field and practices against cultural norms; 2) family dyads (mother-grandmother family pairings) investigating intergenerational similarities and differences/ intergenerational influences; 3) life-stage comparisons – interrogating mothers' collective experiences and grandmothers' collective experiences.

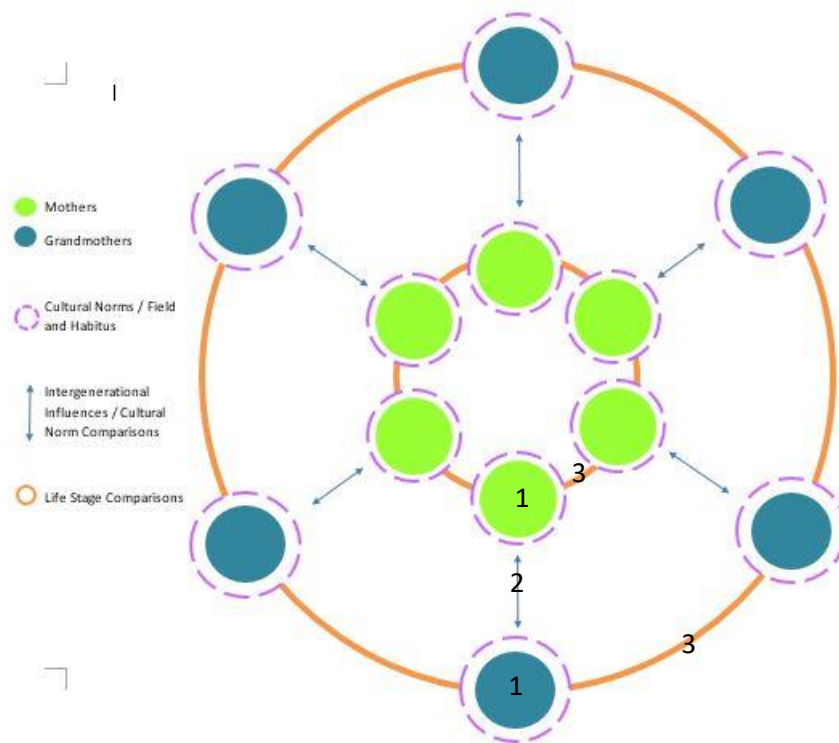


Figure 3. Representative diagram of data analysis.

The **First Stage** of analysis focused specifically on individuals. I took notes directly after each interview of impressions, reactions and descriptions of the participant and their demeanour, their appearance and if appropriate, their home environment. I then transcribed the interview verbatim, making notes of pauses, and other initial thoughts, contradictions, and words and phrases that stood out as being pertinent. I wrote notes alongside the stories during the transcription regarding the silences, changes in tone, points of laughter and other paralinguistic indicators that might add further meaning to the stories (Riessman, 2002; Squire, 2008). Experiences and how they are performed through story-telling, are a form of social action, and these embodied markers are evidence of the habitus at work (Fleetwood, 2016). At this point, I also made notes of historic events as mentioned by the participant, such as political events and festivals, and researched cited individuals, such as musicians or types of music mentioned by participants to expand the context of their narratives (Squire, 2008). I was then able to begin to make comparisons of broad societal norms at specific times in history. This reiterates Bourdieu's assertion that narratives are relational, conceptual and contextual (Stahl, 2015, 2016).

Initially I made note of comments that pertained to the key components of the research questions – mothering, music and aspiration. However, through further reading and rereading the data, additional themes became evident. I then made notes of these additional themes in which to make comparisons of individual stories with links to the theoretical framework where appropriate. I further coded them to reveal comments that were made as different subjectivities, for example, as daughter, mother or grandmother. During analysis, the development of themes within individual stories was significant, partly in highlighting the navigation of paths in relation to the participants’ changing subjectivities. Arranging the narratives into what I considered to be chronological life-stage order, the stories became a sequence of life events and pivotal points of change could be identified (Brannen, Moss, & Mooney, 2004). The transcripts were pieced together as extended summaries to place the stories within a time-frame against historical events and cultural norms.

I chose to interview the mothers separately from other family members. Examining the language used to describe their lives, before and after motherhood, may indicate how these women feel about their own mother or daughter without them being present. Similarly, their version of events may alter significantly to that of their mother/daughter even though they share the same experience (Lawler, 2000; Sands & Roer-Strier, 2006). I analysed the language used by the mothers by looking at recurring themes, inconsistencies, repetitions of word usages, the ways in which they spoke about specific things, expressions of views and identified any patterns in their stories.

The **Second Stage** of analysis was a comparison with the other family member to look for intergenerational similarities and differences, and changes across generations, particularly in relation to the themes and prevailing cultural structures (McLeod & Thomson, 2011). Each mother’s story was considered in conjunction with the grandmother’s story to present a family picture. This familial interrogation also revealed family habitus, relations and patterns. For example, families where children had always learnt musical instruments.

The **Third Stage** of analysis consisted of a comparison of mothers and grandmothers respectively, to see if life stage was a factor in similarity and difference of these women. As more data was generated, I reflected upon the individual and collective narratives and the larger themes that emerged. In analysis, Andrews (2014) invites researchers to see personally challenging or unbelievable data as “ripe with potential” (p. 30), to accept that knowledge is

situated and to take all stories seriously without the compulsion to reject it or agree with it, and from this, new ways of knowing become possible.

After the interviews were transcribed and initially analysed, I revisited the data to look for aspects which were invisible previously or where further readings or interviews with the other family member informed other ways of thinking, which is consistent with views on the temporal nature of human reality and how we are always re-working our scripts as socially constructed beings. Andrews (2008) writes,

We come to more fully appreciate that our conclusions are always and only provisional, that they will be forever subject to new readings ... This is characteristic of narrative data and evidence of its resilience and vitality and of its infinite ability to yield more layers of meaning from yet another lens, as we explore the on-going changes of the world within and around us. (p. 98 – 99)

Triangulation is a method of testing validity in positivist research and is often not associated with narrative methods (Hughes, 2010). However, in experience-centred narrative, the rigour of the data is ensured by obtaining data from a second or subsequent source, for example, data generated from interviews may be substantiated by further observation (Siraj-Blatchford, 2010), by providing multiple sources of information (Brannen, 1992; Sands & Roer-Strier, 2006) or by comparing narratives of certain events against reports of such events in newspapers (Squire, 2008), which also enables historical contexts to be considered. The intergenerational narratives presented in this research are richer and more complex given the multiple perspectives offered by the mothers and the grandmothers. Usually narratives are considered rigorous if they possess verisimilitude, in other words, that they seem plausible (Hughes, 2010). The truth of a story is irrelevant as it is only ever a partial representation according to how a subject is positioned at any one time and how one wishes to be perceived. The importance is in how the narrator has spoken about themselves and their experience in relation to others and the wider social narrative (Lawler, 2000). Researchers can “examine some of the stories that women tell about their relationship, to look at the ways in which these stories are connected to the social narratives and with authoritative knowledges” (Lawler, 2000, p. 14). Stories between mothers and daughters may be in tension, however, will mesh into a family history that reveals the complexities of mothering within the constraints of familial and cultural expectations of motherhood and music.

Throughout this thesis I have wrangled with what to call the women whose stories I share. They are daughters, mothers, and some grandmothers simultaneously. They feel at times embodied within their daughter subjectivity and at others, they assume the mother or grandmother. Bueskens' (2018) discussions on the maternal subjectivity state,

There is a temporal complexity to the maternal subject insofar as she is in the past, present and future dynamically. ... The relation with her child also gives the mother an opportunity to rework her own past, to sift through and reinterpret it, to create new social practices and (new) meaning. In this sense, there is a dynamic quality to the mother-child relation, producing reworkings of self in the mother as she nurtures the self of the child. (p. 204)

Motherhood, according to Bueskens (2018), allows women to relive and draw upon their experiences with their own mother to reinvent their own daughterhood, which is guided by their new child. Women have the opportunity to have the childhood they may have wished they had had through their motherhoods, but this experience is also shaped by the child who puts demands on the maternal subject to create a new relational reconstruction (Bueskens, 2018).

Concluding summary

This chapter has documented the reasons for choosing an experience-centred narrative method within a Bourdieu's theory of practice and a feminist mothering theoretical framework to interrogate musical mothers' practices. I have demonstrated a strong methodological link between habitus, feminist interviewing and narrative methods for generating stories of musical mothering. Through narrative methods, I will examine the mothers' stories about their relationship with music, and as a significant part of their mothering, self-identity and relationship to their own mother. Analysis of the individual mothers at various life stages, followed by a comparison with their mother and finally with other mothers will speak back to the prevalent cultural influences historically and within the life-stage with their relationship with music as the key factor. In addition, the processes undertaken throughout the recruitment to data generation and analysis have provoked a reflexivity and a deepening understanding of my own positioning as a musical mother.

In this research, the personal stories demonstrate the intergenerational cultural transmission of music through mothering and mothering practices through music. Experience-

centred narrative methods, together with a Bourdieusian perspective to intergenerational analysis, enables me to delve inside the mothers' stories to view habitus formation and practices passed through generations, and make explicit the "internalised experience, embodied culture and history" (Calhoun, 2013, p. 42) of the mothers and grandmothers in this research. Exploring the women's stories of musical motherhood in this way, considers the habitus and affect embodied in these experiences. Utilising Bourdieu's theory to examine the mothers' class-based practices, the ways in which the women navigate the field of music, utilising their available capitals and resources, and through their knowledge of cultural expectations and demands will become evident. Integrating feminist mothering theory will emphasise the emotional and affective dimensions of the women's work to produce musical children and maintain musical lives. It is through the women sharing their personal experiences of mothering and music, I interpret the meanings this gives to their lives, thereby accounting for diverse experiences of musical mothering. The weaving of narratives from intergenerational perspectives will add complexity and richness to the women's stories of musical mothering that have been passed on through generations in families, as family doxa, yet largely remained invisible in wider society. Now I turn to the mothers' stories of musical mothering to begin to demonstrate the mothers' work do to develop musical children through formal music education.

Sharing stories of musical motherhood

I belonged to the music support group for eight years, volunteering many hours to assist the students involved in the school music program. I later became president which took up as much time to administer as my part-time music teaching job yet was unpaid. Ironically, I made as much money fundraising for this volunteer group as I did while running my own business. The other women in the group became close friends as we spent many hours together in support of a common cause. We would fundraise, make costumes for school performances, provide food and organise events. We were mostly mothers, with varying working hours and some not working at all. I began to consider why some mothers go to such extremes for their children's musical lives and what it means for the mothers in doing this.

I love singing with my children at home, in the car, when we are together. It fills me with joy and it is fun. I feel close to them when we sing. I loved seeing them play their instruments, but I did feel anxious when they performed, almost living their performance with them. I spent many exhausting hours traipsing them to their musical endeavours, making sure they had their music, uniforms (washed and suitably pressed, shoes shined, hair manicured), instrument and accompanying accoutrements. I sought out the right teachers for them, trying to find teachers that suited their individual dispositions. I made excuses for them when they had not practiced enough, so we would all appear to be committed to the musical journey we were on. I managed family life and participated in paid work to offset the costs of music tuition and involvement. It was very expensive.

Within the music support group, some of the mothers' daughters were involved in many more ensembles than mine, and their involvement made the intensity of my musical mothering look paltry. These mothers would travel for miles to take their children to lessons and performances. Some would prioritise musical commitments over academic study (and receive allowances from the school) while others put music second, privileging academic work over their musical pursuits. These mothers' conversations centred around their children and their achievements, their own lives seemingly on hold. Their family lives were disrupted by a flurry of appointments and exhausted by the burden of expectation. Such heavy participation in music tuition curtailed family holidays and limited outings for those

on more modest incomes, such as mine. For others, extra resources were sought to cope with the demands of musical mothering.

I made the additional effort because I love music, I love how I feel when I am engaged in music and I wanted my children to love music too. I wanted to give them the opportunity to play an instrument that I had missed as a young child. Beyond that, I had not thought why I wanted them to develop musical skills. While I was aware of the non-musical benefits of music education, I did not deliberately set out to foster any particular dispositions, not consciously. These considerations were made in parallel with my teaching of musical mothers where the same diversity of musical mothering intensity manifest. Observing mothers in the music support group at school and the mothers involved in attending my early years music classes with their children, I began to wonder why each of these mothers involved themselves and their children with music. Here my research journey into musical mothering began.

Chapter Four – Making visible family habitus and strategy in musical motherhood

*You who are on the road
Must have a code that you can live by
And so become yourself
Because the past is just a good-bye.
Teach your children well,
Their father's hell did slowly go by,
And feed them on your dreams
The one they picks, the one you'll know by.
Don't you ever ask them why, if they told you, you will cry,
So just look at them and sigh
And know they love you.*

*And you, of tender years,
Can't know the fears that your elders grew by,
And so please help them with your youth,
They seek the truth before they can die.*

*Teach your parents well,
Their children's hell will slowly go by,
And feed them on your dreams
The one they picks, the one you'll know by.*

*Don't you ever ask them why, if they told you, you will cry,
So just look at them and sigh and know they love you.*

- Graham Nash
Teach Your Children lyrics © Spirit Music Group

Introduction

Firstly, in this chapter, I begin to explore the women's experiences of being in a musical family and what that means for mothers and their children. I introduce three of the mother-daughter dyads to begin to illustrate family musical habitus at work. Secondly, I show how the middle-class mothers in this study concertedly cultivate their children's musical abilities through an intensive mothering. This is best exemplified in their efforts to get their children to practice their musical instruments. Focussing on the experiences of these mothers, all of whom have learnt music formally for a number of years, I illustrate the diverse ways in which mothers cultivate their children's musical selves for various outcomes. In addition, I show how intensive practices can create tensions between mothers where the pursuit of musical children can be antithetical to good mothering logic. Thirdly, I utilise Bourdieu's concept of misrecognition as

an important theme in the mothers' narratives to show the mothers' strategising to make their cultivation work look effortless, as an innate development of their children's intrinsic and natural talents. I posit that how music tuition is pursued is influenced by the constraints of multiple fields which intersect to mediate practices. More broadly, I begin to explore the reasons why mothers pursue music tuition for their children and what they, and their children, might gain in doing this. I begin to show how an investment in children also becomes investment in mothers – a theme that will resound throughout this thesis.

Inheriting genetics or culture? The genesis of musical families

Music is seen as something inherent in cultural life. As Rosemary proudly states, “there’s a bit of a stream that runs through the family. Dad’s just always been musical. Mum is musical ... but the music has come down through me ... my side, because Penelope’s father hasn’t got a musical bone (laughs) ... my side are very musical” inferring a genetic basis. Music runs through Rosemary’s veins so to speak and has become the ‘lifeblood’ of her family, a theme that resonates with the women’s stories throughout this thesis. The belief that musical dispositions are genetically inherited, however, is considered a cultural myth (Howe, Davidson, & Sloboda, 1998; Scripp, Ulibarri, & Flax, 2013). Carol Dweck (2006) has undertaken numerous studies into the psychology behind what is referred to as ‘talent acquisition’ to show that applying a “growth mindset” (p. 16) to any activity, that is persevering and practicing any skill, will result in improvement of that skill. The notion of innate musicality is deeply embedded in Western society, and beliefs that one is either musical or not musical are formed early in children’s lives. Early music teachers and I argue that parents are complicit in these assumptions and often label children as “‘unmusical’, a perception that will most likely be carried into adulthood” (Dwyer, 2016, p. 23). Koza (2001) explains,

The belief that musical talent is innate ... divides children into the ‘haves’ and ‘have nots’, effectively prohibiting the ‘have nots’ from ever becoming ‘haves’... Today, most music educators advocate music for every child, regardless of perceived ability, but few have considered the possibility that musical talent may be a social and cultural construct. (p. 249)

Rosemary recalled a conversation she had with her son. “You didn’t have me taught music!” her son exclaimed, “But you didn’t want to”, she replied. At this point she laughed when she reported this, and then continued, “He didn’t want to ... He is not very musical, in my opinion”.

Rosemary had decided that her son was not musical and so he was not afforded the same music lessons as his sister Penelope. Rosemary reconciled this by saying that he still received music through opportunities presented at school. It is interesting too that Penelope labelled this brother as the ‘non-musical’ one in a separate conversation with me,

My father cannot sing to save his life ... born in the '30s, you can't play the horn, you're not good at it, you're useless. So never tried. Never did anything ... so can't sing ... couldn't sing. And I've got another brother who's like that as well and another brother who is very musical. We love singing together, yeah, it's great. It's really good.

Definitive statements regarding musicality are illustrated here by Penelope. She did not say if it was a teacher or parent that had made these judgements on her father, but regardless, he was considered not worth training in music, like her brother.

Koza (2001) points to the elitism of this idea of talent as a means to divide. There are those who listen to music and those who perform music (Dwyer, 2016). For Western classical musicians particularly, to perform music, and perform it well, situates that person in a realm of individual competence, which derives awe and admiration (Dwyer, 2016). What is not always acknowledged is the hours of practice in which to achieve such ability. Skills in music are introduced through the home environment and activities in children's early years as a form of “domestic cultural training” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 46) facilitated primarily by mothers. Zoltan Kodály, a music education pedagogue, famously stated “music education should begin nine months before the mother's birth” (Kokas, 1970, p. 53). Similarly, Japanese music philosopher and educator, Suzuki (1978) stated that “talent is no accident of birth” (p. 10). Suzuki (1978) argues that musical ability develops quickly when the environment around a child is rich in music from the very beginning. Bourdieu (1990) writes “the silence of prerequisites for the acquisition of art competence is self-serving for the privileged classes because it makes it possible to pretend that it is a gift of nature” (p. 211). For some families, musical tendencies and abilities in their children appear genetic because they have been nurtured from the very genesis of their lives, as something that their family naturally does and more importantly, enjoys (Ilari, Hafteck-Chen, & Crawford, 2013; Savage & Hall, 2017). What Rosemary is describing is the embodied history in her musical habitus, which is part of her family inheritance.

In contrast to Rosemary, Susan describes her family's musical history, as a "cultural inheritance". Born in Australia in 1955 and growing up on a farm, "eight minutes from the first major town", Susan belonged to a musical family of five children which she describes as quite poor, yet where "we all did one instrument, minimum, I did two, three of us did two instruments and the youngest just did just one". Susan tells of her father driving his tractor up and down the paddocks as his children's fingers played up and down the keys of the piano. Susan explains why she was considered musical:

I had no aspirations whatsoever – none. I didn't know what I was doing ... it's not even that I enjoyed it incredibly much (laughs). Apparently, I was good. I don't think so. We just did AMEB⁴ exams, and that was the criteria, and if you did well in exams and competitions and things, they thought you were a good musician ... So, I think I'm musical but not a musician ... I see other musicians and how they compose and how they arrange and how they can harmonise, and I just didn't have any of that. I was a bit of a parrot.

Susan describes herself as musical in a sense that she can reproduce the works of others, but feels she lacks the ability to create music, which she believes makes a true musician. It was clear that music was integral to family life and something Susan felt competent in without much effort. Susan describes music in her family as "so much a big part of our lives that they just did it automatically because it was culturally what you did". It was an expected practice. Music was so ingrained as part of their lives that there was no question about continued participation in music on some level. The family is a "structuring structure", as Bourdieu points out (1998, p. 67), reproducing habitus over generations with the transmission of the cultural capital in the family via music. Children are first introduced into the social world through the family. The family is the primary reproducer of social order. Bourdieu describes the family as a creator of doxic assumptions, that is "the foundation for an experience of the world as self-evident" (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 67). Families inculcate their members to think that how their families' function is normative. Susan created musical opportunities for her children from the beginning as part of their "cultural inheritance", as something her family always did. "Music's not inherited, is it?" Susan astutely commented,

⁴ Australian Music Examination Board (AMEB), a graded assessment system for music students. Further information can be found at <https://www.ameb.edu.au/>

They've proved that it's not inherited, it's a cultural inheritance, not a talent inheritance if you like. It comes down often to parental expectations or a parent putting their child in a situation where they can take advantage of musical education.

The family works hard to continue their family habitus through rituals and practices, such as participating in musical pursuits like learning an instrument. Habitus provides a sense of “who we are”. As Bourdieu (1990) suggests that,

As the product of history, habitus produces individual and collective practices ... it ensures the active presence of past experiences which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemata of thought and action, tend, more surely than all the formal rules and all explicit norms, to guarantee the conformity of practices and their constancy over time. (p. 91)

Family habitus is reinforced through the creation of a “family feeling” which includes strong affective bonds generating emotional ties and solidarity (Atkinson, 2011, p. 340; Bourdieu, 1998, p. 68). I discuss this further in Chapter 7. Here I remain focussed on using the lens of habitus and its intersection with family and music, the immediate environment of collective individuals is contextualised and offers insight into how “the everyday ‘landscape’ shapes, constrains, or facilitates aspirations ... through the combination of attitudes, values, practices and ways of being” (Archer et al., 2012). Music becomes an integral part of family habitus, a way of being that is inculcated into the habitus of individual members. This is embodied in the subject as cultural capital, to give ‘distinction’, such as a ‘musical’ family (Grenfell, 2012). Yet the formation of a musical habitus is not consistent in all family members as the narratives will demonstrate.

Many parents want their children to play musical instruments but are often constrained by structural concerns rather than parenting ideologies. For instance, they want their children to play, but cannot afford the tuition fees (Chin & Phillips, 2004). Growing up with music as a large part of her life, Linda had missed out on continuing musical study on the piano, due to her family's limited finances, something she regrets. Linda's musical mothering narrative begins with a picture of her very young children playfully creating music outdoors on warm, summer days. Banging on pots and pans in the back garden, Linda's four children made sounds on triangles, tambourines and drums, and sang as part of their joyful and improvised home music-making. In the early years, Linda loved it that way – learning by having fun. But as the

children approached school-age, Linda bought all the children recorders and taught them to play. Music was important to Linda. She had played piano, violin and flute over her school years. It was part of her family life and something she loved. Her parents loved it too – her mother was a pianist and her father a chorister. She wanted her children to love it also; it was part of who she was and who they would become. Linda had married a man who shared her love of music.

Being in a traditional, conservative Christian family, Linda said her husband “let me be the parent”. Linda relished this opportunity to be “the best mother” she could be. When I asked her what this meant, she replied by saying,

Being there for them, being a Godly woman and (pause) giving them aspirations, opportunities, probably more than I had, probably a good education (laughs) that was a bit more consistent than mine. I wanted not only music, it was sport, to do bits of everything. I think music gives you a little bit of an enjoyment and if you didn’t want to go, pursue it, it’s such a wonderful hobby to have at the end.

As a stay-at-home mother, she had the time to create and nurture her children’s musical development. Linda aspired for music to be part of her children’s lives, part of their habitus. An immersive musical inculcation was occurring in their early years. She believed that they should also have exposure to sport, too, as part of a balanced life, which is consistent with views on middle-class parenting that state that children should be all-rounders, having exposure to a vast array of activities with which to create extraordinary resumés (Vincent & Ball, 2007). When Linda’s children started their formal education, they also started learning the violin in their first schooling year. “They just picked it up so quickly”, Linda exclaimed.

Thus far, I have introduced three of the mothers in this study to show how they have constructed their subjectivities about being from musical families. I have begun to explore what that means to these women and how this family identity is passed on through generations, albeit inconsistently to individual members in some instances. I will now look at how these women work to develop musical skills in their children, utilising Bourdieu’s formula to interrogate the practices of mothers to see the ways in which mothers mobilise their accumulated capitals to procure advantages for their children in the musical field. Bourdieu’s theoretical toolkit suggests by looking at the habitus and accumulated capitals, both of which are mobilised within specific fields, in this case music education, actors’ practices become evident. In this first

instance, I will focus on the mothers' work in encouraging their children to practice their musical instruments to show diverse ways this is experienced in everyday life.

Considering the "fine line" of practice: concerted cultivation and intensive mothering through music

In this section I show how mothers concertedly cultivate their children's musical abilities through encouraging and facilitating musical practice. The four examples show four different ways, amounts of labour and degrees of intensity in encouraging children's musical instrument practice. These form a continuum of intensity from thoroughly planned timetables and routines to a more relaxed and self-directed approach. All the mothers agree that practice is necessary to develop and master skills, yet none of the women interviewed wanted to appear to force their children to practice and 'push' them into doing something they did not want to do. Forcing children to practice is against nurturing, child-centred, 'good' mothering logic.

In formal music engagement, mothers drive children to lessons, rehearsals and performances, purchase instruments, uniforms and sheet music, and often participate as volunteer fundraisers and administrators for musical organisations that their children are members of. Mothers might travel long distances, pay exorbitant fees and research widely to find suitable classes to meet their children's perceived needs. Social sanctioning and support are available to middle-class mothers through their participation in music classes and their involvement in community services which serves to make them appear 'good' (VanderValk, 2010). "Intensive mothering", as defined by Hays (1996, p. 8) has been widely practiced by middle-class mothers up until the present day. The demands on mothers' resources, emotionally, psychologically and financially, through this practice are immense. It is through Linda's narrative that I show musical mothering as an intensive practice.

Linda was instrumental in the concerted cultivation of her children's musical abilities. She believes this work is best done by mothers, who are wholly responsible for their children's development. Linda believes it is her job, as a mother, to encourage musical practice; "I had nobody telling me to practice ... I think you need a mother to tell you to practice. I think you do need that". Linda attended boarding school from age five, so the absence of her own mother meant she did not practice as she felt she should. Music education research states parents play a vital role in providing encouragement and coaching to maintain motivation to practice in children they believe to have talents (McPherson, 2009; Witte, Kiewra, Kasson, & Perry,

2015). At this very early stage, Linda's intention for her children's musical futures was apparent.

Linda knows the field of classical music performance is fiercely competitive. Her own early experiences with classical music informed her – “[at school] we were in the orchestra and the bands and absolutely loved it and I think it's the sense of community, the sense of friendship, the sense of competition”; however, experiences with her own children suggested she did not like the extreme competitiveness of other musical parents. Linda comments, “it's the parents though ... [she imitates those parents' voices] *‘My child should have won, yours shouldn't have’*”. Yet Linda always maintained that her interventions and her children's formal training were never about pursuing music as a career, but rather to develop skills to be competent enough to join an ensemble if her children so wished.

I did tell them they had to practice (laughs). I don't know if they were grateful. I think I said to them ‘at least half an hour’. I always said I want you all to get to grade six⁵ in whatever instrument and if you want to continue you can, but grade six will enable you to have a hobby in the end and will enable you to play in an orchestra and high school you can do anything you like, so if you want to pursue that, and do that then you'll have to practice a bit more than that.

The inference here is that by having proficiency in music, you can do “anything you like”; music was opening myriad choices and musical possibilities. Developing skills in music was part of her children's accrual of cultural capital. Linda could envisage the profit – socially and educationally – that could be achieved from her investment. Capital accumulation is an embodiment of labour: the greater the investment, the better the chance of producing profits (Bourdieu, 1986). Thus, cultural capital becomes integral to the habitus creating a person of distinction, as the beholder of certain values and dispositions and as someone with a particular skill (Moore, 2012). I will discuss investments and their exchange-value later in this chapter. Bourdieu (1984) posits that such an aim, such as investment in the arts, indicates a distance from economic necessity, that is, “to play the games of culture with the playful seriousness ... a seriousness without the “spirit of seriousness” (p. 54). After all, Linda only wanted them to

⁵ This refers to Grade 6 of the Australian Music Examination Board (AMEB), a graded assessment system for music students. Further information can be found at <https://www.ameb.edu.au/>

do it as “a hobby”. However, the motivations for Linda’s insistence on musical excellence is far more complex as I outline below and will expand upon throughout this thesis.

Linda did not want to appear as if she forced her children to practice. She framed her involvement as a mutually enjoyable time with her children;

I actually had it all scheduled ... You have to make them practice but I don’t think anyone enjoys practice. My kids loved you just sitting there with them. So, I used to sit there with them and that made them enjoy their practice a little bit more. So sometimes I would be sitting there doing my work and listening, even though they were doing it again and again and again, just having someone there.

Linda tries to justify her insistence on practicing by making it sound like a shared pleasant experience. She knows that to develop proficiency, practice is necessary, but it is also tedious. Her daughter, Ashley, remembers that rigorous practice was a part of her daily schedule and inferred that it was not always so enjoyable, thereby contradicting Linda’s story:

She [Linda] always wanted to do it professionally that’s why she really pushed us a lot. She pushed us *a lot* when we were kids. We had to practice one hour before school, we had to wake up at 6, 7, 8 to practice, have all our homework done the night before and practice when we got home. So, we were very much on a schedule at a very young age.

Ashley mentioned her mother’s regimented agenda on several occasions in her interview. She felt restricted and controlled. Linda’s insistence on extensive practice meant that Ashley was unable to do other activities of her choosing. I will go into Linda’s regulated mothering in more detail in the next chapter on morality, however this example shows the huge amount of labour Linda expended on scheduling and monitoring her children’s practice. I did wonder how Linda’s rigidity might impact on Ashley’s mothering decisions because Ashley appeared to demonstrate reflexivity regarding her upbringing and the limitations she felt socially. As a young mother herself now, Ashley commented,

I see that we’re going to be good parents because we are just both open-minded. I’ve been brought up very close-minded, right and wrong, black and

white. I now have a bit of grey in my life which I think is good because you get to see a little bit more of the world and you see a bit more love in the world as well. I want to be able to stand up for myself. I want to be able to say what I want and make my own decisions. That's a big one for me 'cause I haven't had that.

Later in the interview, Ashley discussed her parenting in relation to music,

Obviously, I've been quite musical my whole life. I want [my son] to enjoy that, you know. [Music's] been like a negative and a positive thing for me in my life. So, I feel like I really want to bring back that positive music to [my son].

Ashley, as an adult, has re-evaluated her childhood years and decided that she wants to bring her children up differently in some ways. As a new mother, Ashley is questioning whether the way her mother mothered is indeed the right way for her. Through her partner and her experiences away from her childhood family, she has been able to view other ways of being; the family doxic has suddenly become strange, forming what Bourdieu described as a *habitus clivé* or divided habitus (Bourdieu, 2007; Friedman, 2016; Silva, 2016). This has created a struggle for recognition for Ashley as a new mother. While remaining respectful and grateful to her mother for inculcating her musical habitus, Ashley's reflections state she has turned a corner in her life with a desire to have more control and to make music a positive experience in her son's life, suggesting that aspects of her own musical journey, like the scheduled practicing, were not.

But for Ashley's brother, playing music was an enjoyable activity at that time. During the interview, Linda told a story of how her son was at an eisteddfod – a music competition – but didn't want to compete, and so he asked the officials if he could play an instrumental piece while the judges were doing their marking of a section.

He just performed while they were (laughs) trying to find out who was the winner, you know – and he was so happy – oh I love it – and he did so well. He just did a jazzy piece and you know, it didn't have to be a concerto. So, I was really happy with that. I want them to enjoy, not be pressurised into doing things. It's a fine line.

Her son demonstrated a sense of entitlement and confidence to negotiate this with officials and perform in front of his peers, which is in line with Lareau's (2003) generalisations of middle-class children and their interactions with adults in authority. Was this an example of the mobilisation of her son's class habitus, expressed through music, or just an articulation of her son's personality and his carefree enjoyment of music and its ability to entertain? Nevertheless, Linda is proud of her son's achievement, not only because he was happy doing it, but it was a visible sign of her mothering success. She enunciates her concern about wanting her children to enjoy their music versus forcing them to do things they may not want to, speaking of the "fine line" between getting things right and horribly wrong. The mothering contradiction, the "fine line", according to Hays (1996) is that

Mothers are ... endeavouring to maximize their social assets and to organize their lives in efficient ways ... they generally do not make a self-conscious decision to oppose the system that values competitive individualism and material advantage ... They act as members of a culture that maintains two contradictory ideologies, and their actions take place in the context of a social hierarchy that gives women primary responsibility for creating and maintaining nurturing ties. (p. 172 – 173)

'Good' mothering ideology proposes that mothers are self-sacrificing of their own desires, selflessly committed to nurturing and caring for their children while contradictorily, there is a societal expectation for mothers to create successful and independent individuals who will thrive in increasingly competitive workplaces (Hays, 1996). Linda assumed this responsibility in her family devoting seventeen years of her life to her children. She developed their musical skills and encouraged them to be the best they could be. Linda felt she crossed the 'line' with her daughter Ashley whom she "pushed" into going to the Conservatorium,

... when they played ... I didn't want to push it. I did feel like I pushed her into doing the Con⁶ - only because she was so good and that was all that I thought, something that she really loved doing but she really didn't. But that wasn't for her – just wasn't.

