Collective music-making as 'asset-based social policy': a pilot study¹

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Abstract (239 words): This paper examines the role of music teaching and music-making as not just a way of contributing to current happiness and well-being but as a social asset, i.e. as a contributor to the well-being especially of lower income groups. This idea is of particular interest to social policy globally because, having in many places moved on to an 'asset-based' footing in the 1990s and early 2000s, it has more recently, and in our view regrettably, retreated from that approach in recent times. We compare here the approach of two organisations operating different models of music-making and teaching - Sound Lincs of Lincoln, England, which practises a community-music model, and Musica in Crescendo and the Orchestra Diego Valeri within the Italian national system of youth orchestras, which practises a model originally derived from El Sistema of Venezuela. In both these cases, using a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches, we find that participation in collective musical activities has raised the aspirations of students and enhanced both their individual and their social capacities (and thereby potentially their productivity), almost as much within lower income groups and among households whose income is barely adequate as amongst higher income groups. However, we also find plenty of scope for policy and institutional reform, both in the sense of increasing the proportion of music participants from lower income households and in the sense of framing policies which can remove the financial and other obstacles to social mobility which still afflict these lower income groups.

Riassunto: (274 words) Questo articolo esamina il ruolo dell'insegnamento e della pratica musicale, non solo come una maniera di contribuire alla felicità e al benessere attuali ma anche come attivo sociale, cioé come contribuzione sopratutto al benessere dei gruppi meno privilegiati attraverso molti anni. Questa idea è particularmente pertinente alla politica sociale, nel senso che in tutto il mondo, avendo accettato l'idea della politica sociale come un transferimento di attivi (e non solamente di reddito) a favore dei più poveri durante gli anni 1990 e 2000, adesso purtroppo il fascino e l'implementazione di quest'idea si sono diminuiti.

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Qui si fa un paragone entre due instituzioni che rappresentano approcci contrastanti rispetto all' insegnamento e alla pratica della musica - *Sound Lincs* (Lincoln, Inghilterra) che pratica un modello 'community music' e *Musica in Crescendo* (San Salvo, CH) e l'*Orchestra Diego Valeri* (Campolungo Maggiore, VE), ambedue membri del Sistema nazionale italiano di cori e orchestra giovanili d'Italia, dove si pratica una metodologia originalmente derivata dal *Sistema* venezuelano. In entrambi i casi, utilizando una combinazione di approcci quantitative e qualitative, scopriamo che la partecipazione in attività musicali collettivi ha aumentato le aspirazioni degli studenti nei campioni e anche le sue capacità personali e collettivi – e quindi ha anche, si può supporre, aumentato la loro produttività, cosí entre famiglie di basso reddito come entre famiglie con redditi al di su della linea di povertà. Nonostante questa indicazione promettente, rimangono molte possibilità per ampliare questi impatti, sia nel senso di aumentare la proporzione di musicisti provenienti da famiglie di reddito basso, sia nel senso di disegnare politiche che possano togliere gli ostacoli finanziari e di altro genere alla mobilità sociale che tuttavia incontrano questi gruppi.

1.Introduction

Both in industrialised and in developing economies, welfare systems have undergone major changes in recent decades in terms of both the risks they face and the strategies they use to protect the vulnerable against those risks (Holzmann and Jorgensen 1999; Taylor-Gooby 2000; Barr 2001). One of the most significant of these changes is that non-governmental organisations and charities have become increasingly important, and in developing countries dominant, providers of welfare alongside state systems (Hickey 2008; Barrientos and Hulme 2009; Barrientos 2014).

In this paper we investigate the role of one particular form of charity, namely arts-based organisations, and specifically musical ensembles, as, in addition to their artistic functions, providers of welfare. In recent years, two types of organisation which globally combine a welfare role with a musical training and performance role have achieved particular salience: these are the community music movement and the *El Sistema* family of choirs and orchestras.