Linda justifies her intentions by explaining how she thought playing the violin was something her daughter loved doing. An awkwardness in her conversation betrayed Linda's ambivalent

⁶ 'Con' is the abbreviated word for Conservatorium. The Conservatorium is a tertiary institution for music education where entry is via audition.

emotions. Linda had wanted her children to enjoy music; she was there to help them enjoy it. But there is a fine line, indeed, between encouragement and coercion, as Linda articulates through the example of her son at a music competition and her daughter's transition to the Conservatorium. Linda's hesitancy to discuss making her children practice and her push for Ashley to attend the Conservatorium suggest an underlying guilt and uneasiness in doing this. In the following chapters, I discuss the emotional work mothers do in their pursuit of capital accumulation and the subsequent costs and affordances attributed to this. Ashley had loved the violin, but excessive demands on her to practice and the competitive environment of the Conservatorium made her turn away from the violin. Ashley explains,

I knew that my mum wanted me to keep studying and focus on the violin but that just wasn't my focus. I didn't want to practice any more – it wasn't my hobby. It was something I struggled every day to get up and do, and at the very last semester I remember thinking, is this for me? Maybe, maybe I shouldn't do this ... I think another part of the reason ... I didn't actually think I was good at anything else other than music. I'm not saying my mum said that to me in that way, but she did as well ... my mum thought that this was the career for me and this was it. And I really didn't have a plan B ... so when I decided to leave the Conservatorium, that was a very dark day for me because I didn't know what to do with my life because that was it and I had just failed.

Ashley articulates the difficulties she faced having to continue playing knowing how important it was to her mother, against her own desires to cease. The rawness of her emotion laid bare; the raised expectation and responsibility palpable. Several times in her interview, Ashley spoke of the huge financial and time outlay incurred in her musical training, at a time when the family finances were severely stretched. Most importantly, she knew how much her musical involvement meant to her mother. Linda's investment in her daughter's musical education was highly emotionally charged where it appeared it meant more to her than her daughter. Linda had invested so much in Ashley's music that she believed this was all she could do.

Mothers perform such ambitions differently. According to Hays' (1996) definition, and within the notion of an intensive mothering continuum, Linda was the most 'intensive' mother I interviewed because she had the time, skill and desire to fulfil that. She had the time as a stay-at-home mother without having to juggle home life with paid employment; she read mothering

books, knew she had to be “hands-on”, had a degree in nursing and was intently focussed on being the ‘best’ mother. Being the ‘best mother’ she could be, meant always “being there for them” as I will explore in more detail in Chapter 6. Music practice was carefully scheduled into the family routine. As a second example of concerted cultivation, I explore Susan’s story. Susan did not share Linda’s philosophy. In Susan, musical mothering had a more “casual” façade, further elucidating the continuum of intensity which becomes evident through these women’s practices. Susan’s concerted cultivation (Lareau, 2003) of her children’s musicality was more concealed and was in opposition to the tiger mom phenomenon (Chua, 2011) in which she was well versed through some of her piano students’ mothers.

I didn’t set out to say thou shalt be brilliant, thou shalt practice. But some of the parents – I hesitate to say this – Asian parents that we deal with are just on the children’s case 24/7. So, that’s an extreme example of what I was not. I say I had a much more casual approach ... I didn’t actually have aspirations, I think that I let the kids create those. If I had aspirations for [eldest daughter] I’m sure she would have achieved a lot more highly and a lot more things, had I been a more directive parent.

Tiger mothers are perceived as severe and determined, striving relentlessly in the pursuit of cultural capital for their children, with punishing schedules and harsh discipline (Wang, 2011). They are seen as “grim-faced and single-minded” (Chua, 2011, p.141). Susan’s hesitation to denigrate Asian parents is, as she knows, is prejudiced; however, she is cognisant of the potential correlations between the intensiveness of her mothering and the ruthless determination in musical mothers portrayed in some Asian families (Wang, 2015). Susan wanted to provide opportunities for her daughters whom she believed to be musically competent, yet she did not wish to appear ‘pushy’, like a Tiger mother, which is antithetical to ‘good’ mothering, and something she openly despises as shown by her disapproval of the Asian parents’ relentless pressure on their children. The term “good mother” after all, denotes “white, heterosexual, middle-class, able-bodied, married, thirty-something in a nuclear family with usually one or two children, and ideally, a full-time mother” (O’Reilly, 2010b, p. 7). It makes me speculate whether Susan would show the same disapproval of Linda’s cultivating methods which show a remarkable resemblance to those of the Asian mothers she speaks of. These moral judgements between middle-class mothers will be explored further in the following chapter on morality and musical mothering.

Despite her disparaging of Asian musical mothering, Susan's concerted cultivation was anything but "casual". Like Tiger mothers, Susan had stipulations for her daughter, Jessica, "when she decided at thirteen or so that she wanted a 'cello, the deal was that she had to get grade five Honours on the flute and I would buy her a 'cello", thereby revealing her own methods to get her daughter to work hard and show a commitment to her practice. While Susan let her children formulate their own aspirations, her concerted cultivation is still very much in evidence, yet it is more covert than the Asian mothers. Susan believes she facilitated her daughter's desire to be a cellist rather than forced her to play.

I was gobsmacked when she came home and said she wanted to be a classical cellist. And then because she had that sense of direction and because she didn't get her Honours for grade five and prove that she could practice – she was really naughty – I pulled out all the stops to make it work for her.

Jessica didn't meet Susan's proviso to practice before buying a 'cello and was given one to play regardless. Playing the 'cello had been her daughter's dream and Susan was helping to make it happen, rather than pressuring Jessica to do something she didn't want to. Here, she believes, lies the difference between her mothering and that of her Tiger mother counterparts. Susan was facilitating her child's desire, not forcing her to play. Yet, Susan's disavowal of her influence is arguably more strategic, because it denies her contribution to Jessica's musicality from birth, and as a fundamental aspect of her own habitus. Susan had come from a musical family; learning music was an expected practice and integral to her family life. Jessica had shown a proclivity to music which Susan was happy to nurture. This nurturing, as a form of encouragement, meant that Susan's mothering had the appearance of being more child-centred, more respectable, than those 'pushy' musical mothers. Susan, too, is cognisant of the 'fine line' which she believes she has not crossed with her children. This is demonstrated through her comment about her eldest daughter's level of achievement. While Tiger mothers might appear to be on the intensive side of the intensive mothering continuum, the additional labour Susan exerts in making her efforts appear 'natural' arguably make her mothering as intensive, or more so. On the continuum of intensity, Susan is perhaps less directive than Linda, but still more so than Rosemary, who is also nurturing her children's musical abilities.

Rosemary also had the time and skill as she, like Linda, was a stay-at-home mother who had learnt music as a child. As a teacher in the state education system in the 1960s, women were not allowed to continue working after they married. However, Rosemary did not share the same mothering ideology as Linda nor Susan, having her children at a time when the social lives of adults and children were quite separate. As a mother of young children, she was less intensive in her approach in line with mothering of her generation. Her narrative is illustrative of the limits some mothers place on their own cultivating efforts, particularly when music is not going to be pursued as a career. Her daughter Penelope studied music in and out of school. Penelope spoke of her school music experiences and her lack of practice, playing out a familiar dialogue from home between her mother and herself, “I played by ear and I didn’t do any practice and I was naughty ... “Have you practiced?” *Yes* (said in a feeble voice) “I didn’t hear you” *I did!*” Rosemary did not sit in at practice sessions, as Linda did, and appeared not to enforce a regimented practice schedule. Rosemary left the teaching to the nuns who were teaching Penelope, just as they had taught her when she was a child. Rosemary said, “I didn’t enjoy it at all. I did do all these exam pieces and that’s no fun ... learning from the nuns and if I played wrong notes, she’d hit me, hit me with a stick”. Penelope had a similar experience,

I had a beautiful nun when I started. She was kind and musical and sweet ... and then she left and then I got a crabby old meany who did that [slapped wrist] and I stopped in year 10 because I couldn’t handle the formality of it ... because I played by ear and I didn’t do any practice.

Rosemary didn’t need to enforce practice because the nuns were doing that in their punitive way. Rosemary’s musical mothering style should not be conflated with her ‘ordinary’ mothering which she says was “pretty strict”. In Rosemary’s generation, mothers left teaching to teachers, in comparison to contemporary middle-class mothers today who feel compelled to intervene in their children’s education (Lareau, 2003). Besides, Rosemary believed that music had been passed down to Penelope – it was in her bones.

For some mothers, the additional labour of musical mothering becomes too much. After her third child, Rosemary decided she was not going to support their musical endeavours beyond what she had already provided. Penelope, the first-born, was fortunate to “have all the music”. Rosemary had probably already surmised that her children were not going to study music as a career and no longer wanted to invest in this pursuit. This is consistent in studies where mothers discourage their children from continuing music when it requires additional

effort on their part and they no longer see a purpose in it (Lareau, 2003; McPherson, 2009; McPherson & Davidson, 2002). As Rosemary articulates,

The reality was, I ran around with them, mainly with the boys with sport – *five* days a week. Their father did anything with them on the weekend that they needed to do. I was always taking them to something – gymnastics, or swimming or something and music. Penelope had all music. And by the time it got to [third child], they only did it at school. It was too bad. I'd had it!

Rosemary already knew that her children liked music and they had shown an ability to pick things up by themselves. Rosemary had never concertedly cultivated her children's musical skills to the extent that Susan and Linda had. Rosemary had given them a start, just like she had had; their musical habitus was already in progress. While Rosemary's attitude is a generational one, it also demonstrates what many mothers go through at the end of their child's schooling, often when children no longer wish to play and are able to articulate their desire for freedoms beyond the family, and mothers no longer wish to expend the labour involved. It also demonstrates the internal class divisions towards formal musical practices within middle-class motherhood where mothers judge each other's practices, seen through Susan's comments of Asian mothers and Linda's remarks about competitiveness.

In this section, I have shown the heterogeneity of musical mothering through various ways in which mothers encourage children's music practice which forms a continuum from the most rigid schedule to a self-monitored approach. In addition, I have demonstrated that this intervention by the mothers is not homologous, that is, not all siblings necessarily receive the same amount of concerted cultivation. I have shown the tensions between motivating children to practice and pushing them which contradicts good mothering logic. Mothers are torn between supporting cultural trends for competitiveness and individualism against nurturing and child-focused care. The three mother-daughter dyads all come from musical families and had all learnt music formally themselves, so the practice of their children learning a musical instrument was almost an expectation. In the following section, I explore further the contradictions in mothers' concerted cultivation efforts by focusing on the Bourdieusian notion of misrecognition to explain why mothers want their efforts to appear natural and why they employ such strategies.

Misrecognising cultural inculcation

Being an insider in the education system, Susan, a piano teacher, and her children were involved in music at school through groups that Susan ran. Access to teachers and instruments was readily available and Susan involved her children in school ensembles, which not only provided care arrangements for them, but developed their musicianship and other dispositions that Susan valued. Walkerdine and Lucey (1989) state that mothers who are also teachers often automatically adopt a learning approach in their ‘sensitive mothering’. The perception about ‘sensitive mothers’ is that the educational processes they implement appear to look natural, thereby separating them from those mothers who are intentionally strategising (Perrier, 2013). This links back to the Tiger mothers who openly plan and direct their children’s activities in an effort to gain advantages for their children. This is not to say that only mothers who are teachers employ ‘sensitive mothering’. Linda, for example, also took the opportunity to make everyday activities into learning experiences with her children, labelling herself a “Montessori mother” describing her mothering as “hands on, teaching them how to write ... I was very much involved in doing things all the time (laughs) yeah, so I was a Montessori mum I think”.

Susan provided many examples of developing her children’s musical opportunities in her narrative. Susan rejects the notion of being a dictatorial parent and assumes the ‘sensitive mother’ subjectivity; teaching is naturalised and her strategising to develop attributes and attain advantages is masked (Walkerdine & Lucey, 1989) thereby implying a disinterestedness. In the story below, Susan proudly discusses her second daughter playing piano at a music competition:

I thought it was perfectly normal for a three-year-old to play two-part Bach ... she had already done her first performance on a grand piano which was *Mary had a little lamb* where the left hand was slightly too strong from the right, and then something else she played, where out of twenty-eight children she came fourth in the eight-years-and-under [aged section of the music competition] and ... her fourth birthday was like two weeks before.

While Susan might state that her daughter’s abilities are “normal”, rather than a product of her pedagogical labour, she also acknowledges that is exceptional because her daughter is competing in an age bracket where she is far younger than her fellow competitors, yet she still places highly. It is highly unusual for a three-year-old to play the piano this well. In Susan’s

work as a piano teacher, she is more likely to see such abilities. The technical awareness of the minutiae of her daughter's performance indicate Susan's excitement at her daughter's potential through a visible (and audible) sign of her musical aptitude, and by inference, Susan's ability as mother and a teacher. She is clearly very pleased with her daughter's performance. Susan's daughters were developing confidence in being able to perform in front of others through these musical activities, learning to compete against others with similar skills and parental ambitions. Participating in music competitions forms part of her family's cultural inculcation and capital accumulation. It was something Susan had participated in as a child. Individuals with greater musical opportunities for obtaining musical capital are more likely to become professional musicians (Coulson, 2010), as her youngest daughter, Jessica demonstrates. Success in the form of future employment in the field of music is therefore related to family habitus and the structural capacity to enable this to occur.

Jessica's musical habitus was well-established before she decided to pursue music as a career. Jessica, from her early school days, was involved in several music groups that her mother organised, and music was an important part of family life. She said "it wasn't a hectic kind of childhood ... we were just always kind of musically on that spectrum ... I did a little bit of sport ... did a lot of music". Surrounded by family members and others who shared an interest in music, together they supported Jessica's musical abilities. Susan revealed her resolve to provide Jessica with advantages and assist her to succeed in the field of music. The impetus to play the 'cello had come directly from Jessica. However, Susan's cultivation of Jessica, and her utilisation of cultural capital accrued as a music teacher, had benefits and meant that Jessica's arrival at the Conservatorium came early. When discussing Jessica's musical journey, Susan is explicit about her influence in Jessica's transition to the Conservatorium. She explains the physical effort to get her to lessons, and her ability to find "one of the best 'cello teachers ever", illustrating the 'cashing-in' of her cultural capital. Susan explained "she left school after Year 10 to go straight to tertiary study which may or may not have been sane ... But it did short circuit the study time and she coped very well". Susan acknowledges the efforts she put into making these things happen for Jessica. As an already time-poor single, working mother, Susan finds the time to seek out an excellent teacher and take Jessica to her music lessons, stealing several hours out of busy days each week. She negotiates with the school system and the tertiary institution to allow Jessica to start at the Conservatorium early (entry would usually be after Year 12).

Bourdieu (1977) uses the analogy of gift-exchange⁷ as an example of disinterestedness, where one gives a gift to another, knowing that this person will like this gift but also feel obligated to reciprocate, and will feign surprise when this occurs. He speaks of the symbolic labour in this exchange and the efforts to make it seem as if it were nothing at all, that no effort or calculation was required in the process, when actually the opposite is true. A gift is given in full knowledge that a gift will be given in return. Bourdieu calls this an act of “misrecognition” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 171) which he argues is the basis of gift-exchange. The act of concerted cultivation in mothers is similar to a gift-exchange. The mothers in my study show disavowal when they deny concertedly cultivating their children’s musical abilities. Middle-class mothers wish to appear that their children’s ability comes from an innate talent and their support of their children’s musical pursuits is effortless and minimal. Legitimate culture, to those who are *au fait* with it, does not need labour to produce it as it is something one does already as part of the repertoire of everyday life. “Disinterest” (Bourdieu, 1998) is in the fact that it appears natural, as always having been there. There is an apparent separation between the logic of middle-class mothers – those who openly strategise, like the Tiger mothers, and those who do not.

The concept of disinterest is highly salient in this instance because it denies musical habitus and the labour of reproducing habitus through strategising to maintain classed traditions. Just as the sensitive mother makes every opportunity a learning experience, mothers scan the environment for educational possibilities within everyday activity and enact them in play-based, child-centred ways so constant stimulation becomes normalised and thereby the pedagogy becomes invisible. Bourdieu (1984) explains,

Culture is the site, par excellence, of misrecognition, because, in generating strategies objectively adapted to the objective chances of profit of which it is the product, the sense of investment secures profits which do not need to be pursued as profits; and so it brings to those who have legitimate culture as a second nature the supplementary profit of being seen (and seeing themselves) as perfectly disinterested, unblemished by any cynical or mercenary use of culture. (p. 86)

⁷ Marcel Mauss also discussed this concept. (see Mauss, M. (1990). *The Gift*. London: Routledge.)

Misrecognition is in the process of cultural inculcation, particularly in the field of music when learning an instrument, which is highly labour-intensive, is seen to be the product of a naturalised talent. Susan infers that her daughter initiated her musical journey, yet music was ingrained in Susan's family life from her conception. Susan had lived a musical life in which she could guide her daughter through a similar experience. Cultural capital accumulated by Susan along the way was mobilised to assist Jessica's musical progression. Susan denied she had aspirations for her children, "I didn't actually have aspirations, I think that I let the kids create those". Nonetheless, Susan demonstrated a very deliberate 'facilitation' for her youngest daughter, Jessica. Rather than having preconceived aspirations, she was supporting her child's wishes, which mediated the tension she felt at them "missing out" as a working mother and aligning with her desire to be seen as a child-centred, 'good' mother. Yet, music was a huge part of Susan's family life and her children's family life, their "cultural inheritance". It was part of who they were and what they did. As Bourdieu (1990) states:

This disposition, always marked by its (social) conditions of acquisition and realisation, tends to adjust to the objective chances of satisfying need or desire, inclining agents to 'cut their coats according to their cloth', and so to become the accomplices of the processes that tend to make the probable a reality. (p. 65)

Jessica's musical habitus was already forming from her early childhood. Music surrounded her and was within her. It was no wonder that she would become a professional musician as music was such a fundamental part of her family life, and always had been. Jessica becoming a professional musician was the probable becoming a reality.

Middle-class mothers negotiate concerted cultivation and intensive mothering discourses in complex and messy ways (Perrier, 2013). Susan wants to appear that her musical mothering efforts are casual rather than directive, but there is a tacit understanding that being directive, (that is, making children practice, perform at competitions, play with ensembles) has results. In the next chapters, I will explore Susan's motivations further. At this stage, what is seen through Susan's cultivation efforts and utilisation of her cultural capital are the visible markers of her mothering success – early entry for her daughter into a competitively sought tertiary institution and the fulfilment of her daughter's dream to play 'cello. Susan's credibility as a good teacher and good mother is realised in her daughter's successful performance. Susan

has created a person of distinction that reflects her middle-class tastes and sensibilities (Vincent & Maxwell, 2015).

Middle-class mothers' cultivating efforts to produce musical children are misrecognised as natural talents, thereby refuting their extensive labour in this work. As Bourdieu (1986) states "the best hidden and socially most determinant educational investment ... (is) that ability or talent is itself the product of an investment of time and cultural capital" (p. 17). I return to Linda's story to explore the reasons she gives for nurturing her children's musicality. Her daughter Ashley commented that her mother was living vicariously through them although Linda denied this. Linda stated,

You can't live through your [children] – I don't think I ever – what's the word when you actually would've loved to be a great musician and then you make your children? ... you know how you dream big and then you, 'cause your dreams don't work you go and put your dreams on your kids. I didn't, no, I don't feel like I ever did that. I saw potential in my kids and I thought ah ... look ... a nudge a bit.

Like Susan, Linda acknowledged her part in giving her children's musical journeys "a nudge". After all, Linda was nurturing their potential – a potential she created from their early beginnings – but one that she felt was a gift and a calling from God. She continued,

You have to have the dream ... not your parents. *You* have to have the passion, you have to feel God's call, I believe ... and it's a gift and you feel ... you know, you're there ... bless others with it...

Musical ability here is aligned with one's calling and considered a gift from God. Linda, conscious of the 'gift of music' in her family, feels a moral obligation to nurture this ability as part of God's plan for them all. This absolves Linda's deliberate strategising by claiming it as doing God's work. Again, this is a form of misrecognition by placing the impetus for Linda's labour and the focus of her effort away from her. Thus far, I have shown how mothers primarily provide supports for children to learn musical instruments and seek out appropriate teachers and institutions and yet deny the extent of their cultivating efforts to make it appear that such abilities are natural, rather than the result of their mothering practices. But what of the next

generation of young mothers? Is the formation of musical habitus also one of social reproduction in these families intergenerationally?

In the next generation of musical mothers, the daughters of Rosemary, Linda and Susan, all of whom are consciously involved in music either professionally or informally, show that they are actively looking for their children's developing musical skills as a 'natural' disposition, rather than one that has been constructed by their own mothering practices, similar to their mothers before them. I illustrate this through Jessica's experience, now as a mother of a four-year-old:

You know she sings that *Frozen* song – like all those kids do – like a football anthem, 'Let it gooooo'. She's pretty hilarious. As she's getting older she's beginning to pitch match – she's starting to get there – without any prompting, and we sit there, and we sing together, and she listens and ... unconsciously, unprompted, just through doing and having fun.

Jessica asserts that her daughter's musical efforts are unprompted and "just through doing and having fun". Jessica is aware that this is the 'right thing' to say, to make it seem that music is an 'natural' part of their family life. Jessica's daughter does not attend any formal music classes, but she sees her mother teaching the 'cello at home and has watched her mother perform in concerts. Jessica and her partner have bought their daughter a small viola and other instruments "we've bought (are) really nice, sort of sounding ones ... like a good chromatic glockenspiel and those sorts of things". Jessica provided further examples of her daughter's informal musical learning:

She sits and watches while I practice. She's interested in the 'cello and I think that she knows it's kinda this special, exciting thing, you know, people come to concerts and they dress up ...

Just let her play, let her have fun ... and I think that partially, 'cause I didn't really start formal lessons until I was a bit older but I just had it around me all the time so it was a bit nice. So, partially it's reflecting the way I learnt ... but it's also a bit of a reaction against the music as profession, as job, and pressure and that kind of stuff ... I don't want to have that sort of intention with her musical development at the moment ... I feel if she wants it later, we'll know, and we'll support her. Definitely...

Jessica provides music for her daughter informally. And while she acknowledges her rejection of the dominant discourse of classical music tuition, she is developing her daughter's musical habitus by providing opportunities to watch her play 'cello at home and at concerts, and by providing her with 'good' quality instruments. Like Susan, they will not be "directive" and will follow their daughter's lead. They will "feel" if their daughter wants music tuition later because they "will know" and will definitely support her, rather than having a plan that formal music will occur at a specific time. This mothering strategy is a generational disposition which fits in with child-centred 'good' mothering logic, which is arguably equally as 'sensitive' and 'intensive' as other strategies because of the effort it takes to perform this. There are contradictions as I demonstrate through Susan's addition to Jessica's story. Susan remarks that Jessica had asked her for some of her teaching materials for her granddaughter's birthday:

I came up for her [granddaughter's] birthday party and everybody else is giving her little kiddie toys so, Jessica asked if I could give her some of my teaching materials. So, I bought her a whiteboard and some instructions to draw. I drew a couple of staves with a lot of magnets because when I'm teaching I use magnets to do sol-fa and all of this sort of stuff and all the coloured pens. Jessica said from 2 o'clock until 8 o'clock at night she didn't put it down and here I was worrying that she'd say, 'It's not Frozen' or it's not something like that! (laughs) ... so, they can just be introduced to music through play rather than formal lessons.

Jessica's practice mirrors that of her mother's, demonstrating generational social reproduction of musical habitus. Jessica also mentioned that she had wondered if she should be going to early music classes but reconciled saying that she didn't have time to take her. She felt that her daughter's kindergarten provided some music and that she herself did not start formal tuition until later and preferred a more relaxed introduction at this stage. Despite Susan and Jessica's assertions that music was being introduced in an informal way, it was clear that an element of calculation was occurring as a "disinterested interest" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 177) and Jessica's daughter was already showing an interest.

This concerted cultivation (Lareau, 2003) is present when she speaks about schooling choices too and the fact that Jessica and her partner know several teachers at the school. They have already discussed suitable options with them so that their daughter will be in the 'right' class, demonstrating their social capital at work. The subtle means of inculcation fits nicely

with their desire to be ‘organic’ in their parenting and the appearance of dismissing intensive mothering practices. Again, there is a disavowal of their efforts to provide opportunities for their daughter, musically and educationally. Jessica and her partner have strong views about formal education and early years, advocating for a child-centred, play-focused upbringing for their daughter. They were already dreading their daughter’s transition to formal schooling next year, stating “We hate prep!”.⁸ Jessica rejects the formalisation of early music tuition and prefers her daughter to pick up things informally when she desires. In this way, Jessica is not perceived as being ‘pushy’ and her daughter is developing her musical ability ‘naturally’ and in a self-initiated way, as Jessica believes she did.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) agree that to ‘play the game’, in this instance how to successfully negotiate the intercepting fields of mothering, music and education, pedagogic action needs to take place. To remain passive is to miss out on opportunities, so while a subject may have all the economic and cultural capital to ensure access to formal music engagement, it is not until one engages in the formal practice of music, such as lessons, attending concerts, listening to legitimate forms, that learning the rules can start to occur (Bourdieu, 1977). Children become inculcated in the correct way to ‘do’ formal music through their mother’s concerted cultivation and strategic choices; it is to mothers’ investments in their children that I now turn to begin to show the reasons for their actions.

Middle-class mothers invest financially, temporally and physically, extraordinary resources in developing children’s musical abilities for a range of purposes. Skeggs (2004a) writes, “[I]nvestments ... must be about a projection into the future of a self/space/body with value. We only make investments in order to accrue value when we can conceive of a future in which that value can have a use” (p. 146). Investments, therefore, are a calculation of value-exchange. An investment in music means that there is a belief that there will be something of value that comes out of that, for those doing the investing or the person acquiring the value, or perhaps that is both one and the same. Bourdieu (1998) uses an analogy to elucidate how it is the habitus, with its embodied history, that already has a knowledge of the game prior to making conscious strategies, that informs mothers’ decision making. Bourdieu (1998) states,

⁸ “Prep” is the first year of formal schooling in Australian primary schools. Children start school if they turn five years of age before the 30 June of that year. In some Australian states, the end date is 30 April.

While the bad player is always off tempo, always too early or too late, the good player is the one who anticipates, who is ahead of the game. Why can she get ahead of the flow of the game? Because she has the immanent tendencies of the game in her body, in an incorporated state: she embodies the game. (p. 80-81)

Musical mothers often choose formal music activities for their children, when music is already part of their habitus, as something they do. As active members in the game, these mothers have insider knowledge on how to play coming from experience. The game, according to Bourdieu (2000) is always biased – “a competition resembles a handicap race that has lasted for generations, in which each player has ... the cumulated scores of his ancestors” (p. 215).

The accrual of cultural capital is perceived as a commodity that can be exchanged for later benefits, usually to assist with future economic capital gains in the field of employment (Bourdieu, 1984). Investment in the self, particularly through education and music tuition, increases cultural capital, which can later be exchanged for economic capital. It is primarily the middle-class who operate through this symbolic value-exchange through the development of their personhoods (Bourdieu, 1984; Skeggs, 2004b). While it might appear that success for middle-class children is a given with many middle-class parents having confidence that their financial, social and cultural advantages will be transferred to their children (Irwin & Elley, 2011, 2013), even for middle-class mothers, this does not always feel guaranteed (Perrier, 2013) hence, their anxiety. This was evidenced through the competitiveness and judgements within the musical field I demonstrated earlier in the chapter. Kaufman (2005) agrees stating social reproduction is not automatic but requires “an active and constructed process” (p. 247) to maintain the status quo “or face the very real prospect of generational decline” (Parkin, 1979, p. 63).

As Lareau (2000) argues “possession of high-status cultural resources does not therefore automatically lead to a social investment. Rather, these cultural resources must be effectively activated by individuals, in and through their own actions and decisions” (p. 178). Linda’s investment in Ashley’s musical training was not economically or socially productive for Ashley in the career stakes; Ashley did not have the social reserves to capitalise on her investment. Whereas for Susan, utilisation of her cultural resources provided Jessica with advantageous benefits. Hence, middle-class mothers’ anxieties around making the correct choices regarding their children’s education and personal development requires an “interplay

between social structure and human agency” (Kaufman, 2005, p. 249). While mothers maintain their actions to involve children in music tuition may appear as disinterested, Bourdieu (1977) posits that such views are always interested,

Practice never ceases to conform to economic calculation even when it gives every appearance of disinterestedness by departing from the logic of interested calculation (in the narrow sense) and playing for stakes that are non-material and not easily quantified. (p. 177)

In this last section, I have shown how mothers make investments in their children’s musical futures. These investments can be contradictory to ‘good’ mothering logic because they propose a calculated strategy towards future outcomes rather than a child-focused nurturing. Mothers worked hard to make their efforts look natural rather than a product of their cultural suffusion, which Bourdieu describes as misrecognition. The mothers’ narratives suggested that these practices carry forward over generations as evidence of a process of social reproduction.

Concluding summary

In this chapter I began to show how mothers inculcate a musical habitus in their children. I started by discussing what is meant by family habitus and how some mothers believe that the transmission of music in families is an inherited disposition rather than something that is carefully manufactured as part of a cultural inheritance. Performing music in these families is integral to who they are, as a doxic practice, yet there were individual members of these musical families who did not receive the same amount of musical investment as others. Some mothers judged which of their children they felt to be ‘musical’ and put their efforts into developing their musical abilities, often considered ‘talents’, rather than an outcome of mothers’ concerted cultivation practices. I have argued that concerted cultivation is enacted differently in families and shown how the diversity of mothers’ practices conformed to or defied ‘good’ mothering logic. I will show later how this creates divisions within families.

I emphasised the difficulties faced by mothers who know that musical practice is essential to skill development yet did not wish to force their children to do something they did not want to, illustrating the “fine line” between promoting competitive individualism and nurturing care. The early inculcation of legitimate culture into the lives of very young children makes it appear that the transmission of culture, preferences and values is natural rather than

developed strategically (Bourdieu, 1990; Perrier, 2013; Silva, 2005). Utilising Bourdieu's concept of misrecognition, I highlighted how mothers worked hard to make their cultivating efforts appear naturalised. Paradoxically, their mothering was arguably more tactical than those who deliberately strategise to gain benefits for their children. Their intensive mothering practices formed a continuum from the openly punitive, 'pushy' Tiger mother through to the non-interventionist mother who checked in from the sidelines, highlighting the heterogeneity of this practice. The ways middle-class mothers concertedly cultivate their children's musical abilities highlighted how mothers frame their parenting as either 'good' or 'bad' in their pursuit of cultural capital for their children and themselves. This transmission in middle-class families inculcates socially valued dispositions in their children which in turn assists them to achieve success in education and workplace arenas (Silva, 2005).

Middle-class anxieties around cultural transmission and social reproduction are heightened when mothers, previously outside the dominant norm, become conversant with and learn how to play 'the game'. White, middle-class mothers feel added pressure to make sure their investments are successful as they see 'other' mothers taking up places in institutions usually reserved for the likes of them. Some middle-class mothers then shift the parameters of appropriate engagement in legitimated forms of music to pathologise those mothers who perform musical mothering differently by labelling them as 'bad' mothers, when often their practices are not dissimilar to their own.

The reasons for mothers choosing music tuition for their children are becoming evident. I have started to argue how investments in children are also investments in mothers. In the following chapter, I look at the dispositions mothers aim to nurture in their children through formal music tuition and why this is important to them as a marker of taste and respectability in their respective communities as 'good' mothers.

Cultivating my own children

As my girls grew up, they were accustomed to seeing and hearing me sing. I sang to them and they sang to me. I sang in concerts, we went to concerts and when they were about two years of age, we attended early years music classes. The classes were held at the same conservatoire where I had singing lessons. I was one of the few people who travelled in from outside the wealthy area to attend the classes. There was no conservatoire where we lived. Most of the mothers in the class knew each other and were friends outside of the class. It was made explicit that I was on the outer as I worked and lived out of the area. That aside, the class had a familiar approach to one I had studied at teacher's college many years before. After my girls attended the classes for several years, the school where I was teaching funded me to train in the particular method used in the music class, so I could facilitate classes at the early years' centre where I taught.

I remember my eldest daughter's first solo singing performance. She was in her second year of schooling and had been selected to sing a small part by herself in the class nativity play. Her class teacher reserved a prime spot at the front of the audience for me for this auspicious moment. However, when my daughter began singing, my eyes welled with tears (of joy and nervous anticipation), and upon seeing this, my daughter stopped singing thinking I was upset. She began to cry too and was unable to finish her song. I have been relegated to the back of the hall from that day forward!

My eldest daughter had started piano lessons at five years of age before we left London, and so I tried to find her a teacher close to home soon after our arrival in Australia. I quickly acquainted myself with the school music teacher who recommended a piano teacher and I soon joined the music support group, as my girls joined music groups at the school, the eldest beginning 'cello lessons. We were able to hire a 'cello for a small sum for the year and lessons were free. Just as my daughters were involved in music, I joined two choirs and later settled on a small semi-professional chamber choir with whom I sang for a number of years.

As my girls progressed in their musical abilities, other teachers were sought, and they became involved in more ensembles. Initially my husband and I decided we did not want any activity to encroach on the family weekends, but soon orchestra practices were on Saturday

mornings, and late afternoon rehearsals invaded our evenings, so our family time was minimised. By the time my eldest daughter was in secondary school, she belonged to several different ensembles. This meant a great deal of organising of family routines to accommodate lessons in two instruments, rehearsals and concerts for five different ensembles, and fit in practice.