The emphasis of *El Sistema*, founded by the Venezuelan economics minister Gustavo Abreu in 1979 and since then funded mainly by the Venezuelan government², has been principally on teaching and performance of classical and folk musics, especially Latin American folk musics. It has created a cluster of orchestras of international standard which have been an inspiration for the best conductors in the world³, is more focussed on young

² Until 2005 the *Sistema* was entirely state-funded, initially through the Ministry of Youth Development and then through the Office of the President. From that time onward, however, it was able to attract sponsorship from international organisations, notably the Inter-American Development Bank and the *Corporaciòn Andina de Fomento*, which now account for more than 10% of its income.

³ Simon Rattle, chief conductor in 2006 of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra (and now of the London Symphony Orchestra) at that time declared 'I would say in my experience there is no more important work

people than the community music movement generally, and in Venezuela nearly all its 400,000 members are under 18. Throughout its life but especially during the presidency of Hugo Chávez from 1999 to 2013, *El Sistema* has sought to recruit the members of its orchestras from the poorest urban neighbourhoods, apartment blocks and rural smallholdings, and has been cited as 'the most successful social programme achieved by Venezuela in its 51 years of democratic governance' (Garcia 2009:9). Abreu has always insisted that the Sistema's objectives are social as much as they are musical, and that in his words 'music needs to be recognised as an instrument of socialisation and social development in the highest sense, to transmit the ultimate social values of solidarity, harmony and mutual compassion' (Arvelo, 2006: at 36' 10" into disc). These objectives have been increasingly pursued by means of concerts and recitals for specific vulnerable groups – in particular blind people (the *Manos Blancas* choir), prisoners, patients in hospitals and hospices, and most recently and experimentally expectant mothers *in utero*.

Venezuela of course has experienced hard times in recent years, which have impinged gravely on the operations of the *Sistema*. The country's economy has gradually collapsed into hyperinflation, and in 2015 the showpiece orchestra's inspirational chief conductor, Gustavo Dudamel, having criticised the security crackdown imposed by President Nicolàs Maduro, was banned by him from giving overseas concerts with the apex *Orquesta Simòn Bolivar*. More recently, *Sistema* members have become involved in the widespread rioting that has engulfed the country, and one of their violists was killed on the barricades in 2017. In the last two years, many *Sistema* members have flooded out of the country, and one of the sub-organisations most concerned with social protection, the *Manos Blancas* choir, has moved its operations to Honduras.

However, the original Sistema model, now in crisis domestically, survives at least on a global scale and has been widely replicated and adapted internationally over the last twenty years: the *Fundaciòn Musical Simòn Bolivar* believes that its model, or adaptations of it, are in use in some 33 countries, evenly divided between industrialised and developing countries (Creech et al 2013, updated), and in the United States alone replications of El Sistema exist in over 30 states (Tunstall, 2012). Even after the death of Abreu in March 2018, his legacy lives on – often, as we shall see, in various mutations enforced by the stresses inflicted on the original model.

By contrast with the Sistema family's emphasis on classical music, the community music movement, originating at the time of the US New Deal (Krikum 2010; Higgins 2015) typically has its centre of gravity in rock, pop and folk music and 'music from the shows', aims to reach all ages rather than focussing on younger people, and typically provides musical instruction through purpose-built voluntary organisations rather than through the state or the private educational system. Its claim to have a social impact is based on an acknowledgement of the diversity of existing musics and communities and an attempt to achieve music created *within*, rather than simply for the benefit of, everyone in

being done anywhere in music than what is being done in Venezuela [by the Sistema organisations] and that 'the music being played here is not only enriching lives but saving lives' (Arvelo, 2006; at 2'05" and 38' 10" into disc)

the local community, As one of us has put it, community musicians 'seek to enable accessible music-making opportunities for members of the community; put emphasis on the variety and diversity of musics that reflect and enrich the cultural life of the community, the locality and the individual participants; and are particularly aware of the need to include disenfranchised and disadvantaged individuals or groups' (Higgins 2012: 5).