Towards the end of my eldest daughter's schooling, the pressure of playing and singing in several ensembles plus the high expectations on academic excellence from the school became such that my daughter wanted to give up playing the 'cello. There was a school requirement that to play in the highest-level ensembles, students must be having private lessons, so she continued to play under strain. She had also sustained a shoulder injury from carrying a heavy 'cello and a school bag full of books. My daughter received a half-scholarship for tuition fees at the school which certainly helped mitigate the exorbitant fees, particularly with two daughters now attending. The school wanted her to play because she was competent and reliable. I felt pressured to make her play, yet she was ambivalent about her involvement. Although many of her friends were playing in these ensembles, she did not want the pressure and competitiveness with her peers that playing at that level entails. She gave up orchestra, piano lessons and formal 'cello exams, yet continued to play and sing in the school ensembles. At the end of her final year of high school, her 'cello went in its case and has only come out once in six years. Several years later, I wonder what all the stress was for.

My younger daughter did not involve herself as much in school ensembles. She played in rock band like her older sister, and outside of school had piano lessons but these were quite casual. She refused to sign up for exams because of the anxiety it caused. Her teacher encouraged her composing and singing in her piano lessons. My daughter taught herself to play acoustic guitar. My younger daughter was more resistant to my calls to practice and show a stronger commitment to her music, and yet she is the one who plays more today than my older daughter, and who is studying music sound production in tertiary education.

My older daughter acquiesced to my, and the school demands, despite her personal struggles and desire to stop playing the 'cello. It remains a point of tension in our relationship, where I feel guilty for making her continue, not wanting to fully realise how much anxiety it caused her. At the time I felt torn between the expectations of the school,

the desires of her teachers who were also my friends, and our competing - her needs and mine. I wanted to give my children the opportunity to learn music that I was denied. In that process, I was an intensive mother, maybe not to the extent that some mothers are, but I had an intention that both my children would learn music until the end of high school and that was not negotiable.

Despite the 'cello's retirement, both daughters, when they are at home, go into my study, bring out their old music and play the piano. They reminisce about their childhoods through the pieces they play. Often, they play alone and experience "happiness" and "calm", and the "challenge" to play new pieces, to quote my eldest daughter. Both of my girls have a musical habitus. We are labelled as a 'musical family' amongst our friends and wider family.

Chapter Five – Moral mothering through music

I just want to make good citizens.

*If a child hears good music from the day of his birth, and learns to play it himself,
he develops sensitivity, discipline and endurance.*

He gets a beautiful heart.

Shinichi Suzuki (1978, p. 120)

Introduction

In this chapter, I continue to explore musical habitus by looking at the work that middle-class mothers do to produce moral children and maintain moral selves through music. Intersecting the role that music plays in the lives of these women, I show how mothers negotiate the slippery path of morality and social value, where music and motherhood are both undervalued in our society (for music in school curricula see Clarke & Basilio, 2018; Garvis & Pendergast, 2010; for motherhood see Goodwin & Huppertz, 2010). I also show how certain types of music and mothering are socially recognised as more respectable. Firstly, I will look at how mothers (re)produce citizens of worth, exploring the “moral economies” (Skeggs, 1997, p. 88) they invest in through discourses of respectability, taste and legitimate culture. I set up the chapter to define what moral mothering is as an extension to the previous chapter’s work on ‘good’ mothering. I show the emotional labour involved in developing musical children exploring mothers’ efforts to make the ‘right’ choices for their children through music. Secondly, I examine how interactions of various fields intersect with the fields of motherhood and music to influence mothers’ judgements on what makes worthy children, subsequently maintaining the appearance of ‘good’ mothering. In concluding this chapter, I demonstrate how mothers utilise music to develop desired and socially valued dispositions in their children such as building confidence and other skills that are valorised in the fields of education and employment. I reveal how the dispositions learnt through music become ways to live lives of value that are passed on through generations. These point to the tensions in musical mothering to adhere to cultural expectations and where practices are negotiated to avoid intense scrutiny and harsh judgements regarding maternal choice making in creating lives of value. Ability in music is valued for its extrinsic benefits with which to exchange for social, cultural and economic capital in children’s projected futures.

Making the 'right' choices

Judgement is a fundamental function of the habitus as it guides people to behave in certain ways; the habitus is a classifying mechanism (Sayer, 2005a). Morality, class and music are enmeshed together to influence opportunities for relationships and practices. As Benhabib (1992) writes, “moral judgement is what we ‘always already’ exercise in virtue of being immersed in a network of human relationships that constitute our life together” (p. 125 – 126). To judge is to be human. Mothers decide what is or is not for the likes of them, making choices on what is best for their children, and rationalising what suits them and how they might mobilise their capitals to their advantage. As McRobbie (2004) writes,

Middle-class women have played a key role in the reproduction of class society, not just through their exemplary role as wives and mothers but also as standard-bearers for middle-class family values, for certain norms of citizenship and also for safeguarding the valuable cultural capital accruing to them and their families through access to education, refinement and other privileges. (p. 101)

Pressure on mothers to create children of value and maintain respectability is overwhelming with relentless scrutiny from societal structures and reconnaissance from other mothers within the same field. Constant appraisals of how others live their lives informs mothers’ practices and guides their sense of belonging to particular groups. As Sayer (2005a) states,

Actors use moral and other evaluative distinctions not only to draw boundaries between themselves and others but to discriminate among behaviours across and within class and other social divisions for they can hardly fail to notice that they can be well or bad treated by members of any group, including their own. (p. 141)

As social beings, in addition to economic and practical reliance on others, people have a need to be recognised and accepted for the decisions they make (Sayer, 2005b). Moral choices are always relational. Within relationality there is always a judgement which tends to a binary, that is good versus bad or positive versus negative. Judgements can come from within a class as well as between classes (Sayer, 2005a, 2005b). Interclass adjudicating is seen in the previous chapter with middle-class mothers demonstrating disapproval of other middle-class mothers’ intensive mothering practices regarding music practice. Within middle-class mothering there

is a need to appear better than others to validate their own choices such as finding the ‘best’ teacher or acquiring the ‘best’ instrument. Mothers who push their children to practice are judged as ‘bad’ mothers, so mothers make reparations to avoid this label by being seen to give children choices or justifying reasons why they practice in certain ways. For many mothers, the importance of appearances, that of being recognised and accepted as a ‘good’ mother, is crucial to their own sense of self-worth and belonging. Hays (1996) states “by the same logic, the more intensive the techniques of appropriate child-rearing become, the more mothers can claim that their job is a demanding and complex enterprise requiring high levels of knowledge and skill” (p. 159) and thus appearing morally superior.

Mothers, through their embodied practices, display their ability as mothers and as moral subjects. Their bodies are “sign-bearing, sign-wearing” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 192). Appearances are the embodiment of taste and outward markers of acquired capital and it is mothers who are at the face of the family (Bourdieu, 1984). Mothers are judged and appraised through child outcomes and performances in acceptable forms of sociality. Music is one arena where this function is played out. Mothers face intense surveillance and calls for accountability, so the need to appear moral and conduct oneself in a respectable manner is paramount. Mothers are endowed with the task of child-rearing as “a self-conscious moral enterprise” (Hays, 1996, p. 32). Supporting and nurturing their children diligently, demonstrates mothers’ worthiness to adhere to society’s rules and make a valid contribution (Skeggs, 2004a). In the last chapter, I argued middle-class mothers perform intensive practices to cultivate their children in ways they feel will advantage their children in the future. What is deemed respectable is culturally sanctioned, classed and gendered. Engagement in formal music tuition, particularly in classical music, is where middle-class mothers play out such practices and where mothers believed they would develop culturally valued dispositions in their children. However, informal musical involvement in the family home also reveals such practices.

Children’s consumption of music, that is sanctioned by parents, reveals parental values, beliefs and ideology of childhood. Childhood is either seen as a preparation for adulthood, with the notion of always becoming, or as a special time, where children need protecting from adult notions (Ilari, 2016). These mothering logics are infiltrated into children’s sensibilities and affect the choices mothers make regarding music consumption. Ilari’s (2005) study into musical parenting found that mothers sing lullabies and play-songs with their very young children, seeing this as the most appropriate repertoire. Ilari suggested that this was due to

stereotyped beliefs of appropriate music for infants in our society. Immigrant mothers, Ilari commented, often sing songs to their children in their first language which may create ties with their ethnic identity. In older children, some parents allowed their children to make more autonomous choices regarding the music they consumed while others restricted the choices available to them. So how do mothers in this study enculturate the ‘right’ musical tastes in children to reproduce middle-class sensibilities and moral subjectivities?

Mothers in this study described how they restricted their children’s listening repertoires. Children become symbolic markers or indicators of their mothers’ tastes and choices, thereby demonstrating their position within that space (Atkinson, 2016). As part of children’s integration into social spaces, mothers monitor the way children behave. In early childhood, mothers have significant influence and power over their children’s music consumption which is guided by their habitus and influenced by dominant and culturally approved forms of music that are deemed appropriate. Sangeeta is an Indian woman who lives most of her time in India but travels frequently to Australia to assist with her granddaughter’s care. Sangeeta restricted her daughter’s music listening when she was growing up in India, “Hindi music is basically those romantic songs. I didn’t want to expose them to that culture ... I didn’t want them to deviate from the path, like do study, enjoy music, play yourself, play games – but not do that – no!” Sangeeta did not want her children exposed to material that she thought might be a distraction from the path she aspired for them through ‘serious’ academic studies. Romantic love stories were not what she wanted her children’s minds focused on. Like Sangeeta, Kelele demonstrated forms of censorship as part of her mothering in relation to music.

Kelele is a Tongan mother who married an Australian man and currently resides in a large Australian city with her family of three children. Kelele was careful when selecting music for her children to listen to, being mindful not to choose songs that may have inappropriate lyrics. She said, “sometimes I play music any ... sort of music that not have those bad words in it, I not really like” as she didn’t want this influencing her children or risk having them repeat these words inadvertently. This is consistent with mothers passing on their cultural values through music (Ilari, 2013; Ilari, Chen-Hafteck, & Crawford, 2013) and is integral to their care work (Gracio, 2016).

According to Atkinson (2016), over time children begin to differentiate practices of others and begin to make judgements on what is possible for them, moving away from the

family space to the “wider typology of class relations” (p. 97). Regarding children’s musical repertoires, Penelope spoke about the influence of others to show how mothers’ primary influences are sometimes short-lived. When speaking of her own childhood, Penelope says, “Lizzie and I used to play records - Alex Hood, ‘Yellow dog dingo’ (singing) ‘how old are you?’ ... When children had age appropriate songs ... unlike now where they all twerk”. Penelope articulates her concern about the music for young children more broadly, discussing responses to music from the children she teaches:

I’ll say what’s your favourite song and I won’t know any of the names of the songs ... it’s the latest tuneless piece of music. None of them say anything that’s age appropriate any more. I find that very sad. I try to teach children songs to children and that’s the good thing about [the state] music program too, they teach a lot of traditional stuff and a lot of age appropriate stuff within their music system and I think, thank god they still do. I wonder when that’s going to change, when some millennial gets up there and says we gotta make it more contemporary and they’ll start twerking. I think that’s terrible.

Several times Penelope mentioned age-appropriateness and, in her role as a primary teacher, she articulates her resolve to provide the children she teaches with “children’s songs for children”, often composing original songs with the children herself.

We would write a song about what’s in the curriculum at that particular time ... I wrote all sorts of things, science, maths anything you can think of ... stuff for little kids about ... we are taking turns, that sort of stuff that’s important for socialising and everything.

These are the songs that are ‘good’ because they are didactic, they integrate the curriculum and they create ‘good’ children. Penelope reveals her own values through her music work with children, maintaining her belief in the ‘innocence’ of young children and doing her bit as a cultural and moral gatekeeper, not unlike Sangeeta and Kelele. The logic of the ‘good’ mother prevails in a climate where mothers’ practices are constantly being scrutinised by other mothers and society more broadly, making sure mothers are making the ‘right’ choices, including in music.

Penelope continues by voicing her concerns about the lack of regulation on the internet and commenting that having people watch live streaming of music from people's bedrooms, as on YouTube for example, sort of "creeps her out". Ruddick (1989) writes, "[i]n 'normal' times, the only task of a nurturing mother may be to provide a safe setting where a child can be herself" (p. 84). Hypervigilance regarding the internet and social media is not unlike similar past concerns over the television. Susan, Linda, Ashley and Penelope all made comments in their interviews about how their television viewing was limited or banned outright either in their own childhoods or in those of their children. Susan stated how much more productive musically and academically her daughters were without the distraction of the television. Television viewing is seen as a classed practice with working-class families perceived as constantly having the television on in the home with little to no screening of programs for their suitability (Lareau, 2003; Perrier, 2013). Ashley commented, "I think my early childhood [was] all good memories, all family-orientated ... We had no television back then. We weren't allowed to go on the computer or anything like that". Watching excessive and unregulated amounts of television and allowing unmonitored internet usage are often considered markers of 'bad' parenting, in contrast to physical exercise and cognitive activities that stimulate children (Perrier, 2013). Television provides passive stimulation rather than active engagement in learning activities preferred by middle-class parents such as involvement in music lessons and ensembles (Lareau, 2003). Again, mothers' moral judgements to make the 'right' choices are at the forefront of mothers' mental work to be seen as 'good' mothers.

The moral aspect of living a life of value is deeply entrenched in classed principles, as those from lower classed positions struggle to live in ways that are culturally valued (Sayer, 2005b; Skeggs, 2011). Middle-class mothers create the "moral authority" (Skeggs, 2004a, p. 76) of mothering, forming the criteria and judging what is categorised and legitimised as good mothering (Perrier, 2013). In music, for example, preferences for classical music tuition over more popular forms creates a boundary of exclusion for those who cannot afford to participate. The well-read choice-making and consumption of foods, clothing, music, education and social networking of middle-class mothers, and their ability to determine what is the 'best', affords them power over the working-classes for whom choices are limited and who often struggle to be recognised for their efforts.

To be morally superior, mothers create for themselves a moral code, to appear to sacrifice themselves for the sake of their children, without competitiveness, and delay efforts

towards personal achievement (Sanghera, 2016). Some middle-class mothering is deplored as “evidence of self-centredness, conceit, pretentiousness and exploitation” (Skeggs, 2011, p. 507) where achievement and entitlement come at a moral cost. I showed this through the Tiger mothers’ practices in the last chapter, where subjecting children to such extreme pressure to gain positions in prestigious educational institutions was considered morally wrong by some mothers. To invest in the self, is a form of “moral economy” (Skeggs, 1997, p. 88), but if this does not occur, then invest in your children. Investment in children becomes an investment in the self, in what I term ‘selfish selflessness’, thereby negating the self-interest in such practice as a form of disinterestedness.

An acknowledgement of the ‘right’ choice-making for some musical mothers is when their child is selected for a position at a Conservatorium. The Conservatorium is considered the pinnacle of tertiary music education where places are competitively sought after. Students are afforded the ‘best’ teachers in the field and opportunities to work with industry professionals. Attendance at a Conservatorium is loaded with symbolic capital suggestive of musical superiority and a pathway to a professional career in music. It legitimates mothers’ labour and capital-exchange afforded in musical habitus formation. Both Susan and Jessica stated they did not feel they ‘fit’ the Conservatorium space initially, with Susan stating she spent time “wondering what on earth I was doing at the Conservatorium in the first place ... you know, I’d never been, ever be part of that world”. Coming from a regional town, Susan felt unlike the more sophisticated city students as evidenced through her self-deprecating comment about her clothing when she was first at the Conservatorium, “I was a little kiddie ... wearing my Indian dress and my brown sandals”. She felt she looked out of place. Similarly, Jessica commented “it kinda belongs to people of resource”, expressing how a lack of family finances, and having to pay rent and work to support herself, limited her opportunities to participate in additional activities to facilitate her musical journey. Yet Jessica was able to gain a place at the Conservatorium two years prior to standard entry, thereby illustrating the value of her resources in the form of familial cultural and social capital. Therefore, Jessica is a person of resource that was afforded a space at this institution, which arguably would not have been provided to someone without such capitals, culturally, socially or economically. Despite their initial reservations, Susan and Jessica made it work.

At Conservatoriums, students utilise their accumulated and highly valued capitals to exploit their advantages within this space; conservatoriums are places where the mobilisation

of capitals is in ‘playing the game’ (Maton, 2005). Social networking, being ‘seen’ at the Conservatorium and through socialising out of hours, often down the pub, is almost fundamental to generate musical opportunities (Perkins, 2013). Nurturing relationships with significant people, actively advertising personal performances and forming associations with potential collaborative partners assists musicians in being ‘known’ (Perkins, 2013). Studying at a Conservatorium is not only a process of learning the repertoire of music, but how to be a musician and the identity work involved in this (Juuti & Littleton, 2010). There are indeed parallels in this identity-formation with middle-class motherhood, with mothers wrestling with constant insecurities about being good enough and making the ‘right’ choices, which is continually unsettling. For middle-class mothers, having to maintain appearances and navigate expectations is relentless work.

Institutions such as Conservatoriums typically facilitate and encourage individuality. This is congruent with middle-class self-making in capitalist society which is about developing the individualised self and choice-making (Gerrard, 2014; Skeggs, 2004a). In institutions like Conservatoriums, to be a solo artist is highly competitive and many actors “struggle to maximise their position” (Maton, 2005, p. 689; Perkins, 2013). This is juxtaposed against the unified regimentation of respectable classical bodies required to play in orchestras that forms a large part of Conservatorium training (Bull, 2014). As all are excellent musicians, the aspiring students must sometimes – particularly as solo artists – find that extra something that will enable them to stand out from their peers, and in many cases, appear marketable (Juuti & Littleton, 2010). Flamboyance or difference is often seen as a commodity, as proven in the past by classical musicians such as Nigel Kennedy (whose appearance is that of a punk rocker while he plays virtuoso concertos on violin. Yet unsurprisingly, his musical habitus and high levels of cultural capital were assured with his mother a piano teacher and his father a professional cellist with a leading European orchestra).⁹ Bourdieu rejects any notions of conscious self-making, stating that any efforts are only deviations of existing types (Skeggs, 2004a). These alterations are based on knowledge of what is acceptable and the exchange-value of these (Bourdieu, 1977). Bourdieu (1984) states that tastes within classical music differentiates members of the middle-classes even further.

⁹Culture.pl Artists – Nigel Kennedy. <https://culture.pl/en/artist/nigel-kennedy>. Retrieved 15 April 2019.

The different fractions of the dominant classes distinguish themselves precisely through that which makes them members of the class as a whole, namely the type of capital which is the source of their privilege and the different manners of asserting their distinction on which are linked to it. (p. 258)

This may appear contradictory to statements of classed respectability and classical music, with its regulation of bodies and controlling of behaviour regarding music, yet the middle-class is allowed this variation in appearances because it is only one factor of their middle-classness which is changed, while all others stay intact (Skeggs, 1997).

Jessica continues in her self-making as part of her entrepreneurial individualisation. She believes she is making the ‘right’ choices by undertaking post-graduate study in contemporary music. Becoming an expert in a style of music that most other people do not understand, she exploits her point of difference,

Anyone in an orchestra will just want to take the piss about it – ‘awful, scratchy’... I have spent a lot of time in the last few years specialising in a field that not many people really like, but I like it.

Similarly, Susan stated several times how her wider arts experience over her lifetime has afforded her greater benefits than had she only been a piano teacher. Both Susan and Jessica enjoy playing different genres of music and demonstrate an ability to appreciate and shift between styles. Susan and Jessica express a musical codeswitching as “a form of knowledge and competence for one’s own enhancement” (Skeggs, 2004a, p. 158). Knowledge about cultural reproduction is not merely about imitation but learning the logic of how and when to reproduce it (Skeggs, 2004a). Musical codeswitching links to definitions of cosmopolitanism as “phenomena that are international by virtue of membership, circulation, or style. Here the cosmopolitan is implicitly contrasted with the national, the regional, or the local ... the term often hints at a broadened mentality or outlook, or a particular sense of place in the world” (Collins & Gooley, 2016, p. 142). Musical codeswitching speaks to contemporary forms of taste and being adaptable. It encompasses inclusivity and acceptance of difference. Susan and Jessica embrace codeswitching as empowering, as Jessica states,

I made the things happened that I wanted to happen ... I didn’t want that big pressure of ... when I finished uni, I took things pretty easy ... I played a lot

of world music ... I did a bit of travel to India ... didn't play in orchestras in my early years ... I did chamber music and wedding gigs and worked at the [local theatre] and a little bit of teaching ... [I] had this sort of more ... kinda, diverse, terribly vague work situation but it was kind a fun and a little bit freer ... and not down that well-trodden path of, you know... study at the Con, do your post-grad overseas, come back, audition for jobs ... really not me at all.

Formerly, highbrow taste was a sign of cultural competence attributed to the middle-classes. When speaking specifically of music, an appreciation of classical music and other highbrow art forms was previously very narrowly defined. Bennett et al.'s (2009) study found that the middle-classes were listening to classical music less frequently and as such did not have the symbolic capital it once had, suggesting that popular music now has a similar standing. Now, in a contemporary setting, it is preferable to be a "cultural omnivore", that is to "access, know, participate and feel confident about using a wide variety of cultures (from low to high)" (Skeggs, 2004a, p. 143). Susan and Jessica have subsequently found employment utilising cosmopolitanism, demonstrating the exchange-value of this kind of cultural capital, and legitimisation of their choice-making. This is the new mode of production for the middle-classes in developing their "omnivorous self" (Skeggs, 2004a, p. 144). By involving themselves in a range of diverse activities, Susan and Jessica have widened their social networks, opening possibilities for future employment opportunities.

Mothers steer their children along paths that they judge as respectable and appropriate, consistent with their family values and their classed understandings to enrich children's musical habitus. Not all mothers have the same cosmopolitanism shown by Jessica and Susan nor make the same choices. In Ashley, the results of Linda's musical motherhood and 'right' choice-making are in evidence. Following on from Linda's musical motherhood in relation to practice, as seen in the last chapter, I wish to show how Linda involved her family in structured activities, such as music, as a form of control which she hoped would steer them on the moral path she desired for them as a 'good' mother.

Controlling relationships through mothering and music

The immediate family is the first social field for young children and through parental networks the first social relationships are formed (Atkinson, 2016). Later, relationships are

developed further afield amongst extended family and other groups and fields the family interacts with, formally and informally. Research shows that participation in music is sometimes utilised as a means for controlling the social groups that children belong to (Conkling, 2018). Music groups are seen to keep children busy and to promote skills for the future (Ilari, 2016), make like-minded friends (Savage & Hall, 2017) and keep working-class children off the streets (Lareau, 2003). Studies have shown that children tend to make friendships with those of similar interests and in possession of similar cultural capital (Atkinson, 2016). Even when children are old enough to make their own friendship choices, these are largely made on finding others similar to themselves, thereby maintaining class divisions (Atkinson, 2016). To demonstrate diversity in moral mothering through music, in this next section I focus on Linda and how she mobilises music as part of her moral mothering as a means of teaching her values, inculcating a sense of ‘who we are’. Starting from Linda’s choices regarding her children’s education, both generally and musically, I explore how her decisions were driven by her own childhood experiences and her deeply religious values. I show how Linda strictly policed Ashley’s social contacts through her tight scheduling of her activities. I explore how these decisions impacted upon Ashley’s experience of schooling and later, her experience at the Conservatorium.

Having four children at private school was expensive, despite Linda’s children receiving several scholarships and bursaries. The school was a private religious school, based on Christian values. Despite this, Linda withdrew them for a time, home-schooling the children for a few years, which escalated their musicianship, academic abilities and self-directed learning. Ashley, Linda’s daughter, suggested she was having difficulties socially at school which formed part of Linda’s decision to educate her children at home, although Linda maintains that home-schooling was chosen as the family were having difficulty paying the school fees. Neuman and Guterman (2019) suggest that parents who have had non-traditional schooling themselves, are often those who choose these options for their children. Linda had been brought up in international boarding schools from the age of five as her parents worked as missionaries abroad. She labels herself a “third culture kid” having spent her formative years in several different countries (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009). State school¹⁰ was never

¹⁰ State schools in Australia are government funded which means parents do not pay tuition fees. In metropolitan primary schools, the average cost is up to \$561AUD per annum. Parents are still liable for stationary and uniform costs and additional costs to cover school levies, excursions, music tuition (although heavily subsidised in some schools) for example. Total estimated costs are up to \$3,154AUD per annum. Information obtained from https://www.asg.com.au/doc/default-source/Media-Releases/planning-for-education-index-2017/asg_edcosts_schoolcosts_2017_nat_metro.pdf?sfvrsn=2

mentioned as a viable option. This may have been due to its secular nature or as a technique used by Linda as a means of governing the people that her children encountered (Hunter, Friend, Williams-Wheeler, & Fletcher, 2012). Linda was adhering to the stereotype of home-schooling mothers, according to Lois (2012),

These children are largely taught by stay-at-home mothers who find that they must tightly manage their daily schedules to avoid burnout and maximize their relationships with their children, and that they must sustain a desire to sacrifice their independent selves for many years in order to savour the experience of motherhood (abstract).

Throughout Linda's narrative, she spoke of her children's achievements, academically and musically. Amongst the pleasure in talking about her children, the benefit of her mother work is extolled. Linda's intensive labour illustrated by her home-schooling, 'babysitting' (a term she used to describe looking after her son while her other children participated in orchestra every Saturday – "Who else is going to babysit him? [Husband] was out doing, you know, studying and whatever"), volunteering at the orchestra, and supervising practice epitomises her as the 'good' mother, by being "the best mother" she can be. As the "maternal gatekeeper" (Miller, 2017a, p. 17 – 18), Linda knows she was the best person for the job. Her children are busy, active and competent and her 'selfish selflessness' is exonerated. Linda actively supports her children's music, finding joy in their achievements. She acknowledges, however, that she finds her children's teenage years more difficult to cope with, allowing her husband to take the lead.

I was not very good when they were teenagers. I'm alright when they're twenties now but teenagers, I left that to [husband]. [He] was better. (laughs)
I think I like the control. (laughs) I think I like knowing exactly what I was going to do, you know.

By being involved in music, Linda could maintain control of her children through their rigid schedule. Linda is ever present, which meant the children are constantly supervised as Ashley explains,

We wouldn't be musicians we are today which is what I think is the reason why she did what she did, but it was very, very difficult like practice, school, practice, homework, every single day. Weekends we had to practice, we had

orchestra, then we had sport on the afternoon and then Sundays we had church. We'd play a bit at church too so from a very young age it was 7 days a week, it was quite intense ... We were very much, not controlled but in a structured kinda household ... I was very much in a bubble my whole life – in a rule book as well – just the parenting ways, which is fine. I respect that. Both mum and dad were brought up with very, very strict faith. Coming from that I can see now why I was brought up the way I was, and I'm gonna learn from that. And there's some positives from that, don't get me wrong, but there some things I will would change to suit my children.

Linda's educational training of her children was based around her notions of sharing God's gifts, as elucidated in the last chapter. Integral to Linda's faith-based morality comes very conservative and essentialist views on the roles of men and women in relationships. Linda cited her love of God coming before that of her husband and children. Her moral obligation to develop her children's musical gifts was paramount to do God's work. In a mixed-method study by Gallagher, Lewis Hall, Anderson and Del Rosario (2013) on the personal strivings of 200 highly educated working Christian mothers, a traditional male breadwinner/female housekeeper model was seen as optimal. Christian mothers who were employed in the labour force expressed an inter-role conflict. In addition to the usual tenets of intensive mothering including time, emotional availability and teaching the correct modes of behaviour, these Christian mothers expressed being a role model in their faith as an important aspect of their mothering with a hope that their children would adopt similar values (Gallagher et al., 2013). The study also suggested that high-level abstract strivings and investments in children were a source of tension for mothers, as these goals were often unattainable, whereas spiritual strivings were a source of empowerment; intensive mothering was perceived as harmful to mothers' well-being. That is, mothers' strivings for ambitious and successful careers for their children or seeking fame and fortune could create unreachable goals and additional (and unnecessary?) work for mothers, taking them away from their caring, nurturing and domestic responsibilities. For these religious mothers, investing in 'God's work' is acceptable yet investing in other activities was not. This paradoxically creates added difficulties for Linda who believes that supporting her children's music, is doing 'God's work'. Further tensions were exemplified in the previous chapter when I showed Linda's ambivalence in relation to her children's instrumental practice where Linda struggled with forcing her children to practice. As a musical mother, Linda knows the benefits of practice and was resolute in her decision. She believes this

to be the ‘right’ choice, because participation in music is all about respectable middle-class values and sharing God’s gift. Linda is developing her children’s musical habitus and stocking up their cultural capital.

When I asked Linda how she coped with the home-schooling, she replied, “I absolutely loved it ... They went back to school, and they were ahead of everybody. They read all the time. It was amazing – and practiced”. Linda suggested one of the values of home-schooling was the way it made her children independent learners, away from the mainstream school environment where there was “a lot of mucking around”. Linda had based her moral judgement on the behaviour of other students at the school, suggesting they were not suitable peers for her children. This is consistent with research of mothers’ school choice-making and judgements around the worthiness of other students (Jamal Al-deen, 2018) and in line with middle-class mothers’ anxieties around finding suitable institutions for their children. Linda’s narrative suggests that her children were not all home-schooled at the same time and she primarily home-schooled the girls, concurring with Cheadle and Amato’s (2011) research that states that girls are more likely to be cultivated than boys. Mothers are often more concerned about their daughters’ moral upbringing and school choices, which reflect traditional gender stereotypes particularly regarding respectability (Jamal Al-deen, 2018). Linda’s daughter, Ashley, stated that her brothers resisted their mother’s insistence on music tuition in their later years, citing wanting to do team sports. This is consistent with Morgan, MacDonald and Pitts’ (2015) research stating that sons were less likely to listen to their mothers’ opinions and conform to mothers’ desires than daughters.

I think my parents definitely were more into the music than the sport. My brothers loved sport but they kinda had to do music more and I think it was only at the very end of high school, maybe my brothers tried to get out of music and do more sport ... My parents did push them [into] more music and academic obviously. They just think of the future and sport’s not gonna get you anywhere ... even though it’s social and it’s more fun ... In some ways I think we did miss out on a lot of the social and doing what we want to do.

Ashley spoke of the freedoms she enjoyed as a young child earlier in her narrative – “we were very much outdoor kids, you know, made cubby houses with cardboard boxes. Very simple life which I absolutely loved. Didn’t have the coolest toys but we always had fun”. However, Ashley’s lack of autonomy became prominent in her narrative in her later childhood years,

“when you’re young and want to go out with your friends to the movies, we weren’t able to do that [because] we had to practice”. Her mother demonstrated a forward, future-oriented plan for their children as becoming adults. Linda home-schooled the girls during the day and worked with the boys in the evening – she had it all scheduled. The labour of the schooling, as part of her mother work, is intensified by the labour involved in scheduling, interwoven with the pressure to make the ‘right’ choices.

There are significant costs and benefits to home-schooling, a school choice which is growing in popularity in Western countries in recent decades (Neuman & Guterman, 2019). Affordances for home-schooling include flexibility in learning to meet varying learning styles and levels of ability, and additional time to practice music. The disadvantages of such schooling approaches include the increased responsibility on the parent having to facilitate the learning program, the minimalisation of free time for that parent and the lack of social opportunities for the children (Lois, 2012; Neuman & Guterman, 2019). This lack of social contact was sharply felt by Ashley, who struggled to readjust to school when she returned for the last years of formal schooling:

Home schooling was really good in some ways but making friends when I came back, I found extremely difficult. It was very [hard] socially adjusting talking to people. I really had just talked to my mum and, and older people. I didn’t know the cool things.

Ashley explained how her social contacts were limited and from a homogenous group. Research suggests that instances of “intergenerational closure”, that is, when parents know the parents of their children’s friends, can substantiate norms and social reproduction. This was so in Ashley’s case due to the adults in a religious community all having a similar commitment to bringing up their children in a similar way (Glanville, Sikkink, & Hernández, 2008; Vincent & Maxwell, 2015). While all mothers want their children to have the best, it was the management of social contacts and lack of autonomy that Ashley struggled with. Ashley illustrates the tensions that occur within families as children begin to develop a sense of who they are which is measured against others. While Ashley’s musical ability is exceptional and highly valued in her close “family-forged” (Atkinson, 2016, p. 99) space, she was ostracised in the wider lifeworld experience where she was positioned as lacking in knowledge of what is locally culturally sanctioned amongst her peers. A sense of community is engendered between like-minded parents, such as those in Ashley’s church group, however it does not necessarily

transfer to wider “networks of sociality” (Vincent & Maxwell, 2015, p. 9). Ashley stated, “I didn’t know the hip-hop”. Although in possession of high cultural capital regarding her musical ability and knowledge of classical forms of music, Ashley lacks the capacity to exchange this capital within her peer group. She acknowledges that she “didn’t know the cool things”. Ashley felt like she didn’t belong with her secondary school peers, each having diverse and fixed tastes which lacked an understanding of the other. When Ashley was offered a place at a Conservatorium to study classical music however, it might have been assumed this was the perfect place for Ashley.

From the beginning, Ashley felt that other students attending the Conservatorium were not like her. Linda had always drawn very strict boundaries around her family so that their social contacts were within the people she found acceptable and like ‘them’. Ashley reports on her experience,

I didn’t know really what I wanted to do except for music and I applied for and auditioned for the Conservatorium of music, and I got in which was kind of amazing and such a surprise and my mum was over the moon and so the next year I travelled back and forth doing my classes and performances. I was so anxious to make new friends. They are very different type of people in my mind. I came in there and ... it was very open to different types of people and the way they wore their clothes, and they spoke, and I got influenced like ... I think that’s the first time I’d kinda witnessed gay people and those type of different opinions and judgements ... It was it was quite a raw thing because I had never been in that world before, but I was very much wanting to fit in as much as I could.

Again, this connects to Ashley’s dislocation with her peers and feeling like a ‘fish out of water’ to use Bourdieu’s analogy. Conservatoriums have students who are the ‘best’ young musicians most of whom will have mothers who have supported their musical journeys and developed their musicianship. These mothers believe they have made the ‘right’ choices as their off-spring have been selected via a rigorous and competitive process. But Linda, despite her initial excitement at Ashley’s success, realised that this mothering decision was not ‘right’,

I did feel like I pushed her into doing the Con, only because she was so good and that was all that I thought – something that she really loved doing but she

really didn't. But that wasn't for her ... just wasn't. All the, I (pause), you know, the, some music students were a little (laughs) different (laughs).

Linda struggled to articulate how she felt about the students at the Conservatorium. As a Christian woman, she did not wish to denigrate those with differing views or values, yet she made it clear that many of the students were not like 'them'. Linda reflects upon being a musical mother and what that means for her children.

You know everyone's got their gifting. We are all here to help each other and you have to find it and I think that's what mothering is. They're different. You know you can't treat each child the same ... but you're there to ... just make them ... give them choices, I think. To find out their identity what they like. You can get it wrong. She's good at music, she must do music. If you're good at music, you don't have to do music. Yeah, that's what I've found.

Linda's slippage between 'make them' to 'give them' shows her intentions for her children and her desire for control. Yet Linda substantiates her point about not 'doing' music (she means as a career) by illustrating her younger daughter's experience. As a highly competent string player, she could have had a career in music, but chose a different path. But music is still there for her as an interest. Linda maintains that music is best as "a wonderful hobby to have at the end". With her younger daughter, she feels, she got it 'right'.

This section focused on how mothers mobilise musical activities as a means of control and surveillance. Music groups provided a means to monitor children's time and assist with social networking with like-minded others. Excessive scrutiny and severe regulation limited children's social friendships sometimes creating difficulties with peer groups and limited children's sense of autonomy and independence. Mothers regulate children's consumption of music (and television, internet usage and leisure activities) to ensure age-appropriateness and censoring against themes considered too sexually explicit, distracting or immoral. Mothers work hard to steer their children along the correct moral path, mobilising participation in certain types of music in which to do this and trying to make the 'right' choices. When decisions do not go the expected way, it was mothers who assumed the blame in the trial and error of musical motherhood.

Developing dispositions of value

Entangled in discourses of ‘good’ mothering is a “recognition of worth ... to be respected or respectable” (Sayer, 2005b, p. 948). This forms part of a self-regulating that occurs in relations with others to gain acceptance which ultimately affects mothers’ well-being (Sayer, 2005b). Mothers who do not adhere to intensive mothering beliefs can be “labelled ‘unfit’ mothers and find themselves and their mothering under public scrutiny and surveillance” (O’Reilly, 2010b, p. 20). Guilt, embarrassment and shame are personal feelings associated with individuals’ perceptions of self-worth and sense of belonging to a community (Ignatow, 2009) and are deeply embedded in mothering practice. Musical mothers are no exception, as I showed in the last chapter through the mothers’ conflicting emotions regarding their children’s practice and in this chapter, through Linda’s decision about Ashley attending the Conservatorium and the mothers’ regulation of their children’s consumption of music. Susan also felt disassociated from her community as a working mother and she felt guilty because she was unable to spend as much time with her children as she would have liked.

Heterosexual marriage has been traditionally perceived as the most respectable institution and appropriate foundation for children to be reared. Skeggs (1997) encompasses femininity as an investment for women, which can accrue profits in the marriage stakes, theoretically providing economic and emotional security. Susan’s experience, as a single mother, illustrates how this is not always the case. Women who rely on their partners’ incomes face financial hardship if the relationship breaks down and they must rely on their own resources to support the family. Susan faced ostracism in her community for being a working mother. However, for some of the women in this study, like Rosemary and Linda, and Sangeeta and Hema, employment was not acceptable after marriage on cultural or moral grounds. Similarly, there is considerable anxiety in career women regarding the best time to have children or whether to have children at all (Miller, 2017a). I show concerns regarding work and mothering in the story of Susan.

Susan had to teach after school – “I was a piano teacher, so I was working ridiculous hours – all the prime times when you should have been spending time with your kids” - and additionally she had to prepare and perform at concerts, competitions and other music related activities as part of her job. It was clear that the demands of her employment were incompatible with the demands of motherhood. Susan continually stressed her adaptable parenting style –

“we were really mixed up in music, and so music automatically destabilises all the timetable” revealing the difficulties in maintaining an established routine with her children. The demands of their musical lives meant allowing for flexibility. This is an important point in her family’s narratives and one that I will expand upon later when discussing the dispositions nurtured and utilised in the future. I have already shown how this type of flexibility and openness to possibilities has been beneficial for Susan earlier in this chapter.

Susan was acutely aware that she did not spend as much time with her children as her stay-at-home-mother peers and several comments in her narrative suggest she is regretful of this. She said, “I was working, and none of my friends were ... they all had stable marriages and families where I was only one parent, worked ... I was often isolated because of that”. Susan felt the brunt of community judgement over her status as a working mother at a time and place where this was not normative. Media reports suggesting negative impacts of working on mothers and children have exacerbated these perceptions (Guendouzi, 2006). Working mothers are often accused of putting their own needs above that of their children, thereby stigmatising them as ‘bad’ mothers (Guendouzi, 2006), despite the necessity of Susan’s actions for her family’s survival. Experiencing guilt in motherhood has almost become a normative experience, with mothers demonised for working, sending their children into care, and putting their own self-interest before the needs of their children (Guendouzi, 2006). This marginalisation often comes from those women and men who are not mothers and who feel they are entitled to judge, “lay(ing) the primary responsibility for child-rearing and the production of “good” future citizens at the feet of women (i.e. mothers) ... [with] little appreciation of the motherwork that mothers do” (Raith, 2015, p. 166). Feelings of guilt were very much in evidence in Susan’s narrative as she spoke of the difficulties in raising her children without the assistance of a partner as indicated by the constant pausing in her speech. Working full-time went against what she thought was morally ‘right’, “I was working a lot and [pause] I think [pause] the kids [pause] would [pause] have suffered [pause] through not having a one on one parenting and lots and lots of attention”. Susan reflects on an alternative,

I wouldn’t have worked. I would just want to be with the kids, all the time because I think that’s really important. In a perfect world, [pause] I firmly believe the parents are the key to children’s education and, if they’re demanding of their children ... encouraging them to articulate, giving them the patience and the time that’s needed to make a child feel valued. I think

my kids missed out on that – a lot – but other friends’ children, of course, got it in spades.

Susan compares herself to the other mothers she perceives in their ‘perfect world’. Using the analogy of a card game, Susan feels she has been dealt a weaker hand compared to her peers, that is those that can give their children the upper hand. She is denied this because she must work. Here, Susan assumes the ‘imperfect mother’ subjectivity, unable to be as intensive in her mothering as she might wish. It is the key to children’s education, Susan believes. The theme of being there for children and its essentialist logic will be explored further in Chapter 6. It is a perception that is deeply entrenched in conceptions of ‘good’ mothering.

Middle-class musical mothers’ working lives are diverse. In contrast to Susan as a working mother is Linda as a stay-at-home mother. While not having to juggle paid employment with child caring and domestic duties, Linda was able to concentrate fully on her children and their needs, including home-schooling them for some years. Here, value is created in respect to caring, as a ‘good’, self-sacrificing mother, displaying respectability “through appearance *and* conduct” (original emphasis, Skeggs, 1997, p. 102). Linda vowed

I just wanted to be the best mother really ... nothing against people wanting to work - that was my career, being a mother. That was a career that I wanted ... I looked after the kids for 17 years and then I thought oh, better find another job.

For women who could not or would not make investments in themselves, investments are directed at their children. Contradictions arise when mothers become too intensive, as in Linda’s example, or too pushy, as in the Asian mothers in Susan’s narrative, categorising mothers as “too-good, good, and not-good-enough” (Raith, 2015, p. 161), positioning mothers in varying groups according to their beliefs and values, reiterating the continuum of intensive mothering.

As part of mothers’ work to develop moral children through musical mothering is the commitment to foster socially valued personal characteristics. This adheres to the work ethic desired under capitalism (Gerrard, 2014) where a positive work ethic is indicative of a life well-lived and a life of value. There exists a notion that those who do not share this philosophy fail to live up to their potential (Weeks, 2011). Therefore, the work ethic becomes a mode of

discrimination and is used to generate imaginings of social mobility and understanding of classed practices (Gerrard, 2014). Respectability informs judgements on mothers and music, and incorporates class, gender, race and sexuality. It speaks to those able to express a moral authority and those who cannot; it has claim to social value (Skeggs, 1997). Formal education in music is understood to develop character traits, such as perseverance, resilience, self-regulation, and confidence (Savage, 2015b; Savage & Hall, 2017). Middle-class mothers aim to nurture these skills which they know, from their own experiences, have value in competitive and insecure job markets and will assist their children to make relationships with others with similar values. Susan provides an example of cultivating a desired disposition, which is then transmitted to her daughter as a way of being. Susan is transferring her middle-class values and traits to Jessica. The benefits of this are two-fold in that they redeem Susan's single motherhood as 'good' and Jessica as a citizen of value, as her story elucidates, claiming their moral worth.

Susan used the word 'demanding' when speaking of her own subjectivity as a teacher and as a desired quality in her daughter's music teachers – firstly her flute teacher, and then her 'cello teacher. Susan expressed a wish for her daughter to be challenged as it would hold her in good stead for the challenges she may face in later life. Susan credited some of Jessica's success to the "demanding" teachers she had:

The demanding flute choir – she was only about six and she was playing with high school kids and keeping up with them very nicely... her flute teacher at the time, was one of the most esteemed flute players and teachers in Australia ... he was as cool as a button but really demanding as a teacher.

I still think [her teacher] was one of the best 'cello teachers ever ... she was very demanding of Jessica, even though Jessica did in about 18 months more than other people do in ten years. I'd go to pick her up and Jessica would be white and [her teacher] would be red! (laughs) ... Yeah, but you know it's good training.

Participation in classical music (re)produces a form of bodily excellence, a disciplined body and "an ethic of correction" (Bull, 2014, p. 3). As Susan said of her own teaching:

By engaging with the kids but by being demanding and being tough as a teacher, I somehow think that that sinks into their minds it comes out in their ... ability to bring up their kids in a certain way.

For Susan, the lessons taught in her private music classes form part of her students' character formation, demanding a certain type of person – one who is committed, resilient and works hard. These values are replicated from her mothering. Susan's merging of engagement and being demanding speaks back to the sensitive mothering of Walkerdine and Lucey (1989) as a strategy of class reproduction (Stefansen & Aarseth, 2011). These notions of restraint and self-regulation, perseverance and resilience-building act as part of the resourcing of the middle-classed self, being able to cope with set-backs, and soldier on with determination which provides "good training" for life ahead (Stefansen & Aarseth, 2011). It "reiterate[s] a moral commitment to personal characteristics that define the work ethic" under neoliberal capitalism (Gerrard, 2014, p. 864). As mothers seek music teachers for their children, it might be assumed that Susan is chosen as a teacher because of her demanding training practices, thereby presenting a juxtaposition between her perceived moral (un)respectability as a working mother and her moral suitability as a teacher of valued dispositions. Susan sees that these dispositions have been developed and passed on in subsequent generations of even the "naughtiest" students she has taught. Learning music is part of the process of self-improvement and the development of personhoods, creating a person of worth (Gerrard, 2014; Skeggs, 2004b; Vincent & Maxwell, 2015). Susan exceeds her role as music teacher to participate in producing emotional capital for her students and generating ways of being that shape classed relations (Skeggs, 2004a). The investment in a suitable teacher is imperative in this domain, as "musical standard is shaped through substantial amounts of investment in molding musical bodies, through the extra-linguistic modes of communication" (Bull, 2014, p. 273).

Susan's labour in producing a demanding work ethic, as a mother and teacher, is evident and recognised in her own daughter Jessica. Susan is performing the 'good' mother and receiving valorisation. It is evidence of mothers' role in social reproduction and (re)creating children of value:

I've got this thing, and it is from my mum, 'cause she was a bit tough and it's don't drop out at the point where it starts to get hard ... it definitely comes from music and I think from her teaching and just from her family ... if you're working towards a goal and at some point, it starts to get difficult, because it's going to ... you don't give up at that stage. Give up when you've plateaued ... like with kids who are prepping for exams and they've chosen to do it and it all seems very nice at the beginning but at that bit where they have to practice every day, and it feels a bit tough and they're a bit tired ...

that's the moment to keep pushing through you know, that's definitely part of my teaching and my approach to music ... and is very present in my kinda parenting as well.

The strategies employed in learning music have been transferred into Jessica's parenting, enabling her to make the 'right' choices and be a 'good' mother. A fifteen-month study by Kooops, Kuebel and Smith (2017) found similar results with a young mother who, as part of their research, began piano tuition. Their participant "identified three principles from her piano lessons that she applied to other areas of her life: 'focus and attention, small and do-able, and quality over quantity'" (p. 209). The young mother, like Jessica, transferred skills she had learnt through her music lessons into her parenting to positive results for herself and her family, and in Jessica's case, her teaching.

Susan's 'emotional training' fits in with other middle-class mothers' expectations and aspirations for their children, which commodifies this affective labour (Adkins, 2005). Emotional training becomes something that can be bought, therefore exchanged as economic capital or "work exchange value" (Adkins, 2005, p. 203). It reiterates Hochschild's (1983) study of flight attendants and debt collectors and the "commercialisation of human feeling" (p. 189) where emotions have exchange-value in the workplace. So-called soft skills, that is emotional competencies, are becoming increasingly more desirable and sought after within workplace environments (see Rivera, 2012). Western government policies have made explicit links between

Social mobility to character, and more specifically to the development of 'soft skills' (hard work, self-control, self-direction and empathy) through formal and informal education, and thus makes clear the distinctions between successful (productive and socially mobile) and failing (unproductive) character traits. (Gerrard, 2014, p. 870)

Employers are also seeking people with similar outside interests as likely to fit in to the workplace and as indicative of their characters (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001; Rivera, 2012). Susan, like Linda, has a "social commitment to labour, and work, [which] is fashioned through a moralism surrounding hard work" (Gerrard, 2014, p. 865) in line with Weber's Protestant work ethic. With the casualisation of the workforce, and the precarity of full-time workplace positions, those with socially valued dispositions are going to be

advantaged over those without such skills. Not only that, Susan and Jessica demonstrate their flexibility in these spaces, and potential to be successful through their cosmopolitanism, but also as life-long learners.

Gerrard's (2014) paper discusses learning ethic, as a form of work ethic and development of a neoliberal subject arguing the emphasis on learning as part of self-improvement has shifted the responsibility of learning from provider to student, so that "*to learn* demonstrates social participation ... [and] represents a performative demonstration of an effort to better oneself and one's social position" (original emphasis, p. 869). There is a moral imperative to learn and improve oneself and accrue value, distancing oneself from others who do not participate in such activities (Skeggs, 2004a). Life-long learning is not only a representation of middle-class struggle for distinction and moral worthiness (Skeggs, 2004a) but a manifestation of consumerist capitalism that perpetuates a dependence on market capitalism for retraining and ongoing formal education (Gerrard, 2014). Studying a musical instrument, fits nicely into this model of capitalism and middle-class morality, as it takes many years of sustained hard work to acquire mastery. Even when proficiency has been achieved, practice and on-going tuition are necessary to maintain expertise as Susan tells,

The frustration is that the pieces that I really like to play are now too hard, so, you have to accept a lesser level ... Well, I just don't have time to practice. There's just not any time for anything. I am a realist – just a realist. So, I enjoy listening to playing. I'm quite happy playing soupy, easy to play stuff. I'm not a musical snob. As much as I love Beethoven, Shostakovich, Prelude 24 out of Book 2 and Fugue – that was probably the ultimate thing I loved playing, but I just can't play it anymore. So, I just accept and enjoy.

The logic of always becoming and never quite being good enough pervades contemporary society, questioning the idea that success always follows hard work and the accrual of value (Gerrard, 2014). While all this eludes to participation in music only for exchange-value, in the next and subsequent chapters I will explore music's use-value which has worth for its aesthetic attributes and meaning-making for the mothers.

Concluding summary

In this chapter I have explored middle-class mothering through music where mothers utilise skills developed through music tuition to be ‘good’ mothers, by reproducing family practices and adhering to dominant discourses of good mothering. Participation in certain forms of music is imbued with respectability with its inherent focus on creating children with discipline, self-restraint and a positive work ethic. Skills learnt through education in and through music forms part of children’s identity-making, inculcating social and cultural capital. Successful transmission of capitals, a privilege of middle-class mothers, affords them a ‘moral superiority’ over mothers without such advantages. Involvement in activities such as music tuition is always ‘interested’, according to Bourdieu, oriented to future economic advantages. Music becomes a mechanism for recognition in middle-class mothers as ‘good’ mothers. Throughout musical habitus formation, children’s involvement in legitimated forms of music acts as a worthwhile and moral activity to create good citizens and social value. Tastes in music display inherent values and are indicative of how identities are negotiated and constructed (Prior, 2013).

Children’s participation in musical activities gives mothers an opportunity to monitor children’s lives, censor their music consumption and direct their social relationships. I argued how mothers work hard, labouring emotionally, to appear respectable by adhering to good mothering logic. For mothers who may have been considered outside this logic, investment is made in their children to add to family capital and moral worthiness, and to mediate feelings of guilt. A paradox emerged when mothers sought ‘working mothers’ as teachers for their children and where these mother-teachers passed on valued dispositions. Within the middle-class, mothers scrutinised the behaviour of their contemporaries and made judgements on the value of their practices. While mothers appeared to be sacrificing their own desires to nurture musical children, they are also mindfully and strategically influencing perceptions of themselves in what I call ‘selfish selflessness’. The mothers made judgements on what was ‘for the likes of us’ creating codes of practice forming family doxa. Friendships with like-minded others formed an ‘intergenerational closure’ regulating social contacts as moral allies. Friendships also become investments in successful futures.

I emphasised the emotional labour involved in nurturing musical children exploring mothers’ efforts to make the ‘right’ choices for their children through music. I examined how

interactions of various fields intersect with the fields of motherhood and music to influence mothers' judgements on what makes worthy children and subsequently maintaining the appearance of 'good' mothering. Again, I emphasised how mothers' practices are influenced by social expectations, and neoliberal and capitalist beliefs pertaining to continual self-improvement, and competitive individualism.

In the next section, I begin to explore why having a musical habitus is so important to the mothers in this study. Moving beyond investments for extrinsic gains, I start to investigate the emotional side of musical mothering to uncover the reasons for mothers' intense involvement in the pursuit of music for their children, what it means for these women and how it influences their mothering practices.

Developing musically

Standing on a wooden stage at the front of another prep class, I stood with my peers to sing a rendition of ‘Twinkle twinkle little star’. I was positioned somewhere near the back, as I recall. We sang as five-year-olds do, some with unconscious and joyous abandonment and others with more reserve. I must have been the former. At the end of the song, the class teacher summoned me forward and asked me if I would sing it again, by myself this time, in front of the other class. Moving forward, I did as she asked. A teacher in my early years identified me as a ‘singer’ before I was aware I was one.

I love singing and always have done. My family was not involved in anything musical except to listen to their preferred music on the radio and sing along to the football theme tunes that were played during the season. My father was an outstanding whistler and on weekends, I could hear his warbling tones drift from the shed as he whistled while he worked. He liked listening to those easy classics – refashioned classical tunes that can be referred to as muzak. My parents also liked rock’n’roll to which they performed their standard dance and they enjoyed the crooners of their day such as Sinatra and Elvis. Their tastes never strayed far from the mainstream. I recall watching the final concert of The Seekers with my family when I was only five or six years of age. It was televised in black and white from London in 1968. I remember my mother crying as they sang “The Carnival is Over” when they broke up and decided to stop performing as a group. I can vividly recall those lyrics in my head from fifty years ago. This song still brings my mother to tears to this very day.

As a child, I used to go to church with my maternal grandparents when I stayed at their house in the country most school holidays. My grandmother was a bit of a singer. Her voice was low and mellow. She was a contralto. She would sing a harmony line during the hymns, resonating out amongst the very small congregation. Similarly, at home, my brother and I had to attend Sunday school. I recall that singing the hymns was the most enjoyable part for me, particularly when a couple of the older members brought in their guitars to accompany us.

At primary school, our class had a weekly lesson of music via the ABC radio broadcasts which became my favourite session of the week. I still remember many of the rich repertoire of songs from those sessions. My best friend at school was studying the piano and

I envied her ability to play. On the rare occasions I was allowed to visit her house, she would play, and we would sing. Our families were very different. She went to lessons – piano, Brownies,¹¹ Greek school, and I did not. Her mother drove her children to and from school each day, whereas I had to walk the twenty-minute route with my brother. Despite asking my parents if I could learn the piano, I was not given that opportunity. Both my parents were afforded lessons when they were children, but neither continued and they assumed that I would not practice, perhaps as they had not. My mother tells a story of getting so frustrated practicing on one occasion that she bit the piano keys off the piano! I eventually learnt the guitar from a local university student but that was short-lived. He gave me enough tuition to give me the basics which has served me well over the years.

My mother always found me a little challenging. Even as a young child, I talked too much and asked too many questions. Consequently, I often spent time with my grandparents or with childless friends of my mother's, who would take me out and introduce me to new things. One such family friend introduced me to the opera and would take me to tea. She would speak French with me to complement my school studies. She went to the ballet, visited art galleries and read books.

It was in secondary school that my musical ambitions really began to develop. In the early years of high school, when I was about twelve, in English classes my classmates and I would often learn and perform plays. One term we had a student teacher for English and drama and we asked if we could put on a musical – 'Joseph and his Technicolour Dreamcoat'. She agreed. I played the role of Joseph. There was only one boy in the production and the rest were girls from the class. The students and parents made the basic sets and costumes (my mother making the famous coloured coat which is still in her wardrobe at my childhood home), we borrowed professional lighting from a father who worked at a local television station and we performed our production for two nights – without accompaniment – to full houses in the school hall. At the end of the 'season' the student teacher spoke to my mother and suggested I should have formal singing lessons as she felt I had a voice worth cultivating.

Singing lessons were not followed up. Fortuitously, I moved to another secondary school (as the other school was a feeder school), an academic school with a well-established

¹¹ 'Brownies' was the section of the Girl Guide movement that was for younger girls. For further information, see www.girlguides.org.au

and highly regarded music program. I began singing in small group lessons, which were heavily subsidised, and joined the school choir and a capella madrigal groups at the school. As the years went on, I joined more singing ensembles and had individual lessons, all of which were instigated by me but encouraged by teachers and fellow students at the school. I studied voice in my final year of school.

After secondary school, I continued with my singing lessons, self-funded now, and joined a local amateur musical theatre group. I started in the chorus, but soon was given small roles. I joined other groups and played leading roles in operettas mainly. My parents did not encourage my musical pursuits believing those involved in the theatre to be 'false' and prone to bad behaviour. My mother believed the tales written in women's magazines of unstable relationships and unsavoury lifestyles of famous musicians. According to my parents, a career in music was never a sound investment; the work was unreliable and very few 'made it'. At the teacher's college where I was studying early childhood education, my musical skills were nurtured by a lecturer who happened to conduct the state youth orchestra. After college, I was singing regularly in musical theatre at night while teaching during the days – a crazy busy schedule but one I loved. My parents would come to see the shows I was in each season yet never directly commented on my performance. I wanted their approval and affirmation of my work, but it was never made explicitly. It was from others that I received recognition for my singing – through grandparents, family friends and friends – yet these people have told me how my parents were always very proud of my achievements.

I yearned to sing professionally, so after some years, I decided to travel to London to realise my dream. I was given some contacts for singing teachers and found a teacher locally. A retired professional singer, she was to become a mentor and dear friend. After being in London for some months, and auditioning for a variety of productions, I auditioned for a small company and got my first break in a pantomime travelling around South Wales. After this, I went to open auditions and got more work in established repertory theatre and touring in professional companies. It was some of the most exciting and exhilarating times in my life, performing music and getting paid for it; it didn't seem like work at all. However, work was not always forthcoming. I went back to supply teaching to pay the bills.

My early musical nurturance was a combination of influences. Had it not been for 'non-parental others' (Atkinson, 2016) nurturing my musical interests then my life would have taken a completely different trajectory. Although I was self-driven, the affirmation and encouragement from significant others supporting my development, enabled my musical journey as I would not have known about the avenues I could pursue in this field. I am indebted to these people for their guidance, encouragement and generosity of time.

Chapter Six – Highlighting the emotional labour of musical motherhood

It might be argued that mothering is a very pleasurable activity and we are making it sound totally oppressive. We certainly agree that such pleasure is crucial and yet we would also argue ... that such pleasure is also produced and regulated – correct and incorrect, normal and abnormal – and cannot be seen as given.

- Walkerdine & Lucey, 1989, p. 30 – 33.

Introduction

Thus far I have only presented part of the story of musical mothering. The focus on this chapter is on the emotional labour within the women's mothering practices. The work that goes into musical motherhood is not only about being seen as a 'good' mother, it has tangible effects on mothers' emotional lives. This involves another form of labour, albeit related, for these women. Moving away from music education as an investment in economic futures as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, I acknowledge the immense amount of emotional labour mothers do to facilitate children's musical selves and I consider the affective dimensions of such investments. Firstly, I look at the notion of 'being there' for their children as an emotional and moral obligation mothers feel. 'Being there' is often a euphemism for staying at home and being physically present if a child should 'need' them, as a construct of 'good' mothering logic and the gendered essentialism attached to motherhood (Adkins, 2002; Boyd, 2002; O'Reilly, 2016). This concept is examined as a gendered practice that continues to be dominant in our society (Miller, 2017a). The women's narratives show they are the ones responsible for the care work of their children. I explore the ramifications for mothers trying to maintain a work/life balance and being there for their children, particularly when they have musical children or are trying to maintain musical lives themselves. Secondly, I focus on the narrative of Jessica to show how she reconciles her work as a professional musician and mother. I show the demands this has on her emotionally and physically, to be primed for performance both in a musical sense and as a mother. And finally, in this chapter, I highlight how mothers utilise music as part of their mothering and care work. I show how music listening and participation becomes a tool to cope

with the everyday challenges of mothering. Music itself takes on a mothering role as a resource for mothers to assist with their emotional care work.

Previously in this thesis I have utilised the terms emotional capital and emotional labour. Before moving on, it is timely to define what is meant by these terms which are conceptually quite different. Allatt (1993) labels emotional capital as the “emotionally valued assets and skills, love and affection, expenditure of time, attention, care and concern” (p. 143). In many families, this resource is built up over generations (Reay, 2004; Ward & McMurray, 2016). It is a process of becoming that is contextually dependant and accumulates over time, congruent with habitus and its interaction with field, it shapes the trajectories of individuals’ lives (Ward & McMurray, 2016). Emotional labour, as in Hochschild’s (1983) study, refers to the work agents do to moderate their own behaviour, which serves in turn to mediate the behaviour of others. For mothers, emotional labour is based on caring for others, looking after family members within the home environment to include care and domestic duties. Apart from the thinking work mothers do as part of musical mothering, emotional labour is also concerned with the management of feelings. For musical mothers this may be mediating anxieties around performance, developing persistence and resilience, helping to cope with disappointment and anxiety in their children, in concert with managing these feelings within themselves. Emotional labour describes the suppression or regulation of feelings to project a particular state of mind and behaviour to others (Zembylas, 2007). As Bourdieu (1998) states, “this work falls more particularly to women, who are responsible for maintaining relationships” (p. 68). Emotional labour can be used and purchased by others, yet emotional capital is “an asset that derives from personal abilities, connections and investments in and from the self” that has a use-value and exchange-value in some markets (Silva, 2007, p. 115) as I showed before when discussing the soft-skills desired by some workplaces.

In the first two sections of this chapter, I will be deploying the term emotional labour as the work mothers do in mediating the emotions of family members whilst moderating their own. This labour encompasses the thinking and emotional work which is integral to the decision-making and family mediation that is part of musical mothering. Mothers’ emotional labour is intersected with family expectations, and broader cultural and societal demands impacting mothers’ well-being and sense of self, which is exacerbated when children and mothers are involved in music. Later, in the final section of this chapter, I discuss emotional capital to show how the dispositions developed through engagement with music assist the women with the challenges of motherhood.

Being there for children: time, music and paid employment

In the previous chapters, I have shown the enormous amount of energy and time some mothers employ to develop their children's musical selves. Child-rearing is a complex task of care work, educational and emotional labour in which to meet children's basic needs (Reay, 2004). 'Being there' is a concept at the forefront of the mothers' childrearing logic which is directly linked to 'good' mothering ideology. Mothers' increased engagement in the workforce has not equated to fathers' increased participation in domestic duties, including child care (Miller, 2017a). Mothers remain the primary caregivers and managers of the home space, where mothers assumed "moral responsibility" (Miller, 2017a, p. 36), meaning to cater to children's needs constantly, and where not being there equates with "neglect" and selfishness (Miller, 2017a, p. 90 – 91).

Mothers invest in music to accumulate cultural capital for their families to improve their chances of success in the educational and workplace markets, developing skills and dispositions that are valued in these spaces. However, it is in the family space that children's potentials lie, and it is with the mother that the responsibilities to nurture these most often fall (Reay, 2004). Bourdieu (1986) acknowledges that it is mothers and their use of time that is key to developing cultural capital,

It is because the cultural capital that is effectively transmitted within the family itself depends not only on the quantity of cultural capital, itself accumulated by spending time, that the domestic group possess, but also on the usable time (particularly in the form of mother's free time) available to it. (p. 253)

Music does need time – time to play, time to practice, time to enjoy. When participating in formal music tuition, mothers make sure children have all the necessary equipment – music, uniform, instrument – at each musical event. The best available music teachers and instruments are researched and sourced (Lareau, 2003). Family lives are rearranged so that mealtimes and other mundane family activities are fitted around musical engagements. Music lessons, rehearsals and concerts are often out of school hours. Mothers must be free to transport their children to these events, which can consume vast amounts of time, particularly if events are held far from the family home. Orchestral rehearsals are often on weekends, taking up hours

that might be used for families to catch up on domestic chores or other family activities (Miller, 2017a). Involvement in music takes a great deal of time management and organisation. Often, the pursuit of formal music creates tensions within the fields of employment and family life for the women in this study. Unlike other extra-curricular pursuits, musicking often takes place in the home as integral to everyday family life. Participation in music tuition also penetrates the domestic space where practice occurs. In this respect, mothering through music is potentially more intensive than other extra-curricular pursuits because of the temporal and spatial fluidity that can permeate all areas of family life. For example, music can be performed in the car (Koops, 2014) and at the dinner table (Savage, 2015b). Some mothers in this study worked full-time, while others worked more flexible hours, and others decided not to work at all. This section explores how mothers make time for music with and for their children, finding a balance between work and family commitments. I look at the constraints on mothers influencing their decisions regarding employment, showing how mothers narrate their care work, paid work and musical mothering. I begin with Linda, as a stay-at-home mother, whose decision not to take up paid employment was influenced by how she was mothered, and her strong religious beliefs where traditional gender roles prevail.

In the previous chapter I demonstrated how Linda supports her children's musical practice by being there for them. For Linda it was also a time to be together – her children would be playing their instruments and Linda would be there listening, enjoying, and doing her work, “I just felt like they had the soul when they played. It was something you just felt really emotional when they played”. Linda suggests that her encouragement and physical presence during her children's practice was mutually satisfying, and emotionally nourishing for them all. Being there for them also meant that they were there for her. Being there for them is a gendered responsibility that resonates with all classes of mothers; this care work is part of the emotional labour of motherhood. Emotional capital is thus accrued in the children or deployed intergenerationally as a family resource.