Is the claim that collective music-making is an effective instrument of social policy a plausible one? At present, this question cannot be answered. A good number of evaluations, both of community music activities and of Sistema-type operations, do exist (e.g. Ainsley 2013; Creech et al 2013; Glasgow Centre for Population Health 2015...); but all of these are purely qualitative in nature, none of them constructs a control group or makes a rigorous comparison of welfare indicators with or without the project, and, of greatest importance for the present argument, none of them examines the impact of musical performance on poverty or other negative indicators of well-being. Nobody (with the exception of one highly contentious piece on *El Sistema*, Cuesta 2008)⁴ has attempted to measure how far the impacts of collective music-making activities reach down the income scale; how those activities have changed the lives of participants below the poverty line; or what changes could be made to increase that social impact. Therefore, we do not yet have a rigorous picture of how music can potentially serve as an instrument of social policy.

In this paper, we seek to change that state of affairs in a small-scale, experimental way. We begin from the proposition that music (of all kinds) seeks to change individual capacities – not only the ability to perform music, but also personal qualities connected with individual and social well-being such as resilience, creativity, ability to participate in group activities, and ability to cope with and manage intergroup conflict. These qualities may be seen as assets, and therefore as components in an *asset-based* welfare policy which, by contrast with traditional welfare policies, seeks to enhance and stabilise the value of low-income households' physical and human assets rather than simply supplement their consumption (Sherraden 1987, 2005; Finlayson 2009; Ronald, Lennarts and Kaddi 2017)⁵. At the same time, it has been claimed that collective music-making

⁴ José Cuesta(2008) wrote an evaluation of El Sistema for the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), recommending that the IDB make a substantial long-term investment in El Sistema, on the grounds that it had not only achieved remarkable standards of musical performance but was responsible for much of the substantial reduction in poverty during the Chávez years. However, Baker (2014), at pp.263-274, has argued that Cuesta's results were based on a nonrandomly selected sample, and on a Venezuelan poverty line which almost every household in the country was defined as existing below.

⁵ Notable applications of asset-based welfare policy include, in the United States, the individual development accounts and Savings for Working Families Act introduced respectively by the Clinton and Bush administrations in the 1990s and early 2000s (Sherraden 1987, ch.1); in Britain, the 'baby bonds' and Savings Gateway subsidy to low-income savings provided by the Labour government between 1997 and 2010 (Emmerson and Wakefield 2001, Sherraden 2005); and in developing countries, the conditional cash transfers introduced by many governments since 2000, which supplement the incomes of low-income households conditional on those households investing in their own human capital (via attendance at schools and health clinics)(Barrientos 2013, Bastagli et al. 2019). The papers by Finlayson(2009) and by Ronald et al. (2017) cited above focus on housing assets as the main element in an asset-based welfare strategy. The sharp global fall in house prices between 2007 and 2010 is a warning that asset-based welfare strategies have risks attached to them. Collective music-has the merit that many of the capabilities and skills conveyed by musical training are not traded in any

promotes working together and the creation of social networks and social capital, which has been found to increase the productivity and growth of the economy (Knack and Keefer 1997, Whiteley 2000).

As noted above, however, these ideas have not been supported or confounded empirically, and our main purpose is to assess whether and how collective music-making actually provides a useful supplement to state provision of welfare, and what reforms are required to make such provision more effective and more focussed on lower income groups. Since our aim is to understand what kind of institutional and policy changes are needed to optimise the social impact of musical performance, we deliberately make a contrast, in sections 3 through 5 below, between different approaches to the provision of community music, and in particular between the approach of the *El Sistema* family of organisations and more informal approaches to music-making. As described in the next section (section 2), the approach is both qualitative and quantitative, combining openended interviews with a more formal approach in which the net impact of participating in collective music-making activities is modelled econometrically.