Emotions are threads that are woven into the fabric of everyday life and in families, it is mothers who most often manage and moderate these human feelings as part of their care work (O'Brien, 2008; Reay, 1998, 2004; Vincent, 2000). Mothers make investments in their children's well-being, from building character traits to seeking opportunities to standing up for them in situations where they may be marginalised (Atkinson, 2016; Gillies, 2006). Linda had made a conscious decision not to mother like she had been mothered. She wanted to ‘be there’ for her children. Linda has three siblings and they all attended boarding schools throughout

their childhoods due to the nature of their parents' missionary work throughout Asia. Her parents' childhoods were also similar with her mother attending boarding school in Asia and her father being brought up by a nanny. The international boarding schools where the children attended offered a variety of extra-curricular programs and for Linda and her siblings, music was a preferred activity as music had been a constant thread throughout life with their parents. When the family moved to Taiwan, Linda's parents could only afford for one of the children to continue piano lessons and Linda missed out, a decision she still mourns. Linda did, however, learn violin and flute at school. After leaving school, Linda trained as a nurse, and later married at twenty-eight, and had her first child when she was thirty, the first of four. Linda's upbringing influenced how she wanted to mother:

Because of my background I was very, very protective I think, and I had to kind of hold back because I didn't have my parents around for all, all of my younger years ... they were there, they loved us and I knew that, but I had nobody to talk to ... to tell me what to do ... reprimand me when I needed it (laughs) so I, I think, motherhood ... I'm gonna stay in one spot and I'm gonna love my kids, not that my parents didn't ...

There are contradictions within Linda's narrative around how she was mothered. While she says in her story that her parents were 'there', they were not always physically present as they only saw their children in the long school holidays. Linda told me how some of her contemporaries were very bitter about being brought up in a boarding school, reiterating Linda's feelings of isolation and loneliness, yet she mentioned several times that her mother was "the best mother in the world. If you put it into context, she did the best job". Linda was torn because she knew her parents were doing 'God's work', something she valued highly as part of her deeply religious upbringing and yet she was also critical of their parenting choices, not wanting her children to experience not having their mother there for them. For Linda, being there meant being physically present, to talk to and "reprimand" her children, to give them "aspirations", "opportunities" and "probably a good education (laughs) that was a bit more consistent than mine". Without Linda's constant presence and meticulous organisation of her children's lives, her children might not have become the "musicians they are today", as reported her daughter Ashley. While the gains achieved through such maternal practice are manifest in musical profits, the cost to Ashley's emotional well-being and her relationship with her mother and music has also been challenging.

But Linda's daughter Ashley, does not share her mother's views on working and motherhood. Ashley stated, "I kinda thought when I was pregnant my life is over, like that's it, I'm just going to be a mother for the rest of my life". Linda had made it clear to her that once women had children, they shouldn't go back to work which is consistent with her religious values and traditional views on the family. Linda believes Ashley will miss out on her son's development by not being there. In the previous chapter I showed how Linda enjoyed organising her children's schedules and teaching them (even prior to their home-schooling), "I did love teaching. I mean you have to be a teacher when you're a mother ... I wasn't very good at it, but I did love seeing the outcomes" and so a notion of 'missing out when you are not there' seemed prevalent in Linda's thinking. Principally, Linda's position is her concern over who is going to pass on the family's musical and religious values if Ashley is going to work? Who will reinvest the family cultural capital? While being there has become synonymous with the "'mental work' and '24/7 thinking responsibility' taken on (mostly) by mothers" with "moral associations with 'good' and intensified parenting" (Miller, 2017a, p. 100-101), not being there becomes aligned with perceptions of 'bad' mothering, selfishness (Adkins, 2002) and children who are undisciplined. Although Ashley is home at the moment with her young son, she is actively looking for work. Ashley is excited to get back into nursing – a job she enjoys. She does not wish to be "just a mother" suggesting that there is more to life, including time for herself to do what she wants, rather than spend all her time with her children. Aarshia, however, also iterates the importance of being there for her daughter yet negotiates her perceived mothering responsibilities in a different way.

Aarshia is a married mother with a six-year-old child. She has similar lifestyle circumstances as her mother, Sangeeta, once did, living in a new country with a husband who works away for months on end. However, Aarshia enjoys freedoms that her mother was denied, living as a young mother in India in the 1980s. Living in Australia, Aarshia has found child care costs too expensive for her family's limited budget, so Aarshia, Sangeeta and Aarshia's mother-in-law, Hema, devised a solution to assist Aarshia with her caring responsibilities. Both Sangeeta and Hema visit for three months at a time in rotation to assist with child care and domestic duties while Aarshia is completing her post-graduate study. Initially they suggested that Aarshia's daughter could stay with them in India, but Aarshia was not keen on this, as she explains:

There were phases that my dad was not there, and I know that (my daughter's) dad is not going to be there because he's sailing, and my point

was my mum was always there ... My anchor was my mum ... what will happen to the kid if she doesn't have an anchor? So, I want to be with her always as a support ... I had an irrational fear ... that I felt that if I leave her in India, she will not want to come back to me, she will want to stay with them.

Like Linda, being there for her daughter has also become her daughter being there for her mother. It is a cycle of affective recognition that I explore further in the next chapter. Aarshia acknowledges her "irrational fear" but it is clearly significant to her and has impacted her mothering choices. Hema, Aarshia's mother-in-law, explained the value of having different people mothering Aarshia's daughter and the importance of being there for children:

Practically we can give her some knowledge, this is good for you, this is bad for you ... whatever she take from the school or from the other side, we can polish her ... we [give] her suggestion, day by day, this will give her right to good way ... Aarshia has her own way and her mother has her own way because we all have our own way ... we just suggest and this depends on Aarshia ... the last decision must be for her.

Hema uses the analogy of 'polishing' in which all the mothers in the family polish a little, day by day, to create the personhood of Aarshia's daughter, her grand-daughter. The intergenerational concerted cultivation and capital accumulation of the women's domestic labour is evidenced in this example. The grandchild is a rough diamond being polished by the mothers of two generations, to become a brilliant gem. Given the constraints on Aarshia's time, these women have developed a workable strategy for being there for Aarshia and her young daughter. The grandmothers continue to be there for Aarshia, demonstrating the enduring commitment of motherhood even when children are adults and mothers themselves.

Being there for children is further complicated by issues around study, casual work, and working from the domestic space in businesses, such as home-based teaching like Susan and Jessica do. Susan brought up her children by herself after her divorce from her husband. Susan expressed guilt at not being there for the children all the time, "I think – the kids – would – have suffered – through not having a one on one parenting and lots and lots of attention, but I said to them they've grown up beautifully". Her faltering words belie the emotion behind them. She continued,

I wouldn't have worked. I would just want to be with the kids, all the time because I think that's really important. In a perfect world ... giving them the patience and the time that's needed to make a child feel valued and able to communicate whatever they're thinking or they're feeling, how they're approaching their school or their friends.

Susan concurs with earlier statements from Linda, that being there for your children is of prime importance, but this was not possible for Susan who had to work. Not only was having to work a constraint but bringing up children in a place where two-parent families predominated, where she was unpartnered and her children did not always have their father present, added further emotional stress on Susan and her family. Articulating the emotional work mothers do – teaching, giving patience, making children feel valued, listening – Susan believes children need attention. In addition to her feelings of guilt in not being able to give her children her full attention, Susan felt “isolated” from her peers who were mostly stay-at-home mothers and burdened with the responsibilities of work. There were issues between the families, as often occurs with separated partners. In a less than perfect world, Susan's time was stretched, and she relied on the support of babysitters. She spoke of how she went “with the flow”. This seemingly casual logic masks the intensity of Susan's pedagogical labour, her strong work ethic and utilisation of cultural capital as seen in earlier chapters. Her counternarrative expresses how she wanted to be there for her children, however her guilt in not always being there is absolved by her assertion that they have grown up beautifully. By this she means they are children of value living fruitful lives, thereby freeing Susan and restoring her self-worth. Her efforts to accommodate Jessica's wish to play the ‘cello professionally demonstrate that Susan was able to successfully negotiate being there for her children and paid employment. However, through Penelope, I show how paid work is compromised in order to continue a career in music.

Penelope's decision to work casually came before her decision to be a mother. Her paid work over the years was an eclectic mix of travel, playing in bands and other casual jobs until she qualified to be a primary teacher at 30. Penelope's commitment to music, by playing in bands, was prioritised over working full-time in permanent contracted work teaching, as she explains:

The year I started teaching, you had to put your name down to say you'd be available to go all over the state and I didn't want to, because I wanted to

have fun in this band ... We had two break-off bands at the side with two members doing a few solo projects ... As a result, I only ever did contract work ... supply teaching ... for the last twenty years ... 'cause I prefer it and what I've done ... I didn't want to move away from the band and then I got married and had my daughter.

The rules regarding Government teaching contracts in Australia, where it is highly recommended for teachers to take a contract in a rural school – otherwise known as ‘country service’ – has influenced her teaching career. Penelope continues casual teaching as her main employment, which enables her to continue her musical interests and gives her time to meet the needs of her child. Here Penelope defies ‘good mothering logic’ by doing what she wants and putting her own needs first. There are compromises, however, to foregoing full-time work and in being there for your children as the maternal pay gap or ‘mother penalty’ shows (Manne, 2018; Miller, 2017a; Stone, 2007). Women are penalised financially by staying at home with children, by having less superannuation from taking time out to have children and seek part-time or flexible hours and are therefore paid lower salaries (Manne, 2018). Employers are less likely to hire women with children as they assume children will impact on the mothers’ work performance (Manne, 2018). Yet Penelope has chosen casual paid work over a full-time position. Penelope’s choice means that she can spend more time with her daughter, including helping in the classroom, “I used to go in once a term when she was in prep, once a term in grade one, once a term in grade two, grade three not so much”, and play music with the bands. Yet this does not negate the full-time unpaid emotional labour of looking after her family or compensate for her financial reliance on her partner. The expectations of being there still lie predominantly with women (Adkins, 2002; Miller, 2017a).

Thus far I have shown how mothers in this study have negotiated their own work/life balance. Over the past three chapters I have shown how developing musical children takes time and significant effort, with some mothers making compromises to their paid employment to facilitate their perceived mothering responsibilities. The theme of ‘being there’ was prevalent amongst the women’s narratives as a moral imperative and woven into their ‘good’ mothering logic.

Negotiating a musician's life with motherhood

In this section, I examine how negotiating a work/life balance is further complicated when the mother is a professional musician, through the story of Jessica. Although many of the issues are the same for all working mothers, there are additional constraints, including the vast amount of emotional labour expended as embodied labour, as musician and mother, as I will elucidate. Jessica – as a mother and professional musician – prefers the freedom to work when she pleases rather than feel obliged to work within a system:

I much prefer my hippie folk music learning, upbringing. My experience was very much driven by me and my own interests and I never felt like I needed to play music that I didn't want to play ... I had complete control ... I always had this sense that I could ... make my own artistic choices.

Here Jessica misrecognises the concerted cultivation of her musicality suggesting that because her musical training was less formal and rigid than other approaches, it was agentic and more creative. Jessica's employment is an eclectic mix of teaching, performing and studying. This adheres to her desire for self-direction and flexibility in paid work but brings with it compromises, particularly regarding time and money. The hours vary and can be antisocial, with her part-time jobs arranged around the social lives of those she entertains. Many qualified musicians have "portfolio careers", which describes a range of diverse activities, paid and unpaid work, consisting largely of freelance and part-time engagements (Bartleet et al., 2012, p. 35). While Jessica prefers a less-structured work situation where she has "complete control", her story as a working mother illustrates how motherhood makes "complete control" impossible.

The demands of motherhood for Jessica mean that she organises her time in a more structured way and spends less time with her partner to accommodate work and child care arrangements. Initially, Jessica was ambivalent about becoming a mother because of her precarious work situation:

To be a parent with absolutely no work stability whatsoever – and I still don't – I mean, who knows, if I hurt my hand, or if I piss somebody off, you don't know what's going to happen around the corner ... money was a part of it.

Jessica spoke of her feelings in not being prepared for motherhood – “I wasn’t quite ready mentally, or I don’t know, I was just finding it a daunting idea”. And in another comment, “I didn’t really fully appreciate that something could be the most wonderful thing and the most amount of hard work at the same time ... (laughs)”. Jessica is fortunate to be supported financially by her partner who often works in well-paid positions yet she, too, has recently taken on contract work,

We [Jessica and partner] were having a really nice time on less money actually, ‘cause we’ve loved time as a family and were not so bothered if we’re only earning 80 grand¹² – that’s fine, we’ll survive on that – keep everything simple and have a bit of time together. So that’s sort of what we’re working on at the moment, trying to engineer a situation where we’re pretty stable in what we’re earning, we know what’s going to happen year to year.

Although Jessica seems philosophical regarding her family income here, in other sections of her narrative she mentions the difficulties she feels combining her parenting and employment. She mentions the emotional wrangling in trying to “engineer a situation” where their family income remains stable, so they can plan ahead, while negotiating time to be together, emphasising the difficult choices women make in finding a work/family balance. Mothers’ emotional labour in navigating the family’s needs, in maintaining a reasonable income, concerted cultivating children’s lives and wrangling situations where relationships are nurtured means that life is extremely stressful. The continual emotional labour expended comes at the cost of mothers’ well-being.

Jessica talked a lot about stress in her interview. The constant need to make money to support the family became more prevalent once her daughter was on the scene. Her ability to “control” her work was compromised as she felt obliged to support the family income. When I met up with Jessica, she was working in the orchestra for a professional musical theatre production that had a season at the city’s arts centre. Typically, musicians are employed for eight shows per week. “I’m really enjoying it actually. I’m still not sick of it ... it’s not killing me like I thought it would”, suggesting this type of work is not her chosen genre. Jessica also works from home, teaching ‘cello, to supplement her income,

¹² \$83,000AUD represents the average annual wage in Australia in November, 2018. Retrieved from <https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mf/6302.0> on 14 March 2019.

I teach at home and so, [daughter and partner] often get home from work and child care right at the end of that lesson so I'll still be finishing off the lesson and they'll be coming through the door in our tiny flat. So, she [daughter] comes in and sits at my feet and watches ...

Living in a 'tiny flat' makes it difficult to find space for private lessons and to hire space is costly. Teaching at home has financial benefits. For her daughter, seeing her mother teaching music in the home space is normal; learning music is what people do. Boyd (2002) suggests that being there extends beyond the work/home dichotomy and is complicated by the multiple roles mothers may have. Boyd (2002) explains,

A mother at home may do some part-time work (and still define herself as a mother at home, i.e. one who does not work...). Mothers who work are also mothers at home when they are not doing paid work and crucially, mothers do not cease to be mothers, or necessarily cease to do mothering work while "at work". (p. 465)

At these times, Jessica is physically there, but during the time she is teaching, is not attentionally 'there' for her daughter, or cannot appear to be. This is not unlike many working mothers, who bring work home, intensifying the stress and emotional labour to juggle work and home commitments simultaneously (Rose, 2017). Thus, working from home makes the space between work life and home life messy and further complicates the relationship between mothering and music.

Working in the field of music can be pressured. Jessica makes a conscious effort not to always equate work with stress, and as her work is in music, not to therefore equate music with stress. Jessica speaks of being there for her daughter, finding time to "make space for her" within her busy life, which resonates with many working women,

It's not the parenting itself, it's trying to make space for her and trying to provide for everybody, remain even and calm when I'm really stressed about work. Just trying to keep it chilled so I don't put all my worries in everybody in the household – that kinda stuff ... takes a lot of energy to rein it in ... She sees me walking out the door with my face like freaking out if I've got a difficult concert, I do feel stressed ... "Mumma, where are you going?" "I've

got to go and do a concert, but I'll be back in a minute". And I think that has an impact on her perception of what music is.

Jessica emphasises the mental work involved in mothering and reiterates the difficulties in being able to accommodate everyone's needs, including her own. This made me consider the double impact upon musician mothers who not only feel they have to maintain a bodily aesthetic appropriate for respectable middle-class mothering, but also a body physically capable and primed for musical performance. For mothers who are musicians themselves, maintaining their musical body is sometimes difficult with the responsibilities of mothering. The internal and embodied work to mediate the self takes effort and continual monitoring. It can be exhausting, as Jessica shows.

Bourdieu (2000) expresses his ideas on embodied knowledge for musicians as beyond the habitus. He writes "universes ... such as ... music ... demand a practical engagement of the body and therefore mobilisation of the corporeal 'intelligence' capable of transforming, even inverting, the ordinary hierarchies" (p. 144). This suggests that musicians develop a bodily knowledge *par excellence*. Like professional athletes, professional musicians must maintain their body in peak condition, physically and mentally (Williamon & Thompson, 2006). Musicians develop an acute sensitivity to those bodily areas used in the making of their music and their bodies are finely tuned to recognise any deviation from an optimal position (Williamon & Thompson, 2006). Common medical complaints include muscle fatigue due to incorrect posture, over-practising, and poor level of fitness, as well as having to carry heavy instruments and working long hours (Williamon & Thompson, 2006). This could also be true for many workers who are employed as labourers and those who use their physical bodies as part of their work.

Additionally, however, musicians must employ "skilled embodied labour in performance" (Pettinger, 2015, p. 283), which enhances the aesthetic experience (Hennion, 2002). Their "body labour involves anticipation, understanding, awareness of the self and others; it is sensory, aesthetic and affective as it engages with objects and human others" (Pettinger, 2015, p. 284). Pettinger's (2015) work discusses the toll of sustained music work on bodies, particularly in performance. Musicians perform "work intended to produce or modify people's emotional experiences" (Hofman, 2015, p. 31). There are differences in types of performance. In live performances, the musician is in view of the audience and is obligated to visibly portray the emotion of the music they are playing through their bodies and their

instrument (Hofman, 2015). This is not unlike mothers who need to keep up appearances to maintain a calm and happy family life ameliorating the emotions of others while regulating their own. In this sense, Hofman's conceptualisation equates with my understanding of the emotional labour in mothering, particularly in regard to mediating the emotions of others.

Mothers embody labour – that is integral to what mothering is – and yet this emotion work is rendered invisible in our society (Gillies, 2006). Jessica acknowledges the relentless labour of mothering yet spoke of how becoming a mother has made her more resourceful and focused:

It's changed my focus, definitely not much more focused on myself, focused on family – much healthier for me. It's lovely and at the same time it's shrunk the amount of time that I have ... to work on my own things ... and when you don't have much time, you use it really well.

Jessica demonstrates her resilience and her ability to see a positive side to the diminished amount of time she now has for herself. Jessica comments that being there for her family has made her more organised and less self-absorbed. Having limited time to be immersed in one's own creativity is a constraint on artistic women who become mothers, although conversely, some musician mothers stated that having children has made them more creative (Power, 2015). The pressure to be productive in the time that is free can be immense (Power, 2015; Rose, 2017), yet Jessica maintains she makes good use of this available time. This is part of Jessica's emotional training passed down from her mother, Susan, as illustrated earlier. Jessica's irregular working hours can prove beneficial when her daughter is at pre-school during the day as she has time to practice and work on her own creative projects which might be more restricted if she were to assume nine-to-five employment.

Jessica continued to explain how her everyday mothering works and how she and her partner negotiate the daily routine, in which they share the care work, but have little time for each other. Antisocial work schedules are detrimental to work/life balance as they increase individual stress levels (Rose, 2017). Jessica also travels for work at times, which adds tension to their family relationships,

When I was overseas for five weeks last year... [daughter] was still only three ... it was great for me professionally and personally ... I really missed them, and it had a huge impact on [my partner] at the time and on [my

daughter] ... she was really clingy a long time after that and it really did affect us ... the nature of my work sort of means that I miss out on lots of stuff.

For professional musicians, teaching and working in locally based ensembles are considered the most family-friendly occupations, while touring and working away the least suitable for family relationships (Teague & Smith, 2015). Jessica explains the ramifications that working away has on her family life which has an emotional toll on them all. I asked Jessica if she thought motherhood had changed her as a person, and she replied,

I'm much more resourceful and just ... [a] bit stronger in those moments of being frustrated and tired and you feel like you're at the end of your tether, but you need to keep it together because not about you, it's about someone else ... I think that's good.

Jessica explains the emotional labour of motherhood concisely. Rather than being deterministic, the habitus reacts to the environment, to social expectations of mothers, to behave in ways that are revealed and fulfilled only in appropriate circumstances and in the relationship with a situation" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 149). Therefore, the habitus is generative when it adapts to certain situations as defined by the needs of the field.

According to Bourdieu, embodiment goes beyond visible physicality to a doxic inculcation. Embodied labour, as the physical manifestation of emotional labour, becomes part of Bourdieu's concept of bodily hexis, expressed as ways of being through bodily function (Bourdieu, 1977). Bourdieu argues that bodily hexis is imbued with a "whole system of techniques and tools and charged with a host of social meanings and values" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 87), which includes postures, gestures, gait and all manner of ways of being. Being controlled, restrained, independent and self-reliant are embodiments of the middle-classed self. Displays of emotion are also entangled in this conception. Embodied inculcation is how gender is learnt and/or critiqued, how habitus is formed and maintained. The pressure for mothers is then to embody the dispositions they value and to regulate their own emotions to maintain domestic stability and harmony. This may appear straightforward, but as the habitus is largely unconscious, critical reflexivity is crucial but often elusive. Jessica's habitus reveals her middle-class, durable self, as she remains philosophical,

We've [Jessica and partner] kind of been having little general conversations about our values and education and thinking what's important to us, and my

thing is very much that that little bit of resilience in moments of difficulty, 'cause I think if you have that, if you're patient with yourself and you're kind to yourself when you're learning, you're gonna get through most difficult situations if you just accept that little moment of difficulty. Take a deep breath, you know, don't freak out, and be a bit soft on yourself and think about what the steps might be, break the steps down, try to work through it, just give it your best shot, be easy about it. I feel like those kind of internal skills are the most important thing for me.

It is those skills learnt through music tuition that Jessica revives in her mothering practice. Jessica embodies the resilient self, demonstrating the emotional capital passed down through her mother and her 'demanding' work ethic, which is now part of Jessica's habitus (Reay, 2015b). Jessica's musical body is a capital-accumulating repository for her family and an asset for herself (Lovell, 2000). The dispositions developed as part of Jessica's musical training have become strategies for coping emotionally with any challenges she may face, particularly the challenges of motherhood. In the following section, I show how music becomes a tool to assist the women in this study with moderating and resourcing themselves emotionally.

Resourcing the self: music as mother's help

The building of emotional capital within families can strengthen family connections and become a family resource as Jessica showed (Allatt, 1993; Gillies, 2006; Reay, 2004). However, mothers need support themselves to successfully transmit these resources to their children (O'Brien, 2008). Middle-class mothers are more likely to be able to do this due to their economic security (Reay, 2004). As Reay points out, the social and contextual conditions around families also determines the efficacy of mothers' work in transmitting emotional capital. As Illouz (1997) states,

the ability to distance oneself from one's immediate emotional experience is the prerogative of those who have readily available a range of emotional options, who are not overwhelmed by emotional necessity and intensity, and can therefore approach their own self and emotions with the same detached mode that comes from accumulated emotional competence. (p. 56)

Emotional competence is achieved in various ways; music is highlighted as one such way. Through music, mothers can resource themselves emotionally (Savage, 2015a), although if mothers have depleted emotional resources, they are less likely to be able to resource their children. In this section, I show how the mothers in this study utilise music as an emotional resource in different ways. Kelele is a Tongan woman whose mother passed away when she was in her teenage years. Through her story, I portray how singing to her child offers her peace and an opportunity to connect to her past through the memories that music evokes.

Kelele was close to her mother. In her early childhood, she spent her leisure time learning to weave and cook beside her mother where they lived on a small island in Tonga. From a devout Christian family, her parents had traditional roles within their home with her father providing food for the family while her mother was responsible for the domestic space. However, Kelele's life changed when her mother suddenly passed away when Kelele was living away on a larger island attending high school,

When my mum passed away, my eldest sister didn't go to school after that.
So, she stayed home washing our clothes, iron the clothes. ... In the morning,
I'm the one that knows how to braid the hair ... then after have to braid my
own hair, walk them [siblings] to school. That's my life as a teenager, it was
like a mother.

Kelele spoke of how her life changed after the death of her mother. The family did not return to the care of her father but remained living away to complete their schooling. Kelele assumed caring responsibilities "like a mother", a 'good' mother. Kelele told of how she had to organise her elder sister to do the domestic chores. After her formal schooling, Kelele found a job in the hospitality industry. After providing for her siblings financially and emotionally, and getting them all through school, she found out she was pregnant to her Tongan boyfriend, from whom she had separated. Kelele decided to bring up her first child alone after her boyfriend did not show any commitment to supporting her during the pregnancy. Kelele was ostracised by her community and found herself to be the subject of gossip. Kelele's older sister assisted with the care work for Kelele's child, while Kelele did paid work to keep the family fiscally afloat. It was a difficult time for Kelele, however she found solace in the traditional songs of her grandmother. She recalled a beautiful story of her grandmother's sleeping song, that she still sings with her children today:

My grandmother we lived separate, in a different house but we normally like going in to her house and she loved singing. And like even when we were young ... I grew up see her singing ... it just like a Tongan simple word but it was like putting it in to a tone ... when you translate into English it sounds funny but in Tongan, it sounds good and if I translate it into English it sounds like sleep, sleep. When I see my grandma singing ... she made up words into it while she was moving together, like singing, holding ... I have to put my kids in the pram or little rocking bed and sing from there, but my grandma used to like, and my mum, I see her do it to my siblings and she had to rock them, singing and rocking, like that until they fall asleep then put them in the bed. I used to do that to my kids when they were really unsettled. I would have their face close to my face and sing very slow-mo and they go slowly to sleep. They're really calm, and they go to sleep.

Kelele describes that very personal moment of close physical contact with her child, and how almost in a swaddle, they would be still and drift off to sleep. The tender rocking motion is conveyed through Kelele's words with a sense of peacefulness and respect for the cultural traditions passed down to her through generations. It is as if each time Kelele does this with her children, she relives that time with her own grandmother and mother. The everyday experience of singing with baby becomes a family tradition, formed from memories and maintained in practice. Music often is the basis of family memories and rituals, which requires an ongoing emotional commitment to keep it going (Smit, 2011).

This simple song offers Kelele so much more than a piece of music that has been sung through generations. It brings a technique for soothing her children; it creates a bond, an emotional and physical closeness and a way of being (Fancourt & Perkins, 2017). It is an unspoken cultural transference that is beyond class and economic considerations. Primarily occurring in a women's domestic space, Mackinlay (2009) argues that "[s]inging to children is 'naturally' embedded in the social role of women as mothers and therefore has been afforded little importance within the higher order of 'culture'" (p. 724). Lullabies lie outside the prestigious and legitimated genre of classical music. As lullabies are performed mainly by women, who are also underrepresented in the classical musical genre, they have never gained musical credibility (Mackinlay, 2009). However, the importance of this early socialisation for babies, and its part in constructing musical beginnings, cannot be dismissed (see Custodero, 2006; Dissanayake, 2012; Ilari, 2016; Trehub & Schellenberg, 1995). Singing lullabies with

babies is also understood to mediate symptoms of postnatal depression and assists in alleviating maternal anxiety (Fancourt & Perkins, 2017). Daily singing with babies can improve mothers' general "well-being, self-esteem and the perceived mother-infant bond" (Fancourt & Perkins, 2017, p. 151). This is particularly significant in mothers who are living in stressful situations and have little support. "By engaging in the singing of these songs mothers are, in effect, singing about their own feelings, and the very act of doing so allows them to release and let go of pent-up emotions" (Mackinlay & Baker, 2005, p. 71). Therefore, the singing of lullabies to infants, through "the music itself, the social engagement, the physical act of singing and personal responses to what is sung" (Fancourt & Perkins, 2017, p. 151) has positive benefits for both mother and child. Kelele's emotional labour in settling her child also soothes her and arguably reinforces her status as a good mother. Her child-centred nurturing mediates her child's emotions in a positive way, drawing on her experiences with her family's maternal past.

Sometimes, however, the positive benefits of music are not consistently accessible as is shown in Penelope's story. "I always wanted to be a mother", Penelope said, "I just thought I'd have more children (laughs)". She continued,

I would have to say this is the same for my contemporaries because our mothers stayed at home, we were among the first that I knew ... we all had our [first] babies in our ... very late thirties, early forties.

Although "I did all the singing to bubby and playing music ... not a lot, not overly, but sometimes, when she was in the tum", Penelope forecast that being a parent was going to be difficult by seeing her friends with their children, commenting on "the constancy ... It was difficult ... being a parent and being a teacher, you have a little bit of an idea". After being very actively out and about with her new baby when she was first born, Penelope developed post-natal depression when her daughter was around ten months old.

Penelope: I distanced myself from everyone ... that's when I got that depression so there weren't many opportunities to be out. Like two opposites.

Sally: Did music have a role to play when you were...?

Penelope: That's interesting ... (sigh). I don't think I played as much music for her or with her during that period of time.

Sally: What about for yourself? Did you play for yourself?

Penelope: I'll say not. This is interesting though. I did get to an age where instead of putting music on – this is very odd – I wouldn't put any music on. I would prefer silence. That happened after, when I was about 28 and came back from Singapore teaching and whereas I would always have put heaps of music on loudly, I didn't do it anymore. I didn't mean I didn't love music. I just loved quiet instead and I've been like that ever since. Sometimes my husband will put music on and I'll say turn it down or turn it off.

As typical in individual cases of depression, interest in previously enjoyed activities wanes.¹³ Penelope withdrew from music. There may be several reasons for this including Penelope's relationship with music and the significance of performance for her. Like Jessica, performing music for Penelope comes with exacting standards and high expectations of self. Penelope had been filled with self-doubt when presenting music for others. Slowly, over many years, Penelope developed self-confidence as demonstrated in her transition from early playing in school ensembles “one year I got to go in the firsts, first violins ... but I was too nervous, and I asked if I could be put back in the seconds ... I couldn't cope”, through her initial band playing “I was terribly shy, played at the back, didn't want to plug in ... just quietly went der der der der ... but I was also so afraid of performing, I would always stay at the back”, and even in her early teaching “I was too nervous to get in front of a class”, to having confidence to be able to perform in a professional band regularly. As a result of Penelope's withdrawal from engaging in music, the positive benefits attributed to potential well-being through musical interactions are negated. Unlike Kelele, Penelope was unable to draw upon music as a resource for herself emotionally.

Social engagement through music, as Fancourt and Perkins (2017) espouse, can assist mothers' well-being. This is a prime reason why mothers enrol in early years' music classes as a means of contact with like-minded peers (Savage, 2015a). The act of being a mother is a form of social engagement in that it is an interactive relationship between two humans, however many mothers cite isolation and loneliness as part of motherhood. Sangeeta speaks from experience when she says – “if you have music in your life, you will never be lonely”. Sangeeta

¹³ According to the American Psychiatric Association, depression manifests in this way. This is based on the American Psychiatric Association, (2013). *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-5), Fifth edition. See <https://www.psychiatry.org/patients-families/depression/what-is-depression>

lives in India and throughout their married life and before retiring, her husband worked away for months at a time due to his work commitments. They travelled to areas unknown to Sangeeta, where she brought up her two children without the support of family and friends. After an unplanned and 'tough' first pregnancy, Sangeeta states

I was all alone. It was fine ... fine! (laughs) That was how you learn, and you grow up. Before your marriage, nothing – I wasn't allowed to cross the road alone. I never travelled in a bus, and so when you are left – go ahead – so that was a big challenge.

Motherhood afforded Sangeeta a fulfilment that her life more generally at that stage did not. In her story, Sangeeta constructs herself as the 'good' mother. Her intensive mothering is evidenced when she says she was constantly in the presence of her daughter, engaging in music to fill her time:

[Having a] daughter means you get the feeling that you're complete ... The feeling what I got ... so thrilled after having her. ... Then singing lots of nursery rhymes to her ... singing all the time ... I used to play rhymes for her, sing with her, dance with her. I never left her alone, slept with her. When I am cooking, I used to make her sit next to me on the slab, see what I was doing. I used to keep talking to her, continuous talking, because it's the only way – for me also, to entertaining her because we don't have such paths as what you have here to go out and play. In those days it was not safe also – husband being in defence services – it was not safe for me to go out.

Sangeeta employed music as a way of entertaining her child and herself, mediating any loneliness in the challenging time of being a new mother on her own – revealing the continuous entertaining of her daughter "was for me also". Sangeeta demonstrates the constancy of the emotional labour of motherhood in having to moderate her daughter's emotions and her own (Reay, 2004). As Penelope showed, this work is demanding and can deplete mothers' emotional reserves to the detriment of their well-being. Conversely, Sangeeta embraced new motherhood as an opportunity to "learn", "grow up" and experience things that she was unable to do as an unmarried woman.