2. Approach

One outstanding estimate of the power of music to stimulate the personal and intellectual development specifically of young people has been made by Hallam (2010). Hallam's paper explores the evidence relating to ' the impact of musical skills on language development, literacy, numeracy, measures of intelligence, general attainment, creativity, fine motor coordination, concentration, self-confidence, emotional sensitivity, social skills, team work, self-discipline, and relaxation' (Hallam 2010: 269). It concludes that music enhances literacy and numeracy skills, self-esteem, self-efficacy and aspirations. Therefore, Hallam concludes, 'there is a strong case for the benefits of active engagement with music throughout the lifespan'. But, she adds,

Engagement with music can enhance self-perceptions, but only if it provides positive learning experiences which are rewarding. This means that overall, the individual needs to experience success. This is not to say that there will never be setbacks but they must be balanced by future aspirations which seem achievable and self-belief in attaining them. (Hallam 2010: 281-282).

This statement implies that the impact of music on learning, and thence on development, should be seen as a two-step process: from future aspirations to motivation to learn and from motivation to learn to skill development, which happens only if the individual 'experiences success'. As Dalton, Ghosal and Mani (2016) have

market, and this reduces the risks associated with this form of investment by comparison with property investment.

argued, lower-income people especially may be so put off by disappointment and lack of ambition as never to even seek self-improvement and education, and thus may never acquire the qualities of self-confidence, creativity, and capacity for teamwork and conflict management to which Hallam refers. As Dalton et al (2016:165) put it, 'the poor may lack the capacity to aspire, and policies that strengthen this capacity [might] help them to contest and alter the conditions of their poverty'. Amongst such policies, Dalton et al. explicitly mention Abreu's insistence on the provision of free musical education for all Venezuelan children. In the absence of such policies, however, poor people may be caught in a low aspirations – low effort – low income – low aspirations vicious circle.

Our own approach retains Hallam's, and Abreu's, focus on collective music-making as an activity which builds personal capacities, and thereby both human and social capital. However, it seeks to build on that analysis in three ways:

Firstly, it examines the process of learning from music among all age groups – not only young people but all ages.

Secondly, it examines that linkage as a two-step process, from experiences of music to changes in aspirations, and from changes in aspirations to changes in motivation and performance, as described above.

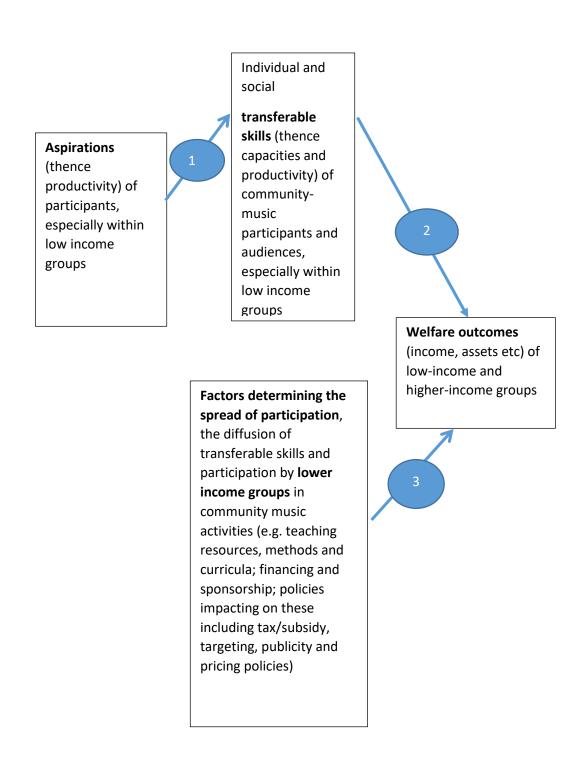
Thirdly and crucially, it introduces a distributional dimension, as is implicit in our principal research question, 'can collective music making function as a tool of social policy and if so how?' We ask not only whether music has an impact, but also whether it has a social and redistributive impact and whether that impact can be changed by innovations in institutions and policy. At least since Ruskin (1862:15), writing in the mid- nineteenth century, warned that 'precisely in the degree in which any artist possesses original genius...is the increase of certainty that he will have a hard battle to fight' we have been aware of the obstacles to artistic talent, of all kinds, being properly rewarded. And with recent changes in school curricula and welfare funding regimes, those obstacles have increased at the bottom end of the income scale, in Britain and other countries⁶ (see Griffiths, 2014, Gill, 2017, and Lightfoot, 2018, for the UK case and Vampa, 2017 for the Italian case), with a number of commentators warning that the proportion of households below the poverty line taking advantage of state music education has declined and even that music education risks being wiped out in secondary schools (Burns, 2017; Lightfoot, 2018). Should this situation be changed as part of a coherent social policy, can it be changed and if so how? This is the main problem which we seek to address.

In Figure 1, we present the story discussed above, as a simple process of cause and effect, running from aspirations to skill development (linkage 1), from programme design to skill development specifically among lower income groups, and from skill development to indices of well-being. Following the previous argument, we envisage that aspirations will

⁶ In Britain, recent cuts in public spending on music education have been rooted partly in cuts in the part of the welfare (DWP) budget that is devoted to subsidising music education beyond the school-leaving age (Youth Music) and partly in policy changes within the state education system, in particular music becoming, since 2010, no longer a compulsory subject for the English Baccalaureate or EBACC (see Burns 2017)

impact (at the time and with a lag) on households' individual and social skills (linkage 1) and thence on their welfare (linkage 2). At the same time, policies and institutions favouring the inclusion of low income groups will impact on their welfare (linkage 3).

Figure 1. The 'impact chain' to be estimated



3. Methodology and data

The model to be tested. We now test the model of Figure 1 by assessing, using both quantitative econometric methods and qualitative open-ended questions, the economic impact of two differentiated music-making institutions on aspirations and thence on two indicators of individual capacities, resilience and internal locus of control, and two indicators of social capacities, ability to work in groups and ability to defuse conflicts, all of which hold out the ability to increase well-being.

The combination of linkages (1) and (2) is estimated econometrically as:

(1)Indicators of individual and social capacities = constant + b_1 [years of exposure to collective music-making] + b_2 [current and lagged aspirations] + b_3 [controls] + error term,

where the controls are influences on individuals' capacities, such as income and extraneous shocks, not included in the model.

This analysis is accompanied by a qualitative analysis of the same relationships; linkage (3), by contrast, is analysed by purely qualitative methods.

The sampled organisations. This equation is estimated on a random sample of the clientele of two contrasted organisations in different parts of Europe, representing respectively the community-music and *El Sistema* musical traditions, seeking to provide social protection through music⁷:

Sound Lincs originated in 1998 from a request by Lincolnshire County Council to the cellist Nikki-Kate Heyes to establish a music service for the entire county. Unlike many so-called 'venue-based' community music ensembles which seek to achieve social impact by attracting the clientele to a central base typically in a deprived area, Sound Lincs takes the music, typically in the form of small instrumental ensembles and choirs, to the customers. Most of these are adults, including retired people⁸ and migrant workers, but Sound Lincs' social services also encompass operations in support of youth justice services, children in hospital and afflicted by special education needs and disabilities, and children at risk.

The operations of *Sistema Italia*, as we shall refer to it⁹, began in 2010 as a result of encouragement by the conductor Claudio Abbado, with financial support being provided by a number of private foundations. The fundamental objective, as in the Venezuelan Sistema, is to fight poverty by using music education to build children's personal

⁷ However, a limitation of our analysis is that like Hallam (2010:280), we do not interview individuals not involved in active music-making.

⁸ There has also been a recent initiative to take some of these choirs into care homes – this is discussed in more detail in the *Results* section below.