It may seem like an oxymoron that new mothers feel lonely when they are in the constant presence of their children, however the feeling of "emptiness" (Stone, 2007, p. 17)

lack of adult connection (Savage, 2015a) and “loss of identity” (Stone, 2007, p. 19) is what mothers often experience. This feeling is compounded when mothers have given up their careers and their partners’ lives remain largely unaltered in their employment fields (Stone, 2007). The emotional labour that mothers do is rendered both invisible and imperative. Invisible in that there is no recognition for such work or material rewards as there is for other labour, as in the paid workforce, and imperative as societal expectations are such that mothers feel pressured to adhere to practices of intensive mothering to produce ‘good’ outcomes for children. Mothers are considered as bound to their children (Miller, 2017a). When mothers try to maintain their identities as career women, they are torn by the double-bind of having to be ‘good’ mothers and ‘good’ employees (Stone, 2007). Research has shown that new mothers utilise music with their children as a way of resourcing themselves (Barrett, 2009; Hall, 2018; Savage, 2015a; Savage & Hall, 2017). Sangeeta’s life was challenging. Her work to keep stability for her children would have been difficult considering their constant movement throughout unfamiliar regions in India, the lack of family support and the stifling restrictions upon women, yet music provided a special connection for Sangeeta and her child.

The mothers in this study also discussed music as a means to mediate emotions – their own and their children’s – as part of their “care of the self” (De Nora, 1999, p. 37). De Nora (1999) describes this work as “self-conscious articulation work, thinking ahead about the music that will ‘work’ for the purpose at hand ... made on the basis of what respondents perceive the music to afford” (p. 38). Aarshia explained how when she feels low, she puts on music to match her mood, “I like music from the upbeat, and its mood. If I’m sad, I’ll listen to the saddest, lowest, crankiest songs”, indulging herself and giving her a “medium to work through moods” (De Nora, 1999, p. 40). Similarly, Ashley puts on soothing classical music each morning,

He [son] loves music, loves classical music, always have classical music in the car. It’s a big part, guitar music and anything like that, acoustic ... always have it in the mornings, instead of television, we have music ... that’s just the way I like to wake up in the morning and he’s always woken up in a good mood.

Ashley believes this calming music sets them up for the day. Music is part of an “aesthetic reflexivity” (De Nora, 1999, p. 36), that is, an understanding of one’s feelings and a deliberate turn to music to deepen that feeling. Linda made very few comments about her own involvement with music and how it made her feel. Yet she did say, “if you have nice music on

it does affect you. And it calms everything down, especially when you have young kids, or even older kids”. Linda’s comments around music were usually framed within other’s musical experiences, particularly her children’s, and how she enjoyed hearing them play. In her narrative, there hints a cognisance of the immense amount of labour she expended in her motherhood with “nice” music as a sonic way to attain a desired state of bodily feeling and reinstatement of serenity (De Nora, 1999).

Mothers utilise their emotional capital of love, care, and attention to create emotional reserves within their children. The emotional and embodied work that mothers do contributes to stocks of emotional capital, but unlike Bourdieu’s other capitals, emotional capital does not necessarily have the same exchange-value (Jamal Al-deen & Windle, 2017). As Reay (2004) argues, bolstering stocks of emotional capital may come at the cost of emotional well-being, where being “demanding”, as in Susan’s case, may deplete self-esteem and increase levels of anxiety in both mother and child. In the example of Linda and Ashley, Linda’s extensive work to produce musical children came at a cost for Ashley, who believed her restricted and heavily scheduled experience was detrimental to her social development and well-being. Cottingham (2016) writes “emotional capital is a tripartite concept composed of emotion-based knowledge, management skills, and capacities to feel that links self-processes and resources to group membership and social location” (p. 452). These skills are vital to survive in competitive environments and maintain self-esteem. Cottingham (2016) describes emotional capital as an embodied cultural capital which is linked to conceptions of power and privilege. Jessica and Susan provided examples of how emotional capital is mobilised to help cope with challenging personal circumstances. Music provides mothers with a tool to nourish their own emotional resources and to assist in coping with adverse situations. Mothers’ emotional capital acts as a family resource to strengthen family relationships.

Concluding summary

Emotional labour encapsulates the immense thinking work and mediation of emotions, in self and others, that mothers do. This maternal work is intersected with broader cultural and social demands and familial expectations, impacting mothers’ well-being and sense of self, which is exacerbated when children and mothers are involved in music. In this chapter, I argued that mothers try to negotiate a work/life balance within their family which aims to meet neoliberal social expectations of women being able to ‘do it all’. Being there for their children

was a priority with most women privileging time with children over paid employment, and where spending time with children was perceived as a necessary part of good mothering. Being there was consistent with intensive mothering in that mothers felt obliged to be constantly with their children to cater to their needs, sacrificing their own time for their children. Musical mothers need time with their children to develop their musical abilities. Involvement in formal music is time-consuming and mothers must be available to accommodate lessons, rehearsals and practice. The mothers negotiated paid employment in varying ways, often making compromises financially and of their time. I presented the double-bind that mothers face when having to labour in the workforce and labour at home. This continues to be something their male counterparts do not have to struggle with to the same degree.

I highlighted the story of Jessica, as a professional musician, to show how she juggled motherhood with paid employment. I emphasised the challenges she faced regarding irregular and antisocial working hours, and the difficulties in maintaining a body ready for creative performance. Jessica showed how mothers moderate their own feelings and reactions in order to keep family emotions stable. Jessica articulates how her musical training has given her strategies for coping in testing situations. Mothers, like Jessica, activate their accumulated emotional capital to replenish their emotional resources to assist them to cope with the constant demands of motherhood. I gave varying examples of how music becomes a resource for mothers, furthering the idea of utilising music as means for moderating emotions and assisting mothers in their caring practice but also highlighting this was not always readily accessible for all mothers.

Some mothers who are struggling emotionally with the demands of mothering find they do not have such inner reserves, and even for those who experience joy in music, also find that some areas of music participation can be places of judgement and expectation, thereby compounding the pressure on themselves. The relentless pressure to be good or appear to be in control and manage the emotions of the family takes a considerable toll on women's lives. Failing to be perfect reiterates the notion of not being good enough.

In contrast, however, mothers find emotional fulfillment in musical interactions with their children and others. Musical exchanges are joyful and pleasurable. Music affords the women a soundtrack for their lives to foster positive moods, relieve loneliness and build connections. Importantly, musical interactions become family rituals and makers of memories that transcend concerns of perceived judgement and classed considerations. Mothers transmit

musical habitus because it is the way they live their lives meaningfully and spiritually. This way of being has been passed on through generations. This makes the labour involved in this practice worthwhile for these women.

Comparing motherhoods

My mother kept the house tidy and made sure my father's dinner was ready when he came home from work. For them, children were seen and not heard. I was encouraged to occupy myself. In my childhood, the lives of children and adults were very separate; children hanging around adults were seen as a nuisance. Having spent time with other people's families, reaffirmed my knowledge that family life was not always so. Families had discussions at the dinner table where conversations and opinions were shared and valued, and ideas put forth and explained. The 'non-parental others' (Atkinson, 2016) who often cared for me would spend time talking, explaining, nurturing and instructing – not formally, but incidentally. Having that attention made me feel wanted and bolstered my self-esteem.

At school, there was pressure to work hard academically although I was only ever an average student. My parents knew I wanted to go to teacher's college. A career in music never being a serious option. Neither of them had attended university so it was foreign territory. School teaching was to be a suitable career, my parents thought, until I got married and became a mother. Motherhood would then be my vocation. My father's mother had worked, and his father worked away from home. My father remembered having to come home from school at midday to put on the family evening meal, often not returning to school for the afternoon sessions. He blamed his mother's lack of 'being there' for his lack of education. My grandmother was a shrewd businesswoman in a time when most women did not work. Despite my father's resistance, I admired her independence and determination. My intention to work as a mother was always made explicit which made my parents cross. In their view working mothers equated to neglected children – why have children if you didn't want to be with them? In my childhood, however, mothers did not spend all their time with their children. My mother prides herself on being home when we came home from school as a badge of 'good' motherhood.

In my early thirties, I assumed there was plenty of time to have children. My parents called me selfish, thinking I would never have children and they would be denied grandchildren from me. Unrelated to their comments, but not long after, I got married. Two years later, my partner and I had our first child. I stopped touring in musical productions, not wanting to travel away once I had children. Women in their thirties were a disposable commodity in the professional musical theatre space. Unless you were at the upper echelons

of the super-talented or well-connected, there was always a younger version of you ready to assume your place. I kept up my singing lessons and took opportunities to sing in concerts when they arose (even performing when I was heavily pregnant).

I found the experience of being a new mother very overwhelming. It was all-consuming. My mother came over to London to help me in those early days of motherhood. I recall however that it was a time of immense pressure – pressure to be perfect and to show her just what a great mother I could be. We had differences of opinion on how best to ‘do’ mothering. We were both anxious in this time of heightened expectation of us both. After three months, she went home. I later developed postnatal depression probably due to the immense pressure I had largely put on myself through the perceived judgement from others. Fortunately, it did not last long, and I got on with things, as you do. I kept singing.

After nine months, I went back to work part-time, and my daughter went to family day care on the days I worked. I did feel guilty, particularly when I was with other people’s children rather than my own; however, I enjoyed work and it restored some semblance of normality to my life. Besides, I had to work to supplement the family income. Working was not a choice but a necessity. I found being at home with my young child challenging and isolating mixed with an indescribable joy. There were unsaid pressures to breastfeed as long as possible, look immaculate and radiate calm. When I was home with my daughter, I would engage her in activities to keep her occupied. We would sing and read and play.

I remember singing in a concert for a group of people who hosted afternoon soirees where aspiring singers were invited to perform classical repertoire. The musical director was a répétiteur with a famous opera company, so the experience was potentially invaluable and strategic. I was still breastfeeding my daughter at this time. My husband drove me to the concert venue, with our child. He looked after our child while I sang at the soiree. Afterwards, there was the post-concert obligatory meet and greet with the audience. Sometime later, my husband met me outside in the car, and I with leaky swollen breasts, reacting to my daughter’s desperate eagerness to be fed, pulled up my dress to feed her, tired after the adrenaline-fuelled performance, succumbing to my maternity.

Chapter Seven – Needing to belong: the intergenerational transmission of joy

Music may be useful psychologically, socially, politically or whatever. But that's not why people do it. Music matters because it is pleasurable – to do and to experience – and because it is a necessary part of what we are as humans, as feeling, empathetic beings, interested in and engaged with other people. To study music is to study what it is to be human – biologically, cognitively, culturally; to play music is to experience what it is to be human – physically, mentally, socially, in an aesthetic, playful, sensual context. Music matters, in short, because without it we wouldn't know who we are and what we are capable of being.

- Frith, 2008, p. 178.

Introduction

In this final discussion chapter, I further examine the affective dimensions of musical mothering to highlight the meaning of music for the women and their children. Firstly, I consider the relationship between mother and child and how each vies for the attention and love of the other in what Atkinson (2016, p. 84) calls “affective recognition”. Atkinson critiques Gillies’ (2006) and Reay’s “conceptual dilemmas” (2000, p. 62) on emotional capital as a form of cultural capital and investment because it does not consider the “genesis and meaning of familial affect” (Atkinson, 2016, p. 61) in such relations. Atkinson argues that consideration needs to be given to the power relations between mother and child and the emotional history embedded within the relationship. Music becomes one arena where these struggles play out in these families, which is compounded by strong emotional attachments between mother and child. Secondly, I examine sibling relationships and how musical interventions are not always evenly divided between children. I look at how siblings attempt to gain their mothers’ affective recognition, and at the relations between siblings when children perceive their mother to favour one child over another. According to Atkinson (2016), the struggle for affective recognition within the family sphere is enmeshed in the classed and gendered aspirations of mothers. The desire for love from our mother, or recognition from her, is a principle of power within the family field (Atkinson, 2016). Do all siblings receive the same amount of love and attention, and the encouragement to pursue music, from their mothers

or is this contentious? The data in this study points to a mutual need for recognition, that is children wanting recognition from their mothers and mothers desiring recognition from their children. Finally, I show how music is a way of bringing families together as a means of creating emotional ties and a feeling of being a cohesive unit. Music nurtures connections and has deep personal significance to the mothers. This connection is not only initiated and directed by mothers, but by children as well. Children demonstrate agency in influencing the musical repertoires of mothers, too. Family memories are formed through music bringing joy to its members and consolidating what it means to be part of a musical family.

Frith's (2008) words opening this chapter articulate the meaning of music as a tool and a way of life. Although the discussion chapters thus far have focused on music as an enabler for other things – whether it be cultural capital investment, social advantages, to mediate depression, to help mothers feel accepted amongst other things – I agree with his summation, that music is more than a means to another destination. While mothers may gain extrinsic benefits from mothering through music, the intrinsic affordances are of prime importance for these mothers' engagement in music.

Struggling for affective recognition through music

Mothers are responsible for accumulating and maintaining cultural capital within the family. Through capital accumulation, the exchange of such capitals enables families to retain their social position. Mothers therefore must encourage and motivate their children to persevere in the pursuit of capital gain else deplete familial reserves. Atkinson (2016) states,

... the capital sought within the family is thus not simply another to add to the mix, *but a primal one shaping early misrecognition of and interest in accumulating any other...* family fields rich in pooled cultural capital, where there is a desire and ... expectation for offspring to more or less reproduce class position via the education system, attainment of affective capital from parents is doxically bound up with (*inter alia*) accumulation of symbolic mastery and thus cultural capital. (p. 93, original emphasis)

Mothers, as primary caregivers, are key in driving interests and encouraging participation and perseverance within the musical field (Atkinson, 2016; Savage & Hall, 2017). It is within the

mothers', and families', interest to facilitate motivation and ongoing participation in pursuits such as music tuition, to reproduce their social standing. Therefore, mothers give expressions of encouragement, that is affective recognition, and positive reinforcement for children's efforts to maintain involvement. Affective recognition is about being wanted, cared for, acknowledged and is, according to Atkinson (2016), an "evenly distributed product of the practical realisation of 'family'" (p. 58). The desire for love and affective recognition within the family sphere is deeply woven into the classed and gendered aspirations of mothers. Linda states, "I think it's good they can enjoy concerts then, they can enjoy going out when they're adults. Because they know what music is all about, I think it's important". This classed desire is seen through Linda, who wants to maintain her family's cultural status, which is perceived as a maternal responsibility. Besides music creating a sense of belonging for Linda, it was clear Linda also saw music as a means to develop cultural capital for the family, to enable participation in an orchestra or have an educated understanding when attending concerts.

Through caregivers' affective responses to experiences, children learn and begin to perceive the world in particular ways and try to gain affective recognition from those they love. Desires for attention are the first strategies employed to earn love, affection, and esteem and where children are acknowledged as being players in the social field (Atkinson, 2016). Infants look towards familiar adults to gauge an emotional response to unfamiliar events or objects before they respond (Atkinson, 2016; Dissanayake, 2000). Interactions between mother and child only make sense when considerations of the inter-relationships of extended family and close others are accounted for. These extended relations impact and shape perceptions and tussles for love and recognition between siblings. Within families, concepts, words and perceptions become infiltrated with particular meanings specific to their experiences (Atkinson, 2016). In the second section of this chapter, I explore whether mothers' affective attentions are indeed evenly divided.

Shared music-making as a family acts as a form of affective recognition, cementing that doxic family feeling as "something we do". Mothers who are musical themselves and experience joy through music are happy for their children to do it and encourage participation. It forms a cycle of the mother engaging in music, by listening to, participating in, performing, and children responding positively because the child sees how this positively affects their mothers. Likewise, mothers perceive their children are enjoying and engaging in music and, therefore, the cycle of reinforcement continues. This cycle of musical engagement forms the family doxa. Musical family doxa is the perception that music is integral to family life, which

is the construction of their family's social reality. Being 'musical' or part of a musical family is a "principle which is acquired within a family existing as a realised social fiction" (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 67). Children are being recognised for their musical behaviour and receiving acknowledgment in the form of interest and positive emotional cues from their mothers, from whom they want love (Clement & Dukes, 2017). Children learn that music is important to their mothers and have learnt that their own involvement in music will gain their mother's attention. Children begin to see themselves as musical just as their mothers are, which they know is something their mothers' value highly. In this way, the legitimization of their mothers' tastes and choices becomes a validation of themselves. As Bourdieu (1999) writes,

The bourgeois father who wants for his son what he himself has and what he is can recognize himself completely in the alter ego that he has produced, an identical reproduction of what he is and a ratification of the excellence of his own social identity. The same is true for the son. (p. 508)

My point is this, mothers want their children to be musical and love music just as they do, perhaps more. It is something these mothers have spent a lifetime valuing as an integral part of their lives; music has been a lifetime investment in their own lives, just as the bourgeois father has invested in a family business, for example. He has had a lifetime of toil to reach the point where he is able to pass on something tangible to his son. The father has accumulated vast amounts of capital, as economic and social investments to share with his son. However, it means much more to the father than merely an economic investment. It has become an emotional investment, a reason for being, and his life's work. He is proud of his own achievements and wants his son to be proud too and assume the same identity, as the most flattering of acknowledgments, and validation of his role as a father. I argue that mothers' relationships with music and their children have the same emotional investment and meaning. In addition, these affective relations are linked to a family sense of belonging, love and care (Crean, 2018), and are pivotal in the mother-child relationship with music.

The desire for love as a form of recognition is a fundamental need in all humans and starts in the early stages of life. In the example of Rosemary and Penelope, recognition is performed through family participation in singing. It forms part of their family doxa. Singing has been passed down in Penelope's family through her mother, and her mother before that, becoming part of their habitus which Penelope's mother, Rosemary, attributes to being "in her bones", as discussed in Chapter 4. As such, when Rosemary's daughter participates in singing

activities, it acts as a validation of her mothering and legitimates her interest in music too. There is an emotional connection which is forged through their musical encounters and remembrances, enhancing their mutual affective recognition in this space. Family practices are based on shared experiences and create family traditions. Singing get-togethers, creating a sense of belonging in Rosemary's family, and is the "cultural inheritance", that Susan speaks of, becoming part of Rosemary and Penelope's extended family culture.

Rosemary and Penelope both sang throughout their interviews demonstrating the intimate relationship the women have with music. For me, their singing represented a generosity of spirit illustrating their willingness to share something deeply meaningful and personal, thereby creating an intimacy and trust within our developing relationship. This signified a shared meaning and understanding between our respective habitus. Singing is entwined into their everyday life, as a way they connect with the world around them. Rosemary says, "I never stopped singing"; it appears in her stories of childhood, family life, professional life and interactions with friends. Singing is a very personal act, and being formed in and through the body, creates a vulnerability. Having confidence to sing freely, is to be free of the self-consciousness often associated with producing one's voice in a public space. It is also reflective of one's social, ethnic, racial and cultural identity (Ilari et al., 2013). In Australia, people are often judged to be either singers or not, reinforced by the more recent popularity of reality television programs around singing and perceptions of talent. Singing is seen as a performance act, rather than part of everyday experience (Ilari et al., 2013). Rosemary had no desire to sing professionally. Music was part of her everyday life. It was something she enjoyed and for Rosemary, it enhanced the connection with her family, friends and the students she once taught. Singing in Rosemary's family was a process of enculturation that Rosemary exercised freely, interweaving her maternal presence with song. Penelope remembers such moments, "she'd sing all the time which was nice. Yeah, I have those memories of lovely songs around the house which is great". Rosemary embodied the enjoyment of music which she passed on to her children through their routine experiences in the family home. In the family space, cultural capability is achieved through everyday enculturation (Campbell, 2011). Accumulated cultural capital becomes an "inheritance" (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 508). Now that her children are adults and have families of their own, Rosemary speaks of their holiday get-togethers,

[Penelope] is brilliant, my brother's brilliant. He just sits at the piano and plays by ear. Penelope's the same. She plays guitar and violin; she prefers

guitar. But we can sit some nights in holiday times, because no time otherwise, and whatever we ask Penelope to play, even songs she doesn't even know, and we start singing it within a few bars, she can just join in.

Participating in music was part of their family tradition and became part of their identity and who they are, as a family and as individuals. It influenced how they wanted their children to be. Rosemary has passed on the family cultural capital and it is maintained through their holiday meetings. The affective recognition of being part of this musical family is reinforced. Rosemary is the good mother who has passed on her musical dispositions to her children. The youngest members of the family are involved in these gatherings to ensure the process of transmission continues. Penelope spoke about how the initial expectation to have a musical child was as embryonic as her child, and the how importance of singing with her child was crucial.

Penelope expressed what she called an “inner expectation” that her child would be ‘musical’ prior to her child’s birth. Penelope remarked that “all I wanted, okay, was to be able to sing in the car with my daughter and sing in harmony” describing that not being able to sing with her daughter would feel like “a loss” and a “disappointment”. These are significant emotions. Being able to sing together and share music is layered with multiple meanings and highly dependent upon affective relations. “Singing ... is a particularly gender-sensitive dimension of musicality. The performativity of the singing voice is concentrated by the fact that the performer’s body is the instrument” (Hall, 2018, p. 12). People with passions in different areas derive pleasure from experiencing these with their loved ones – doing something you love with someone you love is indeed very special. These high expectations were exacerbated by Penelope’s daughter being her only child – “if I’d had three kids and one couldn’t sing then maybe there’s another one ... but I’ve just got one”. Penelope wants her daughter to share her musicality to further cement their affective bond and deepen their emotional connection. Having her daughter sing with her was a validation of Penelope as a mother and the weight of expectation was on this child alone. I liken the intensity of this feeling to Bourdieu’s (1999) analogy of inheritance between a father and son. The father has spent his whole life building an inheritance in a particular field, for the son to later decide to pursue his career in a different field:

This is a particularly painful test for the father (and doubtless for the son as well) when, like the farmer we talked to ... he has made this inheritance

himself from the ground up, this "house" that will end with him: it is at once his life's work and his entire existence that are invalidated, deprived of their meaning and their purpose. (p. 510)

If Penelope's child refused to engage with music, then Penelope would feel a sense of deep loss. Linda, too, seemed sad that Ashley was no longer playing her violin as she once did. Mothers must question whether the added labour and financial burden of music tuition over many years was worth the effort if children no longer play in their adulthood. Linda said, "I don't know... how they're doing the music. ... I said, "Ashley, get out your violin" and I think she did that once ... I don't know whether he [grandson] liked it".

The struggle for affective recognition within families is reciprocal, in that mothers seek love and acceptance from children, as much as children desire this from mothers. Mutual recognition is evident in the Rosemary - Penelope relationship as seen in this exchange about playing the ukulele:

Rosemary: It was really easy and just chords (sings) *John B, Grandpappy and me* ... I wasn't good at it. I couldn't do that. Penelope just picks it up and plucks with two fingers. And then she uses that thing to change the chords ... used a finger to change the chords all the way up (laughs).

Penelope: That's what you do though.

Rosemary: That's what you do ... (laughs incredulously) ... you didn't get that from me – the singing you did – I'm not that talented.

Sally: I'm just a three-chord person.

Penelope: Most songs are just three chords anyway (laughs).

Rosemary: Don't you believe it. She's very, very good – very good.

Rosemary applauds Penelope for her musical ability. Between them there is a misrecognition that their musical engagement is 'easy' although an affective recognition is acknowledged through a self-deprecation. Atkinson (2016) writes,

... the development of practical and symbolic mastery are forged in the quest for recognition from those we misrecognize, that is to say, love and esteem from those we love and esteem, which is ultimately symbolic power in the eyes of those possessing symbolic capital in the field. (p. 92)

In the family, initially the mother is the holder of symbolic capital. She is the one from whom the child desires love and recognition, although as I have argued, this quickly becomes a mutual desire. The love of music is interwoven with a love for the child/mother and the emotionality of musical engagement, that is the depth of feeling one gets when one ‘does’ music, enhances the interaction. It is what makes us human, social beings, involved empathetically and experientially with others (Frith, 2008). It is through mothers’ encouragement and praise, satisfying the need for recognition and love, that directs agents to consider what is possible. Additionally, there is also a need within Rosemary to have the approval of Penelope, as indicated in her comment “but Penelope’s the musical one in the family ... but I keep telling her it’s come through my side of the family ... as long as she knows that”. Rosemary wants recognition from Penelope that her musical ability has come from her and that is something to be acknowledged, which Penelope does. Rosemary and Penelope demonstrate their musical affinity through their mutual affective recognition which binds them and is mutually satisfying. Recognition, however, is not always positive, as Penelope explains,

She never liked any of the music I liked. She never liked modern stuff. She liked a lot of old-fashioned stuff and then when you were a teenager, you depart. Whereas with your age group and my age group, with our kids we know all that pop music and we don’t really depart ... or we’ll say, ‘Oh, that’s quite a good song’, or ‘That’s crap’, but she would go ... “Oh, I don’t know that” (in a caricatured ‘old person’ voice).

Penelope brings up an interesting point about modern motherhood emphasising the way mothering has changed over one generation. Once very adult-centred, mothering is now very focused on children’s needs and desires beyond care work. Penelope comments about how contemporary mothers will make a point of having an awareness of their children’s musical preferences which relates to their surveillance of children’s music consumption as discussed in Chapter 5 and linked to their desire to be seen as good mothers. It also speaks to the separate lives of mothers and children in the childhoods of Penelope and her contemporaries. The tone with which she uses to imitate her mother’s voice is dismissive, suggesting children’s tastes were perceived by her mother as inferior, positioning children as lower in status in comparison to their valorised position today. Penelope knows, like many mothers and daughters, that the mother-daughter relationship can be fraught with stages of resistance and struggle throughout the life course, particularly when expectations diverge (Bourdieu, 1999; Harrigan & Miller-Ott, 2013). Rosemary’s recollections of maternal practices are based on her past experiences

and do not always match current dominant or Penelope's notions of mothering. A mismatch exists when,

the expectations of the parents, constituted in a prior social world, are in some way out of touch or out of sync with the present world, to which the children's expectations, which have been constituted in different conditions of socialization, are better adjusted. (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 508, n. 4)

Therefore, in families, a sense of family cohesion only pertains in a musical sense and even this may change over time. Music acts as the binding agent in their relationship. Other areas of family life may not be so harmonious. For example, parts of Rosemary and Penelope's narratives pointed to differences of opinion regarding child-rearing beliefs. Therefore, my point here is that the affective recognition that Penelope and Rosemary demonstrate to each other is most evident through their relationship with music. Music is their relationships' binding factor.

Positive affirmations from the mothers of Rosemary's generation are not as forthcoming as those of recent times. Mothers in Rosemary's generation during the 1960s and early 1970s were advised by experts not to 'spoil' their children with praise and affection, and therefore were often not demonstrative with their children (Warner, 2006). Penelope's perception of her teen years contrasts with Penelope and Rosemary's current relationship through music, where they share positive feelings. I recall Susan's comment in her story of her childhood when she mentioned "I cannot remember a single hug from my mother, all my life". This, again, was an indicator of mothering practices of the time; the apparent lack of maternal affection has stayed with Susan all her life and manifest in her own contrasting mothering as being "pretty tactile with my children". However, Susan and Penelope both fulfilled their mothers' desires to maintain a musical habitus and were therefore rewarded with recognition for this.

Susan commented on her inability to give her children the time she would have liked due to her paid work responsibilities. In families where parents are absent or not giving support or the desired affective recognition may manifest as children looking towards "non-parental others" outside the immediate family for the affective recognition they desire (Atkinson, 2016, p. 96). Jessica, Susan's daughter, referenced other family members as significant in encouraging her to become a musician,

my sister brought a ‘cello home from the school storeroom just to have a go at it over the weekend, and I picked it up and loved it ... the other thing I was thinking about down there was [the] amazing kind of network of people who were just willing to have a jam. So, I taught myself ‘cello by playing with a group of people who used to do this open mic night ... like my aunty and some other friends ... and they were really into their bush music and Irish music ... and it’s been this sort of focus, you know, this sort of thing that drives your life along in a particular direction ... through something you love, and you’re interested in.

Jessica talks about she taught herself the ‘cello and how she involved herself in open mic nights at a local venue, playing with family and others. Open mic nights traditionally are held in local bars and cafes and aim to be inclusive, where musicians of all levels and abilities are encouraged to have a go as an introduction to public performance or to try out new material. For some amateur musicians, it is an opportunity to play with others and be social with other like-minded people, assisting to “develop individual confidence, individual techniques and the ability to negotiate the organization of staged behaviour” (Aldredge, 2006, p. 112). While the influence of Jessica’s mother in her musical training has been shown previously and is undeniable, the added affirmation from others within her family encouraged Jessica support and affective recognition in her musical pursuits.

While Susan and Penelope referred to their relationships with their mothers, affective recognition was not so easily attained for Linda who attended a boarding school, away from her parents for most of the year. Linda made several remarks in her narrative about her mother’s absence in her childhood, oscillating between her understanding that her mother was doing important missionary work, and feeling alone without her mother’s guidance. Despite Linda stating she found her musical involvement at school enjoyable, boarding school overall was challenging and isolating, but she says it made her a “stronger character”. Through music, Linda believed she could create a sense of belonging in her own family and as such, music became part of her care work to give her own children validation that they are loved. Linda wanted six children but her husband only two, so they compromised at four. Linda sought, what Villalobos (2015) describes as a “compensatory connection” (p. 1931 – 1932) with her children, that is an intense relationship where she was compensating for her lack of family security in her own childhood by mothering intensely with her own children. Linda referenced

the “non-parental others”, mentioned by Atkinson (2016), as being influential in her life, “we had so many different influences, (laughs) not only my mother but teachers and sisters”. Music was also the connecting factor with her boarding school peers, giving her a “sense of community, the sense of friendship” which became like a family and helped mediate the affective recognition she desired.

Music provided Linda a means to engage with her children that had meaning that compensated for those special but too short times together with her parents. Linda loved being an intense mother because it gave her the love and connection with her family that she desired. Despite her daughter Ashley’s reservations about her rigid upbringing, she was also appreciative,

She definitely helped me and everyone with music. She would literally sit down with you and help you practice for the full hour. Like, what she did for us kids is amazing and I really take my hat off to her. She has been honestly an incredible mother and she, she’s given us every single thing we’ve needed to help and paid and everything.

Later she said, “she’s just meant to be a mum her whole life. She’s so maternal ... She’s just meant to do this”. Linda would be pleased to hear this affective recognition from Ashley amid the tensions within their relationship. The desire to please and receive acknowledgement is still evident in Ashley today, through her need to demonstrate her efficacy as a mother and wife, especially to her mother but also her wider family and community.

The process of interaction between mother and child incurs adjustments and modifications which in turn, shapes the actions of both mother and child. However, it is in children’s early interactions that the habitus begins to form. This is where ways of being imitate and develop, including classed, ‘raced’ and gendered dispositions (Atkinson, 2016; Crean, 2018) and where mothers transmit ways of being to their children. This huge and often unacknowledged responsibility is intrinsically bound up with affective relations between mother and child. These relationships are dynamic and under constant review over generations. In the continuum of intensive mothering, mothers demonstrate the lengths they are willing to go through to develop a musical skills and dispositions in their children. Intense allegiance to music for these mothers makes them vulnerable to negative feelings of shame, guilt, and disappointment (Sayer, 2005a) when things do not turn out as they had hoped. While it may

seem that mothers are in a position of power, this is indeed fragile as witnessed in the relationship between Linda and Ashley. While attachment theories have largely concentrated on children's attachment to mothers, I argue that the need for love and therefore, affective recognition, goes both ways, with mothers desiring love and acceptance from their children as much – possibly sometimes more – as their children desire it from them (Villalobos, 2015). It is often in the arenas of family and music where these struggles for recognition play out as I have shown. I will now explore further disruptions in the mother-child affective relationships between siblings.

Recognising the inequity of maternal affect

Penelope was concerned that all her musical expectations were cast onto her only daughter. The burden this placed, unknowingly by her daughter, was immense. Penelope, as one of three children, did not have the same weight of expectation, even though she felt it somewhat, being the eldest child by some years before two brothers appeared. Penelope was the most 'musical' one in her family as her mother, Rosemary, iterates. Sosniak (1985) states that it is usual for only one child in a family to receive extraordinary parental attention. It is plausible that the first born would receive undivided attention, being the only child a mother has to nurture in those earlier days of motherhood. Understandably, maternal attentions would be stretched thinner with more children. The effect of uneven affective recognition upon family relations is explored in this next section. I show the affective recognition of mothers is of prime significance to children and influences their choices, sense of identity, self-esteem and musical trajectories. This leads into my exploration into the siblings of the mothers in this study and their perceptions of family dynamics and their quests for affective recognition within the family.