⁹ Formally Sistema delle Orchestre e dei Cori giovanili in Italia.

confidence and self-worth, and the fundamental organisational unit by which this is built up, as in Venezuela, is the nucleo (cell), many of them well-established groups before their absorption into the Sistema network, of which there are now over 90 spread across the whole of Italy, in each of which music teaching is organised in association with a variety of training orchestras and choirs (Coppi 2017: chapters 9, 12 and 13). The balance between different types of musical activity, however, is different from the Venezuelan case, with a much greater emphasis on choral music in Italy. Also, as the Venezuelan political crisis has deepened and it has become less possible to depend on support from the Venezuelan institutions, the Italian nuclei have found themselves needing to develop their own organisational models. This has resulted in innovations at both nucleo and organisational level: in particular, a substantial amount of jazz, crossover and film music has found its way into the repertoire alongside classical music. The social protection activities of the Italian Sistema are predominantly with blind people, street children and refugees, once again in addition to lower-income children within the sample. More recently, alongside the existing Sistema a new and mainly privatelyfinanced organisation, to be known as Musica e Società, is planned to start operation in 2020 mainly in the north of the country alongside the existing, more dependent on local government finance, nuclei.

From the above, it is possible to generalise that Sistema Italia is in general more large-group (orchestra)-oriented, more child-oriented and, even now, more classical music-oriented than Sound Lincs, although as we go along we shall encounter there are plenty of exceptions to each of these generalisations.

'Capacities' to be analysed. The individual and social capacities (aspirations, ability to work in groups and ability to defuse social conflicts) to be analysed here are chosen on the grounds that for each of them there exists, firstly, empirical support for Hallam's claim that a logical connexion exists between the suggested cause and effect and secondly robustness tests, or methodological reviews, which certify that a reliable measure of the selected independent variable can be delivered – specifically the paper by Dalton et al. (2016) reviewing the literature on aspirations, Windle et al. (2011) on resilience measures and Esqueda Torres(2004) on internal locus of control. In all of the questionnaires, as illustrated in the Appendix, separate questions are used for young children under 11, secondary school attenders between 11 and 18, and adults.

The analysis was carried out in the summer of 2019 on two samples containing a total of (50)¹⁰ participants from the organisations described above: (16) of them from Sound Lincs and (34) from a combination of two ensembles within the Italian El Sistema group, *Musica in Crescendo* from San Salvo near Pescara in the south-east of the country and the *Orchestra Diego Valeri* from Campolungo Maggiore near Venice in the north-east.

¹⁰ The sample will be enlarged in later drafts of this paper!

4. Results

We now put our basic working hypothesis, that an improvement in the personal and social capacities of individuals will be driven (as per equation (1) above) by both higher exposure to music education and by a prior increase in the aspirations of individuals thus exposed, to the test. The results are as specified in Tables 1a and 1b below.

Table 1a. The impact of community-music organisations on individual capabilities: regression analysis

Impact	Resilience:				Locus	of control:			Depressio	n:		
(regression coefficient)	Constant	Aspiration level (on scale 1-5)	Exposure to ensemble playing (in years)	R ²	Constant	Aspiration level (on scale 1-5)	Exposure to ensemble playing (in years)	R ²	Constant	Aspiration level (on scale 1-5)	Exposure to ensemble playing (in years)	R ²
Entire sample (n=50)	-0.29 (0.90)	0.31** (1.97)	0.24** (2.13)	0.28	-0.30 (0.81)	0.22** (2.23)	0.088 (0.94)	0.14	0.87** (2.14)	0.12 (0.73)	-0.04 (0.35)	0.02
Sound Lincs sample (n=16)	0.06 (0.15)	0.16 (1.33)	0.12*** (3.49)	0.50	-0.25 (0.46)	0.28** (2.34)	0.011 (0.10)	0.29	1.88*** (2.87)	-0.15 (0.84)	-0.16 (-0.91)	0.10
Musica in Crescendo and Orchestra Diego Valeri sample (n=34)	-1.08** (1.97)	0.59*** (3.65)	0.15 (1.08)	0.40	-0.24 (0.46)	0.22** (2.23)	0.088 (0.94)	0.10	0.24 (0.33)	0.31 (1.49)	-0.04 (0.26)	0.07

Source: Survey, summer 2019 (for questionnaire see appendix). Estimation is by OLS with robust standard errors unless otherwise indicated: figures in brackets below coefficients are Student's t-statistics: ***/**/* denotes significance of a coefficient at the 1%/5%/10% level.