Family doxa is not always consistent within all family members. Individual family members may struggle to gain love and attention from those they desire recognition from. A study by Davidson and Borthwick (2002) explores not only maternal attentions in supporting musical abilities in children but the dynamics between siblings (and partners). The authors highlight the significant impact the participant mother's affective recognition has on her two sons. The boys thrive musically when they receive their mother's musical attentions at different times in their family life (Davidson & Borthwick, 2002). In the pursuit for recognition within Rosemary's family is a story she told of her son. Rosemary and her daughter Penelope remark

that this particular son/brother is not ‘musical’. Nevertheless, music is still a fundamental part of his life and something he chooses to regularly participate in (see Chapter 4). He particularly enjoys listening to music, as Rosemary shares a story from her son’s years as a teen,

He loves all that rock stuff – Billy Bragg. He would try to play music for me. He put every single record on one day. “Mum you’ll love this, you’ll love it”, and he put on this horrible, “Like that?” “No, no love” and [he] tried something else, “You’ll like this one, mum”. So, this went on for a few times, “Look mum, I’m trying to please you” so, of course you are, you poor thing. So eventually, “Ah, that one’s not too bad” (laughs). I mean I didn’t like it. (laughs) So, they all loved music. They had it on – the stuff that I don’t like.

Rosemary tells of her interaction with her son and his efforts to get her to engage with his music. He is seeking Rosemary’s approval showing that he too liked music as she does. While told in a tongue-in-cheek manner, the story illustrates an exchange that Rosemary did not take too seriously, unlike her son who was feeling that he had missed out on sharing those same musical experiences as his siblings. I recall his comment “You didn’t have me taught music!” and Rosemary’s reply, “But you didn’t want to”. Rosemary had decided that he was not ‘musical’ and so he was not afforded the music lessons that his sister was. Such early parental decisions can act as “prophecies to fulfil” (Davidson & Borthwick, 2002, p. 135). On the other hand, this story could read as a testament to Rosemary’s stoicism as she listens patiently to music she does not like, demonstrating her caring maternal self, providing another example of the emotional labour in musical motherhood. Either way, family doxa may not be homogeneous with members struggling for affective recognition within the family field (Atkinson, 2014). Yet between Rosemary and her son there is a need to demonstrate to each other that they value music, that they value each other, and music is what binds them together. Musical involvement acts as one symbolic capital of affective recognition in Rosemary’s family, where Rosemary is in the position of power with her children vying for her attentions. The type of music and how they involve themselves differentiates and affords each child with varying levels of recognition.

The family field operates as other fields according to Bourdieu’s definition, with struggles for domination and symbolic capitals. These operate on an interpersonal level to include interest, attention, favours, and displays of care (Atkinson, 2016). Anyone with siblings will attest to these conflicts for recognition from parents as was seen in Rosemary’s family. Similarly, this tension is evidenced in the Davidson and Borthwick (2002) study when the

younger son, realising he could not compete with his older brother for his mother's attention initially, tries to gain recognition through another field favoured by a grandparent. Ashley, too, was keenly aware of her perceived position in her family and never feeling good enough,

I was always kinda known as the black egg [sic] in the family ... it was just something I had to learn to feel like, ... the judgement and disappointment will be there, and I knew that but, I just had to do my best to keep going.

I remember when I passed my AMusA,¹⁴ [my younger sister and I] we did it at the same time. And she passed hers, even though I was 13, she was 10. So, it didn't matter how old I was (laughs), she was always one step ahead of me. No, honestly, she was a prodigy. She was so good.

Ashley always felt in the shadow of her sister and craved her mother's approval and love. But for Linda and Ashley, this presented a bind. As much as Linda wanted to promote her children's musical ability, she did not want them to pursue music as a career. Ashley attained a very high standard of playing, following her mother's wish to be proficient in playing a musical instrument, which enabled her to attend a Conservatorium. Linda's approval for Ashley's career in music altered when she saw how challenging Ashley found this space. Subsequently, Ashley left home and the Conservatorium and forged a different career for herself in nursing – incidentally her mother's first career, and arguably an alternative way to achieve her mother's approval. Conversely, Linda was delighted by Ashley's younger sister's involvement in her university orchestra, where she did it for enjoyment rather than as a potential career,

She's at uni and went on and did 'cello at the [university] orchestra. Without doing music and she was like first 'cellist and she wasn't even doing music! In the first two years and then she went [overseas] for her placement, and then went back and she was still up the front. But she adored it ... She never wanted to do music as a degree because ... she said I don't want to change the way I play.

¹⁴ The AMusA is one of the highest level practical examinations in the Australian Music Examination syllabus. It is conducted by two examiners. Musicians perform repertoire from prescribed lists of pieces for 30–40 minutes, with an additional ten minutes testing musical general knowledge of the pieces presented. Achieving this award is indicative of a high-performance standard. Grade 5 theory must also be passed to achieve the AMusA award. See www.ameb.edu.au

Relational action, defined through the interactions between music, mothers and children, is not necessarily always a positive experience as I have shown above. Ashley seems fixed in her perceived position as the “black egg” of the family. Bourdieu (1999) states “a great many people are *long-term* sufferers from the gap between their accomplishments and the parental expectations they can neither satisfy or repudiate” (p. 508, original emphasis). As a “long-term sufferer” (Bourdieu, 1999, p. 508) struggling to fit in with family expectations, Ashley has continued to attempt to gain approval not only through music but in her career and in motherhood. Her “subjectively experienced” (Aarseth, Layton, & Bjerrum Nielsen, 2016, p. 151) tensions have arisen through interactions with the “significant others” (p. 151) in her life and caused her to display a divided habitus particularly now she has her own family, with a husband who has very different beliefs to those of her childhood family. Ashley is currently reconciling her habitus which will incur adjustments to her current and future circumstances, demonstrating the generative nature of the habitus. Davidson and Borthwick (2002) maintain that change within familial roles is possible over time, as their study revealed. The desire for love from our mother, or recognition from her, remains a principle of power within the family field (Atkinson, 2016; Bourdieu, 1999; Harrigan & Miller-Ott, 2013).

Jessica and Susan demonstrate a shared affective recognition. Jessica acknowledges the contribution that Susan has made to her life through music, via the demanding work ethic. Similarly, Susan endorses Jessica’s parenting style – “it’s very, very communicative ... they’re both very good communicators and terrifically engaged” and valorises her musicianship, “I think I’m musical but not a musician, in that if I see what Jessica does now, and how she can side step into Tibetan and into Indian [music] ... her ears are really switched on”. While Susan and Jessica share this mutual affirmation, I recall Susan’s comment about her eldest daughter not achieving as highly as she might because of Susan’s casual parenting approach. Most of Susan’s musical attentions were channelled into Jessica although, as I will show later in this chapter, she does recognise her elder daughter’s musical abilities. Paradoxically, it is Jessica, although she is the professional musician, who seems to envy her sister’s less pressured musical life:

In her family, music is just this lovely, joyous, easy-going part of their life and it’s got no pressure. It’s just pure fun – like they go to folk festivals all the time and they go, and they sit in the pub and they jam, and she plays the piano accordion and the kids are all fantastic singers and they’re all really

into it but there's no aspiration in it. It's just for life and woven into their daily life and their daily fun ... I love that ...

Despite Jessica's sister not receiving the same cultivation and affective recognition of her musical ability as Jessica, music remains an integral part of her life. Jessica's sister gains affective recognition from her family, who are all active participants in this happy experience. Jessica, too, valorises her sister's practice as an exemplar of musical mothering. This problematises the pursuit of music excellence for musical mothers which becomes a double-edged sword, reiterating the "fine line" that Linda expresses.

The joy of musical motherhood is encapsulated in the vignette from Jessica. Participation in music is fun and easy-going. There is a sense of spontaneity that encompasses the free-spiritedness in this musical exchange, rather than a planned and concerted attempt to make it happen within a framework of meticulousness. The whole family gets involved in this exuberant activity, which is in stark contrast to the stress Jessica feels when it is performance time or the pressure to maintain her playing body in perfect condition. There is no aspiration because aspiration equates with pressure, according to Jessica; there are no pre-determined, future-oriented outcomes here, just a musical moment in time to be experienced. This is the use-value of music, for enjoyment and pleasure, rather than the pressured pursuit of excellence that is embodied in Jessica's habitus. The joyousness expressed in Jessica's story is the same feeling that Linda wants for her children – enjoying music without the seriousness of competition – music as a wonderful hobby. It is here I mirthfully recall the example of her son playing at the music competition, not as a competitor but rather as the 'entertainment' (as if the music provided in the competition itself was not entertainment enough). It is the unforced musical involvement that Ashley desires without the pressure of perfectionism, that brings satisfaction when she plays for the dementia patients when she volunteers at the hospital. It is the sense of belonging that Penelope and Rosemary embrace in their family sing-a-longs and that Penelope engenders in her sessions with her children at school and with her local band. Music's value for these mothers is in its intrinsic, not extrinsic, affordances.

I am compelled to return to Frith's (2008) opening comment, "to play music is to experience what it is to be human ... in an aesthetic, playful, sensual context. Music matters ... because without it we wouldn't know who we are and what we are capable of being" (p. 178). Music has the potential to always be pleasurable if agents can release their insistence on perfectionism and allow themselves to be free to participate and enjoy without judgement. This

does not mean that agents should not strive to do their best, but rather in being free to do one's best without having to be perfect, as I argue Frith is suggesting, one is free to be the best version of oneself. The same is true of mothering.

I have illustrated how siblings seek their mothers' affective recognition, which is unevenly shared between their children creating tensions within families. I showed how this had significant impacts on children's sense of self and influenced their musical trajectories. Moving to the final section of the thesis, I emphasise music's potential to connect with others and "share humanity", as Susan states. I show how mothers share music with their families to create and maintain a feeling of family togetherness. Music, for these mothers and their children, with its link to affective recognition, creates a sense of belonging, connectedness and acceptance. Participation in music reinforces the habitus and in doing so, nurtures relationships and promotes well-being.

Sharing music, well-being and family love

As social beings, humans seek meaningful relationships with others and want their acceptance. I have shown throughout this thesis how such desire manifests for women through music and motherhood. Sayer (1999) discusses the need to move away from reductionist thinking of people's motives for personal gain. Music is part of everyday lives and is lived through every day experiences. "I doubt if there's anyone nowadays who couldn't map the history of family relationships along musical lines", states Frith (2002, p. 40). Sayer (2005b) suggests that sociology has largely neglected a focus on everyday life and normative experiences, rationalising everything to "social position and influences, discourses, cultural norms, or indeed habitus" (p. 949). Involvement in music can bring advantages and this can be a factor when parents choose music for their children (Savage, 2015b). However, this is not the only, or even primary, reason that mothers seek music for their children. Music is a way of making life happier, healthier, richer, more creative and more beautiful, and mothers who have experienced this, wish to share it with their children. I argue that this ability to produce increased beauty and value within life is what makes mothers good. Frith (2002) explains the aesthetic value of music in reference to music policy, stating music should not be considered merely for its extrinsic benefits, which can be obtained through other means, but for its intrinsic attributes, as articulated in the opening quote of this chapter. Music is a deeply human activity, which gives joy and a connection with others (Frith, 2008). I demonstrate the value of this

within the context of the family, where engagement with music creates a feeling of family unity. Ashley exemplifies this in how she listens to music to calm her morning routines with her family, playing classical music eases the early morning mood; it is also pleasurable. This serenity positions Ashley as a good mother. This may well develop into a family ritual, as something that Ashley's family continues to do.

Mothers create a "family feeling" (Atkinson, 2014, p. 340; Bourdieu, 1998, p. 68), making judgements on music in the home, supporting musical training in children and sharing their love of music. Music engenders a sense of belonging to a unit and engages people in a shared aesthetic experience that is emotionally fulfilling. Music becomes the soundtrack of family life providing an aural sense of family feeling. Rituals are embedded within families, based on shared experiences – "the taken-for-granted, unquestioned and shared sense of 'what is done' or 'to be done' in 'this family' manifest and sustained in all the elements of ordinary life" (Atkinson, 2014, p. 227). I argue that music lifts ordinary family experience to another level of emotions and aesthetics, profound in its exquisiteness. Specific acts of music become a symbol of shared experience, as something that is an embedded as part of being in 'this family'. Atkinson (2011) writes,

This 'family sense' or 'family feeling', perpetuated through the generations, has the effect of integrating agents, says Bourdieu, of making them feel and act like an exclusive unit, and, being maintained through narratives, maxims, celebratory occasions and photographic displays (cf. Finch 2007), develops into a taken-for-granted sense of 'family tradition' or 'the family spirit'; that is to say, a family-specific *doxa*. (original emphasis, p. 340)

A sense of belonging to a particular family or group of people is constructed through musical get togethers as something that they do. It is mothers who often perpetuate this family feeling over the generations through music, where certain songs become imbued with specific meanings for individual families. Such songs or musical repertoire form a musical boundary, like an 'in' joke, that is shared with family members only, helping to solidify their unity. It is the flowing water running through music's generational streams, to use Rosemary's analogy, reinvigorating life and satisfying the thirst for family connection and human solidarity. Surely, I argue, these are the dispositions needed to be transferred through habitus.

Aarshia creates a family feeling with her daughter. Together they search YouTube to find music they can dance to, either Hindi or Western music. Aarshia states, “music for me is not lyrics, like in songs. I go to the music part of it – like you have people who listen to the lyrics side and people who listen to the music, so I’m the music side”. This activity becomes part of their shared memory and family identity (De Nora, 1999; Smart, 2007), thereby an embodiment of their past, present and future. For Aarshia it also provides a release from her work and study and shows her daughter another side to her mother’s identity. Music, for Aarshia, enables her to feel free as shown in her story here with her daughter. Studying for a doctorate, Aarshia works long hours and so she makes the most of the time she has with her daughter to create memories and do enjoyable things together; one of these things is dance accompanied by traditional music from her Indian heritage. Aarshia tells how she teaches traditional dances from her culture to her daughter and how they go to festivals where they can see the dances in action.

You have this festival called Dandia where you dance with those sticks and everything. I try to take her to all those places and so that she knows the culture, appreciates the different aspects of it and kind of enjoys it. She doesn’t understand Hindi. She has forgotten our mother tongue. When I am putting on Hindi music, I put on music that she would like and enjoy – Indian music I choose that way – she will instantly pick up and remember it’s a beautiful thing – it’s a loss thing if people don’t do it because they’re turning modern. Indian classical music is beautiful, but people are like, ‘Nah, Justin Bieber’, but that’s good too. But do not lose what you have.

Music and dance cement the bonding experience and aid in the development of collective identities which is enhanced within a family environment where early bonding and attachment occur (Boer & Abubaker 2014). As De Nora (2000) states “[w]hen respondents are choosing music as part of this care of self, they are engaging in self-conscious articulation work, thinking ahead about how the music might ‘work’ for them” (p. 53).

The benefits for Aarshia are two-fold. It is crucial for Aarshia to develop a strong connection with her daughter replicating the relationship she has with her mother, her “anchor”, particularly because her husband works away. The transmission of culture is a moral imperative in all cultural contexts to develop children’s sense of belonging to their communities and extended families. This connects with my earlier discussion in Chapter 5 where mothers work

to develop certain dispositions in their children to create worthy children of value who will contribute positively to their communities. This is important mother work to maintain cultures and resist the homogenisation of music, as Aarshia explained, and positions her as a ‘good’ mother. It is also a key factor in creating her daughter’s sense of belonging to her Indian heritage and connect to her life in Australia. Her family’s ‘modern’ approach to musical tastes, as a mixture of Western popular music and traditional Indian music, duplicates her own childhood. Through their dancing, “I do a lot of Bollywood dancing. There’s a south Indian form called a Bharatnatayam and Kathakali which is a typical classical one. I love dancing, so we dance a lot at home”, Aarshia passes the history of her family to her daughter, while more contemporary dance forms create a bridge between the two cultures in an enjoyable experience. Music and dance become a new family language shared between them in their family space (Custodero, 2006). Aarshia is reinforcing the bond between herself and her daughter, as an affective recognition, to consolidate their love. Aarshia is nourishing this affective relationship, becoming her “anchor”, through their informal musical experiences as a fundamental part of their family life.

Kelele also offers a story about family life and the relaxed way singing becomes part of their everyday experience. Kelele presents her husband’s contribution like a gift, even though his voice is “bad”, she says,

I like singing and then, cause at home, we make our own words, probably like not going in the notes but then put in the tones. Like my husband do that for my kids too. He joins in – he makes his own singing words – probably someone hear, like our neighbours hear, he’s bad, but his singing ... he makes the kids sing and even my youngest one, when he’s in [the] back ... he just stands there singing his voice out loud and probably make up song. All of them, they love singing.

In Kelele’s family, singing is an activity where everyone can get involved. Kelele paints a picture of spontaneity and improvisation, laying a foundation for family memories. These family memories are based upon early emotional attachments to family of the past and have a deep significance (Smart, 2007). Kelele also expresses an appreciation of her husband’s involvement in these musical activities as a response to his acknowledgement of its importance to her as a form of affective recognition. In this example, I have illustrated a father’s involvement in family musical activities. I acknowledge fathers as active participants in family

musical life. However, I argue that mothers are the primary facilitators of such activity which is highlighted by the mothers' use of language in these instances, such as Kelele commenting "he joins in" suggesting the musical activity was already in progress. Kelele is the one who has set up the musical interaction, yet her labour remains hidden as she privileges the story of her husband and son. I argue that this reiterates the gendered narrative script of family life, where everyday interactions are above class debates, but where mothers' work in creating family musical experiences are made invisible. Interestingly, in many of the families I this study, the women reported their husbands/fathers to be 'tone deaf' or lacking in any tonal quality when singing. The mothers' self-positioning as the 'musical ones' seeks to position them as crucial in the transmission of cultural capital for their families and bolsters their self-worth and value. The fact that the fathers could not sing in tune did not stop them participating in family singing. While this thesis does not deny fathers' engagement with family music participation, the focus of this thesis is on mother-child interaction to make visible the work women do to produce musical children, although father-child musical interaction warrants further investigation.

Singing is at the forefront of Rosemary's narrative, too. Rosemary sang with her mother and immediate family around the piano. As a mother herself, she sang around the house; she now sings with her daughter Penelope and her extended family on holidays, and she sings with her grandchildren. This is something Rosemary does without consciously thinking. For Rosemary, the result of her musical mothering labour is embodied in their family gatherings where her children display their musical selves. De Nora (1999) suggests that it is through family musical experiences, actors "recapture the aesthetic agency they possessed at the time" as Rosemary's narrative illustrates. Such occasions strengthen her self-worth. Rosemary is able to re-live her past experiences with her mother through her interactions with her own family now, as similar to Linda's experience. Younger members of the family are inculcated in the family ways of being and become instilled with the family spirit and feelings of connectedness.

I never stopped singing, and I never stopped singing to my grandchildren. I walk in the door and I'm singing, and a thousand songs come back into my head. My daughter-in-law is stunned how that happens, but it just happens.

The musical grandmothers continue to transfer their musicality to their grandchildren, sharing music informally as a part of their family interactions. These reminiscences evoke emotions and attachments to one's family or stir specific subjectivities. As Smart (2007) writes, memories are embedded with feelings and are deeply social thereby constructing our

perception of family more generally and our own family life more specifically. Music acts as a powerful reminder of times together and remembrances remind ageing participants of how they used to be and what they have created (De Nora, 1999). Rosemary sings the “thousand songs” that come into her head when she sees her grandchildren; her delight in this is profound. Her continuing value to the family is reinforced through such interactions as she gains affective recognition from her daughter-in-law. Rosemary’s labour perpetuates the family doxa through ‘their’ repertoire of songs.

Like Rosemary, Susan consolidates her position as the musical grandmother in her family. Susan’s mothering *modus operandi* is still visible when she visits her grandchildren, continuing the of passing of her “cultural inheritance”,

I did find with [eldest daughter’s] four boys, mornings totally chaos, so I just started playing ... I gave them one of my old pianos, so I just started playing *Whimaway* – you know it’s just three chords. Next thing, the little boy number two comes out with the big bass drum and number one comes out with something else and, all of the kids had their instruments – and their Dad’s got a terrific voice – I gave him a harmony and (my daughter) just goes off like a firecracker – she can sing – gosselly type stuff – and just suddenly the whole family was doing this spontaneous combustion and yeah, I really like that sort of thing.

A spontaneous musical experience unfolds, initiated by Susan, as a way of dealing with the “chaos” she perceives in her eldest daughter’s family life. This musical connection is full of energy and vitality, like her grandchildren. This is commensurate of Susan’s sensitive mothering through music; chaos is met with music, harmonising literally and metaphorically. Susan is clearly proud of her accomplishment as the orchestrator of this musical scenario. In this story, not only does she tell of her family’s exceptional musical abilities, she also hints at her ‘good’ grandmothering. Susan is channelling the family dynamism into recreating a family feeling, forming memories of good times together through music, and continuing the intergenerational transmission of musical habitus.

Similarly, Sangeeta and Hema take turns in “polishing” Aarshia’s daughter, a term Hema used to describe the interaction between mother, grandmothers and grandchild during

their respective times together, gently encouraging, listening to her songs and watching her dances, each nurturing and enhancing her habitus in their own way. When spending time with her granddaughter, Hema says she gets to relive the motherhood she had with her son. It is full of reflection and nostalgic recollections of the past. Hema comments on spending time with her granddaughter:

I feel (as a) grandmother, ah, excit(ed) again. I (am) back to my son's childhood. I can just see that sometimes she sings, sometimes she dances and sometimes she speak ... (the) same sentence as my son was at his, at her age so I think that again I get his childhood ... I enjoy it ...

Hema's words reflect the complexity of maternal subjectivities. At times the women in the study occupied their mothering subjectivities and at others, their daughter subjectivities emphasising the dynamic, temporal and relational nature of these relationships (Bueskens, 2018). Beyond recollection of events, memories are selectively stored and remembered that have significance and value, as Hema demonstrates (Misztal, 2003; Smart, 2007). Hema creates that family feeling with her granddaughter, just as she had with her son, through music. Such interactions give richness and a sense of purpose to life. It is, however, not only mothers and grandmothers who create these precious family musical relationships, as children, too, can foster musical interactions within the family.

Musical influence is not always unidirectional. Children can also impact their mothers' listening repertoires. Mothers with young children will recall children's CDs being played incessantly in the car and report that this often occurred when children were absent. As Aarshia, perhaps tongue-in-cheek, is thankful to Disney for providing her family with a repertoire of songs "thanks to Disney we have so many songs (laughs) – *Let it go* – and everything". The catalyst for these songs has been her daughter, as similar to Jessica's daughter who loves the same Disney song. Jessica mentions another children's song that has captured her daughter's attention and how they engage with it together,

she kinda does it herself and we happily go with those moments. So, she wanted to learn how to do 'Peppa Pig'. (laughs) Oh lord! I know. (laughs) And so we worked out the series of notes that it would be based on the colour of the different keys on the glockenspiel, so we just drew little circles with the different colours of the notes. So, she does that kind of thing ... she engages it in her own way.

Jessica's daughter has chosen the repertoire and Jessica assists her daughter to play the tune. Her daughter also brings home music learnt at kindergarten – “she comes back, and she knows the words to all these amazing songs and she really loves it, really heartfelt singing. They've got all these beautiful songs and the actions and so they do all this lovely stuff”. Within the relationship between Susan and Jessica, is Jessica's influence of Indian and Tibetan music into Susan's aural repository, while Susan shares her recent finds of avant-guard music and her extensive experience of the classical repertoire. Three generations resource each other, in a continuing process of learning, sharing and music meaning-making.

It is indeed difficult to articulate the depth of meaning experienced between family members through musical connections. The mothers also related many stories of connections with friends and others in their communities, which Susan rightly labelled as music as a means of “sharing humanity”. Indeed, these words capture Frith's (2008) understandings when he states, “we are as humans, as feeling, empathetic beings, interested in and engaged with other people” (p. 178). Words seem insufficient to describe the emotion and spirituality of music for those who feel compelled to participate in it. To find adequate words is indeed an expression of cultural capital itself (Hall, 2018). In this chapter, I have encapsulated what music “affords” (De Nora, 2002, p. 21) these mothers in relation to family life. Rather than a strategy for gaining advantage, these musical connections and interactions give value to life to make life richer spiritually. These relationships transcend classed boundaries and promote inclusivity beyond fiscal accumulation. While I agree with Bourdieu that all action is interested, some are produced to add value to life rather than for extrinsic, or as Bourdieu would have it, economic gains. I argue that when it is your child making music, the intensity of the feeling music gives to the mother is multiplied, which is consistent with other research on the positive emotions evoked in mother-child music-making (Mackinlay, 2009). The intensity of this heightened affect matches the intensity of mothering. Linda tries to articulate how watching her children perform music means to her,

Enjoyment from a mother's point of view ... I just enjoyed listening to them ... all the orchestras, you like to go and see your children perform ... when you've got somebody in it that you know they've practiced, and you know they've enjoyed it. It just brings a bit of a ... you know ...

Linda finds the right words difficult to find and her sentence is left unfinished. She hints at our shared subjectivities, that of musical mothers, in the hope that I will understand what she

means. The mothers have variously described the feeling music gives them as “wonderful”, “gorgeous”, “emotional” and a deep “joy”. It is clear throughout this thesis what music has meant to Linda and her family – to all the mothers and their families. Similarly, Penelope describes the giving of joy in life as the ultimate transmission of motherhood, “As a mother, [music] is one of the most important ways that my daughter can get joy from life ... joy”.

Mothers are teaching their children how to have meaningful and joyful lives through music, which serves as a contrast to the strategising and concerted cultivation of mothers to accumulate capitals for future exchange. Music provides a connection with others and a sense of belonging to a family unit, where musical gatherings consolidate that family feeling. These musical connections are an opportunity to pass on family heritage, traditions and memories to the next generation through musical habitus. Such get-togethers, orchestrated by mothers, further entrench the family doxa and what it means to be part of a ‘musical’ family.

Concluding summary

In this final discussion chapter, I have shown the affective dimensions of musical mothering. I argued that the mother-child-music relationship is often mutually dependent in desiring recognition, that is, that mothers want their children to develop musically and children, acknowledging this desire in their mothers, accommodate them to become musical to gain their love and attention. This perpetual cycle works to reinforce itself over generations. I demonstrated that children look to non-parental others to encourage their musical pursuits if parents are absent. Extended family members or significant others, such as teachers, provided affective recognition in lieu of parental attention. In this chapter, I argued that mothers’ attentions are not evenly divided between their children and how this caused conflict and struggles for affective recognition in families. Mutual recognition through music serves to consolidate the relationship between mother and child, yet sometimes this recognition only pertained in a musical sense as tensions remained in other areas of their relationship. Similar tensions were in evidence between siblings where uneven distribution of affect was recognised, or siblings felt unable to compete with perceived maternal expectations compared with other siblings. I illustrated how some mothers envy their siblings’ musical lives which were less pressured. I probed into the idea that for engagement in music to be most enjoyable, it had to be free and without the constraints of perfectionism and competition. I argue when music, as a pleasurable and aesthetic experience, is woven into everyday life, then life is given its ultimate

value. Following on from this, in the last section I showed that music gives families an opportunity to connect on a profound level. Music creates a “family feeling” (Atkinson, 2014, p. 340; Bourdieu, 1998, p. 68) enhancing family connectedness and building a foundation for memory-making and affective ties. I argued that family musical experiences are embedded with meanings that are individually specific to each families’ personal circumstances. Music provides a space where families could “experience what it means to be human” (Frith, 2008, p. 178), by participating in an activity that brought intense emotional interaction, a connection with others, and deep joy.

Teaching mothers through music

My family moved to Australia in 2003 and I started a music teaching business, teaching children from birth to five years who attended with their carer. This was always part-time work as the children and carers who attended the classes only wanted to attend in the mornings as often their children slept in the afternoons. As I had young children myself, this part-time work suited me as I could fit it in school hours and still be with my own children when they were home. Being there for my children was important to me.

I started the classes from scratch and so the classes were very small when I began. I offered a free introductory session and mothers and their children came to trial the classes. Most stayed and very quickly the classes filled. Music provided a space for connection between the children and between the mothers. Many of the mothers were new to the area and wanted to meet with other mothers. The classes were held in a new suburb on the outskirts of a large Australian city. Many of the families came from overseas so the classes often had a diverse cultural mix, although predominately middle-class. Most of the mothers stayed at home with their children, although part-time work was also undertaken by some.

The weekly classes provided an opportunity to share music through play-based activities. It was not long before I realised that the mothers were enjoying coming to the class as much as the children. The mothers started inviting each other for coffee after class and making play dates with their children. I planned in activities for the mothers to do in the class, such as singing in rounds, which I justified by saying how important it was for children to hear harmony. Whenever I would ask the mothers to do a task that many of them found 'challenging', such as singing a part or singing by themselves, there was a nervous energy that pervaded. Still, as the class had a very relaxed and inclusive environment, they felt willing to have a go. A sense of achievement when small tasks were successful consolidated their relationships even further. Mothers began to share songs from their own family cultures to enrich the repertoires of the others in the group.

The mothers found sharing music with their children fun and enjoyable. Classes became like family groups where mothers would interact with other children. In many songs and dances, we would swap partners so that children interacted with other children and mothers with other children and mothers. Many mothers remained in the class for several

years and so relationships became very strong. Mothers supported each other and would often come long before the class starting time, to meet up and talk about their week.

After some of the mothers and their children had been in the class for several years, we became friends and there are a few I continue to see fairly regularly. I ran these classes for thirteen years. For me it was a wonderful experience of meeting people who wanted music in their children's lives. The classes were a lovely way to interact and connect musically with others. But there was always more to being in the class besides music, as I have shown. My Masters study (see Savage, 2015a) into the reasons mothers attended early years' music classes, undertaken after I had been teaching the classes for many years, found that the mothers attended the class to develop certain dispositions in their children to give their children an advantage when they started formal schooling. Skills such as confidence, perseverance and self-regulation were cited as desired attributes. Mothers wanted their children to develop an appreciation for the arts which would increase their middle-class sensibilities. For many mothers, they wanted their children to share music and love music just as they do. Additionally, the study found that mothers benefitted too, by learning and sharing parenting strategies, making like-minded friends, providing an escape from the tedium of domestic life, and increasing their well-being. This list is not exhaustive, as I know there are other reasons too, such as one father who came to the class with his daughter so that he could learn English, after arriving from a non-English speaking country.

As their teacher, the classes provided many similar benefits for me too. The mothers' enduring support of my classes provided me with positive affirmations of self and teaching and an opportunity to musically connect with others whom I may not have met under usual circumstances. As I reflect upon this experience, I acknowledge that even though I was teaching the children (and the mothers), we were in fact, teaching each other, learning about each other and building those relationships through music; we were musically mothering each other.

I still receive emails and messages from past parents telling me how their children are getting on musically and thanking me for initiating and nurturing their children's love of music. Past mothers contact me for advice on instrumental teachers or which type of instrument to purchase. These relationships continue as evidence of the lifelong meaning music has for these mothers and their families.

Conclusion – Reflecting on music and mothering relationships

Music heard so deeply

That it is not heard at all,

But you are the music

While the music lasts.

- T. S. Eliot “*Dry Salvages*” *Four Quartets*, 1941.

In this conclusion, I summarise my research to make known a relationship between music and women’s mothering practices revealing a number of key themes. Firstly, I emphasise the pivotal arguments of the thesis, focusing on the concepts of ‘good’ mothering through concerted cultivation and intensive mothering, class, gender, and morality. I have argued that in all aspects of musical mothering there is an immense amount of emotional labour expended and disclose how this is manifest differently within each mother’s practice. Secondly, I look at what this thesis contributes to knowledge about mothers and their practices through music, looking at the implications for scholarship, educators and our society more broadly. Thirdly, the limitations of the study are made explicit leading to implications for future research. Finally, I close the thesis with some concluding thoughts.

Being a ‘good’ mother through music

The focus of this study is on middle-class mothers and the relationship these women have with music, with the primary research question specifically on how music influences their mothering practices. Music is inextricably linked to family dynamics and intergenerational relationships. An overriding theme in this thesis is how the mothers felt obliged to adhere to the logic of ‘good’ motherhood. ‘Good’ mothering manifest in different ways in the mothers’ practices and remain a prevalent theme in the women’s narratives. Concerted cultivation (Lareau, 2003) was practiced through an intensive mothering which, I argued, is a means to appear ‘good’. This practice manifest in varying levels as a continuum, from the very intense where children’s lives are organised and controlled completely to a more casual approach where children have more autonomy and mothers had time to spend on other activities besides

caring for and catering to children's needs. This less-child centred time was often time spent in paid employment, so arguably not where mothers were free to pursue their own interests necessarily. Good mothers are those who spend time and make investments in their children and produce children with value. The mothers in this study make these investments through music. Mothers are the primary producers of cultural capital in families and therefore shoulder this responsibility. Some mothers made explicit their desire to develop their children's cultural capital as an important social skill to have when they were adults or to transmit their cultural heritage and their musical habitus to the next generation. Through concerted cultivation, mothers developed attributes they considered would be advantageous in educational and workplace spaces. Practices of concerted cultivation and intensive mothering were widespread and most intensive in mothers whose children were involved in formal music education.