Table 1b. The impact of community-music organisations on social capabilities: regression analysis

	Extroversi	on:			Capac	ity for conflict re	esolution:	
Impact	Constant	Aspiration	Exposure	R ²	Constant	Aspiration	Exposure	R ²
(regression		level (on	to			level (on	to	
coefficient)		scale 1-5)	ensemble			scale 1-5)	ensemble	
			playing				playing	
			(in years)				(in years)	
Entire	-0.77	0.46***	0.27**	0.35	-0.38	0.27***	0.26***	0.30
sample	(1.48)	(3.18)	(2.16)		(1.10)	(2.73)	(2.70)	
(n=50)								
Sound Lincs	-1.94	0.80***	0.22**	0.62	0.19	0.11	0.05	0.05
sample	(0.99)	(4.56)	(1.27)		(0.38)	(0.79)	(0.40)	
(n=16)								
Musica in	0.54	0.064	0.34**	0.21	-0.25	0.24*	0.30**	0.29
Crescendo	(0.99)	(0.40)	(2.49)		(0.48)	(1.61)	(2.30)	
and								
Orchestra								
Diego								
Valeri								
samples								
(n=34)								

Source: Survey, summer 2019 (for questionnaire see appendix). Estimation is by OLS with robust standard errors unless otherwise indicated: figures in brackets below coefficients are Student's t-statistics: ***/**/* denotes significance of a coefficient at the 1%/5%/10% level.

[NOTE : LATER VERSIONS WILL CONTAIN ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS FROM LINCOLN AND USE ALTERNATIVE ESTIMATION METHODS TO CONTROL FOR BIAS]

From tables 1a and 1b we find that the individual quality of increased *resilience* and the social qualities of *extroversion* and *capacity for conflict resolution* are significantly associated with, and appear to be caused, both by higher aspiration levels in the previous period (two years ago) and by longer periods of exposure to community music. The individual quality of *internal locus of control* is, with these data, significantly associated with higher aspirations, but not with a longer period of exposure to individual and collective musical education within the ensembles surveyed. The individual quality of (change in feelings of) *depression*, somewhat surprisingly, is not significantly influenced either by higher aspirations or by longer periods of exposure to music education.

(comment on intra-sample differences!)

Next, we interrelate the above statistical (quantitative) findings with the qualitative testimony of survey respondents. Table 2 presents in tabular form the impressions of respondents concerning the change in their musical preferences, their

individual development and the development of their social relationships which have been brought about by their musical experiences, and places these testimonies alongside the changes in individual capability measures recorded in Tables 1a and 1b.

Table 2. Qualitative testimonies, in relation to measured change in interviewee 'capabilities'

Responses from lower-income participants (below the UK/Italian poverty line) are highlighted in red

Interviewee	Perceived change in musical preferences	Interviewee comments on individual development	Interviewee comments on social development	Critical comments and suggestions for improvement	Measures of progress (from table 1a and 1b:		
					Change in resilience 2017-2019 (sample mean = 1.31)	Change in extroversion (sample mean= 1.35)	
Sound Lincs 2		Aspects of my experience have been frustrating – even negative – I find that (the Stringing Nettles teacher) talks too much and listens too little. Most music we play is geared towards the ukulele – this constrains what I as an (electric) guitarist can play.	Being with this group has made me more sociable [even though] they are more middle class than me		0	-2	
Sound Lincs 3		My husband died last year – it gets me out, forces me to be with other people and helps me to fight loneliness	I am naturally a control freak and very anti- social – music provides an antidote to that. Although I am sure that I would manage faced with any problem, I do suffer from anxiety.		2.5	-1	
Sound Lincs 4		(Being in Stringing Nettles) has enhanced my life and work – by teaching me new skills and expanding my social life. Sound Lincs has given us the confidence to all play	Music is important to the human soul. I had known before that dementia sufferers could remember tunes they used to sing in	But I would welcome a bigger range of artistic activitiesmaybe an orthodox orchestra?	1.5	0	