I established how some middle-class mothers work hard to make the concerted cultivation of their children's musical ability appear natural, as if such skill was an ability they were born with, masking their strategising, careful planning and nurturing over time. This is a form of misrecognition. There was a disavowal of the time and effort involved in curating children's musicality through a concerted practice. The mothers in this study misrecognised their children's musical ability as a 'talent' or a proclivity that had been passed down through generations. While some mothers believed music to be genetically inherited, for others it was understood as a "cultural inheritance", thereby acknowledging the influence of family members to inculcate music into children's lives as integral to family life. Participation in music was something these families always did, and it formed part of their family doxa. The mothers did not wish to appear "pushy", such as making their children do excessive instrumental practice, aware that this was against the nurturing and caring of 'good' mothering logic. Mothers recognised there is a "fine line" between pushing and encouraging, particularly when mothers who are musicians themselves acknowledged that regular practice is fundamental to develop mastery. The tension between enforcing practice and nurturing dispositions presented a moral dilemma for mothers.

While it might appear that mothers are self-sacrificing, putting their own lives on hold for the sake of their children, it was clear that mothers also gain benefits from mothering intensively. Despite this form of mothering requiring a large amount of child-focussed labour, these mothers felt they were contributing positively to society and creating children of value. Mothers believed that music education developed sought-after skills and dispositions in their children. By extension, their children would be purposeful, worthwhile and moral citizens who

give back to society and live ‘good’ and productive lives. The mothers were variously judged as ‘good’ mothers because their children had achieved ‘good’ outcomes. Such ‘good’ children, therefore, bolstered their mothers’ cultural and social capital, and increased their mothers’ self-esteem and sense of worth. Implicit in the sacrifice of mothers is a selfish selflessness, highlighting the inherent benefits for mothers of such practices. Children’s involvement in music becomes as profitable for mothers as it is for their children.

I claimed that intentions to develop musical children are not homologous within families. Often one child is given extra maternal support to pursue music, particularly when mothers judged this child to be ‘musical’. Mothers made judgements on what was ‘right’ for their children, which were sometimes based on available resources or structural limitations. Judgements on selecting which child/ren to develop musically became a self-fulfilling prophecy, as the investments made in children’s musical futures, such as having lessons, insisting on practice, and belonging to ensembles, assists children to develop musically. Siblings not chosen to have music lessons were often regretful and sought alternate ways to gain their mothers’ affective recognition.

While I have shown that involvement in music has positive benefits for families, there is often a burden of expectation to ‘do music’ a certain way that can create pressure and division in families. After years of careful nurturing and intensive musical involvement, some children chose not to practice music. In some of these children, now mothers, this created a sense of freedom, where they felt they could play music on their own terms. For the mothers who had spent years developing their children’s musical skills, there exists a feeling of resignation tinged with hopefulness that their child might return to their instrument. There was not a sense that the time spent was wasted, but rather this was a momentary hiccup in the child’s musical life story.

The younger generation of mothers appeared the most casual in their musical mothering approaches. They all said they were still looking for signs of their children’s musicality, providing them with musical opportunities through home-based activity and informal education. None of them were seeking any formal musical interventions for their young children, such as early music tuition, even though informal musical experiences were occurring in some homes through an embodied and immersive inculcation. Despite children not learning an instrument formally or attending early music classes, mothers still made special time to be involved in music. Again, there was a denial of any effort to produce musical children even

though this was taking place. Grandmothers, too, were continuing to musically mother the next generation using planned interventions. This reiterates the inherent pressure women feel to be seen as ‘good’ mothers by mothering and grandmothering intensively.

Intensive mothering through music as a classed practice

In addition to the primary research question, a sub-question asked about the influence of class upon musical mothering. I argued that pursuing music education for children through an intensive mothering is a classed practice. Pressure to mother intensively is inherent when children are engaged in formal music tuition, particularly in classical music, where boundaries of acceptability are rigidly enforced. Music education is expensive and requires prolonged time and an allocation of resources to participate to reach proficiency, therefore class remains a pervasive influence in mothering practices particularly in relation to instrumental music tuition. In classical music, for example, access to appropriate resources continues to be fundamental to involvement. While some mothers stated they taught themselves to play, these mothers had already received tuition on other instruments prior to their chosen one. Therefore, they were already conversant with the language of music and were able to transfer their musical knowledge to a new instrument. Music was already part of their habitus; they knew how to play the game.

Despite all being middle-class musical mothers in this study, there were ways in which the women sought to differentiate themselves as better than the others, exemplifying the competitiveness inherent in the field of musical mothering. Judgements were made around friendship groups, consumption of music, employment status, teachers hired, instruments purchased, and practice regimes amongst other things. There was a continuous interclass adjudication of these middle-class musical mothers, each seeking legitimation of their mothering and acceptance from their peers, while simultaneously trying to achieve cultural, social and economic returns for their children above all others.

While mothers enjoy being with their children and feel emotionally nourished by seeing their children participate in formal music, mothers’ labour around their children’s musical training is highly pressured and fiercely judged by other mothers, which intensifies anxiety to make the ‘right’ choices. Judgements about mothers are often produced along class lines, where working-class mothers are pathologised for not developing their children’s potential or for lacking in aspiration, for example. However, I argued in the context of formal music tuition,

middle-class mothers also face judgements around the decisions they make regarding their children's music education. These judgements come from educational institutions, music teachers and other mothers, which compounds the pressure on musical mothers.

Similarly, there is a heightened anxiety around respectability. White middle-class mothers feel added pressure from mothers like the 'Tiger' mothers, an imagined racialized category that remains outside the dominant norm, yet who learn to play the game so perfectly that their children are selected into spaces usually reserved for the children of the white middle-class mothers. The perception is that Asian mothers' children take up positions in prestigious institutions, and as a result white middle-class mothers criticise these women's mothering practices as punitive and outside the logic of 'good' mothering. White middle-class mothers do this to maintain boundaries of classed respectability around themselves in an increasingly competitive field.

Although the term 'Tiger mother' originated in the US, its usage and familiarity in Australia illustrates how the phenomenon translates globally as intensive mothering, concerted cultivation and white middle-class maternal insecurity regarding children's futures. This insecurity is fed by neoliberal aspirations espoused by Western governments and the perception that continuous self-improvement is necessary, perpetuating the notion of never being quite good enough. Hence, middle-class mothers' incessant need to strategise to maximise their position.

Amongst the neo-liberal conditions around employment there is the perception that women can participate fully in the workforce and raise successful children without any additional supports. There persists a patriarchal cultural lie that women can 'have it all' and 'do it all', which compounds pressure on women who do not have the resources to make this work. Expectations of middle-class women's mothering is fraught with unrealistic goals and ideals of perfection, which only exacerbate women's compulsion to mother more intensively to repel notions of failure and achieve acceptance.

Musical mothering as a gendered practice

Along with the classed nature of musical mothering, the cultivation of musical children remains a gendered practice with mothers doing the majority of the emotional work and the continual thinking work involved in musical parenting. Whether it be looking for the right teachers, transporting their children to practices and ensembles, supervising practice,

timetabling family routines around musical events, making sure their children had the correct equipment/ instruments/ music/ uniform required for lessons and rehearsals, making time for music and maintaining the emotional stability of the family concurrently, mothers spend a vast amount of time and effort on their children's musical education. Mothers felt they need to 'be there', that is physically present, for their children and cater to their needs. This highlights the classed and gendered nature of such practices as being physically present for most of the time meant that the women could not work, or they had to adjust their working hours accordingly. When mothers were absent, children looked to non-parental others to meet their affective desires, and in some cases, foster their interest in music as part of that affective desire.

Working mothers are considered 'bad' mothers, yet some mothers who did not work felt guilty for not sharing the family economic burden. This increased pressure in mothers' lives to negotiate working and family life. Having to be there was implicit in families where children were receiving music tuition and in families where music was performed less formally as part of everyday life. Some mothers were actively developing skills through music they knew to be sought after in educational institutions. Some of the mothers were developing dispositions via music in their children they knew were valorised in the workforce. As Bourdieu espouses, the traits learnt through music are investments in children's futures and have exchange-value in educational and employment spheres. This is important for middle-class mothers to sustain or elevate their family's social positioning in an increasingly competitive society.

The mothers' narratives also revealed the huge amount of unpaid work these women did for the institutions their children were associated with. Some of these musical mothers invested hours of their time to run libraries or raise funds for these organisations. For some mothers, these investments afforded them capital benefits and friendships with like-minded others. These organisations, inclusive of local orchestras and schools, depend on the support of women like the mothers in this study to be able to function effectively and on a limited budget. Without the generosity of these women's volunteer efforts, many of these institutions would cease to operate or incur significant extra costs. This unpaid labour of musical mothers needs to be acknowledged more explicitly or remunerated in some way.

The intergenerational responsibility of cultural transmission

Upholding the façade of a united family is another marker of middle-class respectability and an encumbrance on mothers. Family values are passed down through musical traditions as a form of social reproduction, maintaining ‘who we are’ and highlighting what diversifies them from and connects them with others. Mothers are the drivers and music the vehicle. A final research question asked about the intergenerational influences on musical mothering to interrogate the women’s practices over generations as a form of cultural transmission. I showed that through music, mothers made family memories and brought families together. Musical traditions are passed on through generations and utilised as a way to transmit family values, rituals and expressions of love. Creating the feeling of family unity is perceived as a maternal responsibility, which requires constant monitoring and emotional labour. Even when children are adults and raising children of their own, mothers still felt a need to try and mediate family emotions, showing how mothering is a relentless and lifelong vocation. This conceptualisation of musical mothering is different to how such mothering is understood in Bourdieusian terms. While there is still a dimension of maternal labour and capital accumulation in family social reproduction, and the classed and gendered nature of this work is made visible, there is immense meaning and feeling for the musical mothers attached to their emotional labour through the intentions and outcomes that move beyond investments in futures and mechanisms for exchange.

The meaning of music for the women is as diverse as their mothering. Music is deeply personal and firmly embodied as a way of being entrenched with memories, emotion and belonging. There is a connection to heritage and culture, bridging past and present, and projections of possible musical futures as a validation of self and an expression of love. There is gratitude displayed when mothers told of family times with music, demonstrating a thankfulness for passing on musical traditions and an intention to do the same. Prior to children’s births, some of mothers were anxious that their children might not share their musical interests, expressing how this would make them gravely disappointed akin to grieving. It is because participation in music is a deeply embodied, spiritual experience, that musical mothers feel so sensitive to it – as the T. S. Eliot quote at the beginning of this chapter articulates “you are the music”. Music is part of these mothers’ personal histories and present subjectivities, and part of the women’s life’s work, that is as integral as a way of being.

Therefore, music becomes a cultural priority to be passed on to children from their musical mothers.

Music is tied to the women's well-being and positive sense of self. The mothers expressed a sense of achievement in their children's musical abilities as the result of their efforts and labours of love. The positive outcomes of their children were perceived as a validation of their mothering practices, and of them as individuals. The years spent developing their children's musicality affirms the mothers' self-worth and self-confidence. A deep pleasure is shown when mothers discussed their adult children's involvement in music through a knowingness and recognition of the intergenerational transmission of music as complete. Family life is enhanced by strong musical connections and memory-making. This shows that cultural transmission is intrinsic in human social interaction where mothers and music are pivotal.

Continuing the theme of the emotional work that mothers do, I showed how mothers utilise music as a tool in their mothering, to mediate the monotony of domestic life, to calm fractious children, to create a bond with their children and/or grandchildren, and to enhance relationships. The value of music to create and maintain positive relationships with others in a joyous and spiritual way is illustrated in the women's narratives, demonstrating how music can be mobilised within situations where relationships have broken down. Music is a means to bring families together, and although I argued that sometimes music is the key connecting factor, tensions can be found in other areas of family life. Music acts as a friend in times of loneliness, a mediator of emotions, and creates a feeling of family belonging with music-others when family is absent.

Finally, as a consequence of the women's perceived responsibility to uphold the family cultural capital and pass on family traditions, there was pressure to ensure the choices they made were the 'correct' ones. This is consistent with the pressure to be 'good' mothers. While I have mentioned the "fine line" managing children's instrumental musical practice, musical mothering more broadly is itself a fine line in numerous ways. From the decisions mothers make about investing resources in 'musical' children, to the teachers they select, to the time they make available for their children and how they spend that time, moderating children's feelings, to negotiating ways to mediate family relationships, enhancing family life and keeping family unity, to the passing on family culture, there is an expectation to get this 'right' to maintain social and cultural status, family appearances and be seen as a 'good' mother. This

pressure is not only limited to children's outcomes but is a persistent surveillance of mothers from the genesis of their mothering through to their own children's musical mothering, by wider society and local communities on a structural level, and by the mothers themselves.

Intergenerational musical transmission was most valued by mothers and was misrecognised as an expected practice. Mothers perceived that continued and increased involvement in music adds value to life, within and outside the family space, socially, culturally, and emotionally. Music is a capital inheritance, where musical skills, in a professional and non-professional sense, can maintain or increase social status. More significantly, however, is that music brings an affective recognition and validation which is more valuable to these mothers. Music is a way of being, deeply embedded within the habitus of each mother, and as such, the cultural inheritance of music to their children on some level is a given. Ensuring children are 'musical', or at least enjoy and participate in music, is the most important consideration for the mothers of this study. Music gives value to their lives and by passing a love of music to their children, mothers are also giving value to their children's lives. Together they share in this activity which creates meaning and gives them both immense pleasure. Mothers love participating in music with their children and love watching their children's musical engagement. In some families, music is part of everyday life and performed in a spontaneous and casual way; there is no pressure to perform at a certain level or in a certain way. Mothers appeared the most joyous about their own and their children's musical involvement when music was practiced in this way. It is the intensity of these affective and emotional dimensions of musical mothering that ensures mothers pass it on to their children.

Limitations and recommendations

This study focuses on the experience of middle-class mothers and their relationship with music. Rather than focussing on children's outcomes, this research emphasises the women's lived experiences of being a musical mother and the meaning it has for them and how it influences their mothering practices. Each experience is as unique as each mother. The study acknowledges the vast amount of labour expended in nurturing musical children and highlights the diversity of the women's practices. The study shows the complexity of musical mothering in relation to societal structures and cultural expectations, and how such practices have altered over generations in line with cultural norms. The intergenerational transmission of musical habitus is a moral imperative for the mothers. The reasons for their intense practices varied

according to each mothers' personal circumstances but were often related to affective responses between mother and child.

While mothers work hard to make the 'right' decisions regarding their children's musical training, outcomes are never guaranteed which means that mothers are continually anxious about their perceived appearances, caught in the process of negotiating and navigating, to evade harsh judgements. Involvement in music may go some way to mediate middle-class anxieties regarding social reproduction and class maintenance. The relationship between mothers, their children and music, presents a fine line which mothers walk with trepidation, yet paradoxically, one which they would not alter. When musical mothers get things 'right', the rewards are emotionally and spiritually fulfilling and counteract any negative connotations for them. Those mothers who engage in music in less formal and intensive ways, appeared to have more positive experiences.

This study looked at a small sample of middle-class mothers within a large city in Australia. While mothers are recognised as the primary caregivers in a majority of families, I acknowledge that this is not universal. Similarly, this study focused on middle-class practices, which presents a limited perspective on mothering practices more generally. I acknowledge that this research represents a very localised viewpoint within a particular context and within a specific time period where a similar study within a different location or with a different demographic or at a different time may produce contrasting data. This research presents a snapshot in time of middle-class musical mothering within this time and context. A follow up longitudinal study to interrogate the women's mothering practices would further substantiate the findings of this research in regard to intergenerational transmission and social reproduction, but unfortunately is outside the time frame of this thesis.

There is warrant to explore the relationships of other groups who are the primary caregivers of children to explore their experiences to understand the relationship they may have with music and how it influences their parenting practices. Within the thesis I acknowledged that fathers may also play a role in the raising of musical children. Similarly, what of the practices of working-class mothers, or specific groups of mothers such as teen mothers, or in families where biological mothers are absent, to explore their practices, which may or may not be different, and the relationship with music for them? I acknowledge there are limitations to the racial and ethnic analysis in this study. It would be advantageous to extend the intersectional theoretical lens to examine race and ethnicity more closely. Exploring the intersection of class,

race and ethnicity within the Australian context would enrich further research into musical mothering, especially given the cultural diversity of this country. The scope of such research is important if we are to truly understand the impact of musical engagement in family life and the value of music in the lives of people as unrelated to musical outcomes or extrinsic advantages.

I am also interested in looking at families where music is not a priority to see if their relationship to other activities is as intense as music for mothers, and what meaning is attributed to that. Similarly, how do musical mothers feel if they have children who decide they are not interested in music? How does this affect the mother-child relationship? I began this study with a comment about the ubiquity of music in people's lives. I sought mothers to be involved in this study who had a relationship with music and, in the cases of these women, it meant their children also had a relationship with music. Women agreed to participate because they considered themselves to be 'musical' or they were cognisant of their participation in music. As such, some of the mothers' involvement was in formal music tuition, something that had been an ongoing practice of their families over generations. Working through this thesis has made me consider, with the recognised ubiquity of music, how mothers who do not consider themselves overly 'musical' or may not be conscious of their musical involvement might utilise music in their mothering. What of those mothers who play their children's music in the car as they drive around, and then inadvertently sing their children's songs even when their children are not in the car, or who sing along to the radio as a family making up new words to familiar songs in a fanciful way, or watch *The Sound of Music* or *Grease* because they are iconic movies, experiencing music in a way that is ordinary, and unconsciously sought with their families? Some of the mothers touched on these experiences in this thesis, offering some of the sweetest moments and memories for them. Such moments are beyond classed practices yet are filled with meaning and a heightened sense of belonging. The incidental use of music in mothering is worthy of further investigation because these mothers may not consider themselves to be 'musical', yet music is still very much a part of their lives.

The study showed positive affects for mothers' well-being through music. While such programs exist, the intersection between music and health for mothers and their family could be further researched to develop more programs to support mothers and extended family through intergenerational musical engagement. Furthermore, this study could form the basis for further research on active ageing and generational contiguity through musical life course analysis, integrating sociology of music with life course sociology.

Closing thoughts

Completing this thesis, as an extension to my own musical mothering, has given me an opportunity to think about the value of music in my own life, reflect upon my own musical mothering practice and reconcile my feelings on how I was mothered. I have been able to appreciate the affordances given to me from my immediate and extended family, but also those non-parental others, who helped to nurture my musical self and who steered my life in a direction where music was placed at the forefront. My enjoyment and love for music is something I have passed on to my daughters. Even now, as both my children are in their adulthoods, I am filled with joy when we all sing in the car on a journey out together, or when my daughters divert into the study to play the piano. While I have questioned my own mothering decisions in regard to my children's prolonged and sometimes intensive musical education, I do not ever regret giving them the opportunity to have music as part of their lives. Similarly, I am happy to have had the chance to share my love of music with the many children I have taught over the years, with a hope that they, too, may love it just as much as I do.

This thesis has enabled thinking around music's inherent value, individually and socially, for women, and mothers in particular. Music, with its ability to connect humans together, should be utilised more to support mothers and create communities of care, not for advantages or cultural profits, but to mobilise musical ways to engage with each other as humans, without judgement or competitiveness, and to make life more pleasurable. Musical engagement should be disconnected from class issues, to bridge the class divide to create a more inclusive and tolerant society. I have shown that music can assist with well-being, improve bonding and family relationships and increase emotional resilience. Most importantly, music is pleasurable and brings joy to listeners and participants alike. It makes us feel good and makes our lives richer.

Mothers make significant and vital contributions to our culture through music as part of their everyday lives. This has infinite value. Every day they impart aesthetic beauty through music, inculcating it into the lives of young children to enrich and add value to them. Mothers make connections with others through music by enhancing experiences and bridging cultural divides. While musical mothers might be diverse in many ways, their objective is united – to bring music into the lives of others. Returning to ABBA's lyrics, "What would life be? Without a song a dance who are we?", music brings an exquisite and indescribable joy to mothering,

giving value, richness and meaning to life as an expression of love. A life without it is unthinkable. Its profound importance is not limited to the family home but weaves into the fabric of society, where music becomes the interwoven threads of our human existence, without which culture would be threadbare. It is mothers who are the creative weavers of this vital musical tapestry.

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Appendix A

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

Group A Mothers

Project: Aspirational mothering through music

Chief Investigator

DR CLARE HALL
Faculty of Education
Phone: 03 9904 4183
email: clare.hall@monash.edu

Co-investigator

DR HOWARD PROSSER
Email: howard.prosser@monash.edu

Student Researcher

SALLY SAVAGE
email: sally.savage@monash.edu

You are invited to take part in this study. Please read this Explanatory Statement in full before deciding whether or not to participate in this research. If you would like further information regarding any aspect of this project, you are encouraged to contact Sally Savage via the email address listed above.

What does the research involve?

The research aims to investigate how mothers use music and what this means for their life aspirations for themselves and their children. This will involve discussing with women and their mothers how music is a part of their family lives across the generations.

You are invited to participate in two 60 minute interviews to talk about your experiences and thoughts about music in your family. In order to be involved in this project, consent to participate must be given by both you and your mother. These conversations with the researcher will occur at a venue and time that suits you. The interviews will be audio-taped and later transcribed by the researcher, therefore it is necessary that this time is uninterrupted and child-free. You are requested to invite your mother to also participate in a separate 60 minute interview.

Why were you chosen for this research?

You have been invited to participate in this research as you are a mother and have previously demonstrated an interest in music – either for yourself or your family.

Consenting to participate in the project and withdrawing from the research

The consent process involves reading this Explanatory statement and signing and returning the consent form to the researcher. It is your right to withdraw from the study at any time. Under the current Queensland Privacy Act 2009, you have the right to access and amend any personal information at any time. During the interview, it is also your right not to answer any questions you do not wish to answer. Once your data has been checked by you, it will no longer be possible to withdraw this data from the project.

Possible benefits and risks to participants

Participating in this study will provide you with the opportunity to share your own experiences and to learn about other mothers' experiences of mothering and music.

Confidentiality

Every effort will be made to allow participants to remain anonymous and all data and information regarding participants and their families will be confidential. All names will be changed and family details altered so that others, including other participants, will not be able to identify you when the data is reported in the thesis or other academic publications. Interviews with mothers will not be discussed with mothers' mothers and vice versa. You will be able to read the transcript of your interview once completed if you wish. The researcher will inform you when your interview has been transcribed fully and make a time with you to read it and confirm its accuracy. You will be able to input further information at this stage or make adjustments if you desire.

Storage of data

Data collected will be stored in accordance with Monash University regulations. All data will be stored in hard copy in a locked compartment and on electronic devices, with password security, at the university. Only the researcher, Chief Investigator and Co-Investigator will have access to the information. Information will be retained for a period of five years at which time all information will be deleted, permanently de-identified or destroyed.

Results

At the completion of the research project, a summary of findings will be available for you to read by contacting the researcher.

Complaints

Should you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of the project (Ethics approval – 1168), you are welcome to contact the

Executive Officer,
Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC)
Room 111, Chancellery Building E

24 Sports Walk, Clayton Campus
Research Office
Monash University VIC 3800

Tel: +61 3 9905 2052 Email: muhrec@monash.edu Fax: +61 3 9905 3831

Thank you,

DR CLARE HALL

Chief Investigator

Appendix B

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

Group B participants

Project: Aspirational mothering through music

Chief Investigator

DR CLARE HALL

Faculty of Education

Phone: 03 9904 4183

email: clare.hall@monash.edu

Associate Supervisor

DR HOWARD PROSSER

Email: howard.prosser@monash.edu

Student Researcher

SALLY SAVAGE

email: sally.savage@monash.edu

You are invited to take part in this study. Please read this Explanatory Statement in full before deciding whether or not to participate in this research. If you would like further information regarding any aspect of this project, you are encouraged to contact the researchers via the email addresses listed above.

What does the research involve?

The research aims to investigate how mothers use music to achieve their aspirations for themselves and their children. This will involve looking at what music means to mothers and how that shapes their lives. I would like to discuss how the women's lives changed when they became a mother. In addition, I would like to look at how mothers' mothering practices have been influenced and how music has become a part of their lives. In order to look at possible intergenerational and cultural influences, I would also like to interview the mothers' mothers. In order to be involved in this project, consent to participate must be given by both the mother and the mother's mother.

Data will be generated through semi-structured interviews with the researcher at a mutually agreed venue and time. Each interview will take approximately one hour and it is necessary that this time is uninterrupted and child-free. The interview will be audio-taped and later transcribed by the researcher. The participant mother will be interviewed twice – once initially and then again once all the initial interviews have taken place to see if there are any general themes. Grandmothers will only be interviewed once.

Why were you chosen for this research?

You have been invited to participate in this research as you are a mother of a mother who has agreed to participate in this project.

Consenting to participate in the project and withdrawing from the research

The consent process involves reading this Explanatory statement and signing and returning the consent form to the researcher. It is your right to withdraw from the study at any time. Under the current Queensland Privacy Act 2009, you have the right to access and amend any personal information at any time. During the interview, it is also your right not to answer any questions you do not wish to answer.

Possible benefits and risks to participants

Participating in this study will provide you with the opportunity to share your own experiences and to learn about other mothers' experiences of mothering and music.

Confidentiality

Every effort will be made to allow participants to remain anonymous and all data and information regarding participants and their families will be confidential. All names will be changed and family details altered so that others, including other participants, will not be able to identify you when the data is reported in the thesis or other academic publications. Interviews with mothers will not be discussed with mother's mothers and vice versa. You will be able to read the transcript of your interview once completed if you wish. The researcher will inform you when your interview has been transcribed fully and make a time with you to read it and confirm its accuracy. You will be able to input further information at this stage or make adjustments if you desire.

Storage of data

Data collected will be stored in accordance with Monash University regulations. All data will be stored in hard copy in a locked compartment and on electronic devices, with password security, at the university. Only the researcher, Chief Investigator and Associate Supervisor will have access to the information. Information will be retained for a period of five years at which time all information will be deleted, permanently de-identified or destroyed.

Results

At the completion of the research project, a summary of findings will be available for you to read by contacting the researcher.

Complaints

Should you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of the project (Project 1168), you are welcome to contact the

Executive Officer, Monash University Human Research Ethics (MUHREC)

Executive Officer

Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC)

Room 111, Chancellery Building E

24 Sports Walk, Clayton Campus

Research Office

Monash University VIC 3800

Tel: +61 3 9905 2052

Email: muhrec@monash.edu

Fax: +61 3 9905 3831

Thank you,

DR CLARE HALL

Chief Investigator

Appendix C

CONSENT FORM

Group A Mothers

Project: Aspirational mothering through music.

Chief Investigator

DR CLARE HALL
Monash University
Faculty of Education

email: clare.hall@monash.edu

Student Researcher

SALLY SAVAGE
Monash University
Faculty of Education

email : sally.savage@monash.edu

I have been asked to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement and I hereby consent to participate in this project.

I consent to the following:	Yes	No
Participate in two semi-structured interviews	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Audio recording during the interviews	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The data that I provide during this research may be used by Sally Savage in future academic publications.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Name of Participant _____

Contact details of Participant Ph: _____ Email: _____

Participant Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix D

CONSENT FORM

(Group B Mothers)

Project: Aspirational mothering through music.

Chief Investigator

DR CLARE HALL
Monash University
Faculty of Education

email: clare.hall@monash.edu

Student Researcher

SALLY SAVAGE
Monash University
Faculty of Education

email : sally.savage@monash.edu

I have been asked to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement and I hereby consent to participate in this project.

I consent to the following:	Yes	No
Participate in 1 semi-structured interview	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Audio recording during the interview	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The data that I provide during this research may be used by Sally Savage in future research publications such as conference presentations and journal articles.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Name of Participant _____

Contact details of Participant _____ Ph: _____ Email: _____

Participant Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix E

Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee

Approval Certificate

This is to certify that the project below was considered by the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee. The Committee was satisfied that the proposal meets the requirements of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* and has granted approval.

Project Number: 1168

Project Title: Aspirational mothering through music

Chief Investigator: Dr Clare Hall

Expiry Date: 14/02/2022

Terms of approval - failure to comply with the terms below is in breach of your approval and the Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research.

1. The Chief Investigator is responsible for ensuring that permission letters are obtained, if relevant, before any data collection can occur at the specified organisation.
2. Approval is only valid whilst you hold a position at Monash University.
3. It is responsibility of the Chief Investigator to ensure that all investigators are aware of the terms of approval and to ensure the project is conducted as approved by MUHREC.
4. You should notify MUHREC immediately of any serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants or unforeseen events affecting the ethical acceptability of the project.
5. The Explanatory Statement must be on Monash letterhead and the Monash University complaints clause must include your project number.
6. Amendments to approved projects including changes to personnel must not commence without written approval from MUHREC.
7. Annual Report - continued approval of this project is dependent on the submission of an Annual Report.
8. Final Report - should be provided at the conclusion of the project. MUHREC should be notified if the project is discontinued before the expected completion date.
9. Monitoring - project may be subject to an audit or any other form of monitoring by MUHREC at any time.
10. Retention and storage of data - The Chief Investigator is responsible for the storage and retention of the original data pertaining to the project for a minimum period of five years.

Thank you for your assistance.

Professor Nip Thomson

Chair, MUHREC

CC: Professor Susan Grieshaber, Mrs Sally Savage

List of approved documents:

Document Type File Name Date Version

Explanatory Statement Savage - 1168 - EXPLANATORY STATEMENT 07/10/2016 1

Consent Form Savage - 1168 - CONSENT FORM 07/10/2016 1

Supporting Documentation Research questions 13/11/2016 1

Supporting Documentation Letter to organisations 13/11/2016 1

Explanatory Statement Savage - 1168 - EXPLANATORY STATEMENT Group A1 28/11/2016 2

Explanatory Statement Savage - 1168 - EXPLANATORY STATEMENT Group A3 28/11/2016 2

Explanatory Statement Savage - 1168 - EXPLANATORY STATEMENT Group A2 28/11/2016 2

Explanatory Statement Savage - 1168 - EXPLANATORY STATEMENT Group A4 28/11/2016 2

Explanatory Statement Savage - 1168 - EXPLANATORY STATEMENT Group A5 28/11/2016 2

Consent Form Savage - 1168 - CONSENT FORM Group A1 28/11/2016 2

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Consent Form Savage - 1168 - CONSENT FORM Group B 28/11/2016 2
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 Consent Form Savage - 1168 - CONSENT FORM Group A5 28/11/2016 2
 Consent Form Savage - 1168 - CONSENT FORM Group B 28/11/2016 2
 Supporting Documentation Interview questions 28/11/2016 2
 Consent Form Savage - 1168 - CONSENT FORM Group A 13/12/2016 3
 Explanatory Statement Savage - 1168 - EXPLANATORY STATEMENT Group A V2 16/01/2017 4
 Explanatory Statement Savage - 1168 - EXPLANATORY STATEMENT Group B V2 16/01/2017 3
 Supporting Documentation SAVAGE - permission-letter - ASPIRE 16/01/2017 1
 Supporting Documentation SAVAGE - permission-letter - Encircle 16/01/2017 1
 Supporting Documentation SAVAGE - permission-letter - Rivers Church of Christ 16/01/2017 1
 Supporting Documentation SAVAGE - permission-letter - Petrie Methodist Church of Samoa 18/01/2017 2
 Supporting Documentation Savage - 1168 - Second interview questions 01/02/2017 1
 Supporting Documentation Savage - Invitational email 07/02/2017 2
 Supporting Documentation Savage - 1168 - Sample Invitational Poster 08/02/2017 1
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Appendix F

Interview questions: Aspirational mothering through music

Mothers:

1. Think back to when you were younger. What was life like as a child, a teenager, a young adult? Did you think about having children? What sort of life did you imagine for yourself?
2. What sort of things did you imagine about motherhood when you were pregnant?
3. Did you have any preconceived ideas about what your life would be like? How you wanted your child to be like?
4. How has your life changed since having children? Do you think motherhood has changed you as a person?
5. What has influenced your mothering? Do you think you mother in the same way that your mother did? Do you feel compelled to mother in a particular way?
6. Can you tell me about your relationship with music and how it started?
7. How does music feature in your life now? Why is music important to you? How did that begin?
8. What does music mean to you as a mother?
9. How has being a mother changed your aspirations for yourself?
10. What aspirations do you have for your child? How do you think you might achieve these things? What part might music play in this?

Appendix G

Interview questions: Aspirational mothering through music

Grandmothers

1. Think back to when you were younger. What was life like (as a child, a teenager, early adult)? What sort of life did you imagine for yourself? Did you think about having children?
2. What sort of things did you imagine about motherhood when you were pregnant?
3. Did you have any preconceived ideas about what your life would be like? How you wanted your child to be like?
4. How has your life changed since having children? Do you think motherhood has changed you as a person?
5. What has influenced your mothering? Do you think you mother in the same way that your mother did? Do you feel compelled to mother in a particular way? What pressures are on mothers today that may be different to when you were a mother with young children?
6. How do you feel about being a grandmother?
7. Is music a part of your life? Why is music important to you? How did that begin?
8. What aspirations did you have for your child and yourself? How did you achieve these things? How did it play out?
9. What are your aspirations for your child and grandchild now that your child is a mother? How does music play a part in this, if at all?