		together from a zero base; we have tried desperately to 'get people to join the tennis club but not blast them off the court'	their childhood even if they could remember no events from that time; but to actually see people's faces light up in a care home by singing them songs and hymns from their childhood was something else. Sound Lincs has done the essential first thing by bringing people together (and supplying the skills).			
Sound Lincs 5	[The Stringing Nettles teacher] has extended the range of musics beyond what we previously knew, and has taught me techniques I didn't know before.	Before I joined the group I felt quite low, as if my dreams and passions had all vanished. Coming back into the class with really nice people has sparked that up. It has boosted my confidence and my children's, helped me with my memory, and I have come off medication. It has brought back what I loved.	Stringing Nettles (SN) has helped me send a more calm response to people in crisis. I have become more sociable and extroverted and SN has helped increase my self-esteem.	Sound Lincs could expand out of its work in care homes, mental health (especially in marginalised schools) and physiotherapy because it loosens up your body.	1.5	1.5
Sound Lincs 6	Initially my main preferences were in pop music; with time, they have evolved towards older music (traditional songs such	I am wheelchair-bound [but] it has helped me out of a low place because it is the one thing you have to come out of your house to do.	I am determined to get up and about on crutches and out of my wheel chair.	The choir could go into nursing homes; also schools, and galas and fetes. Also they could improve their publicity – they don't seem to have anything on the internet –	1	1

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African choral music).			_		
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	world, it has been fantastic.				
			have sponsored two		
			children in a partner		
			church in Uganda. I was		
			creative before I joined		
			this choir but have been		
			able to be more so		
			because Liz is so good at		
			organising things.		
It has made me more	I feel so uplifted and so good		More publicity through	2	0
interested in music of	when I finish a rehearsal. It		radio/posters/newspapers;		
all sorts – some	makes you feel worth		New social support		
African, some Beatles,	something – you feel on top		activities – could operate		
some from musicals	of the world and can't wait				
	for next week. It has helped		•		
	•				
			·		
	-		= -		
Now, we do especially	The impact on me has been	I have made some	,	0.5	2
	•		<u> </u>		
rounds and 60s music		I would be lost without			
	,				
	· ·				
	•	-			
	_				
	interested in music of all sorts – some African, some Beatles, some from musicals Now, we do especially African music, some	It has widened my musical interests – we sing things we have never heard of before, many of them from musicals. I wouldn't miss it for the world, it has been fantastic. It has made me more interested in music of all sorts – some African, some Beatles, some from musicals African musicals I feel so uplifted and so good when I finish a rehearsal. It makes you feel worth something – you feel on top of the world and can't wait for next week. It has helped me incredibly with the depression and anxiety that I used to suffer from. Now, we do especially African music, some The impact on me has been tremendous: I started singing	It has widened my musical interests – we sing things we have never heard of before, many of them from musicals. I wouldn't miss it for the world, it has been fantastic. I feel so uplifted and so good when I finish a rehearsal. It makes you feel worth some from musicals of the world and can't wait for next week. It has helped me incredibly with the depression and anxiety that I used to suffer from. Now, we do especially African music, some rounds and 60s music Now, we do especially African provided me with a release – to park all my troubles at the door – it gives in itThe people and	African choral music). It has widened my musical interests – we sing things we have never heard of before, many of them from musicals. I wouldn't miss it for the world, it has been fantastic. It has made me more interested in music of all sorts – some African, some Beatles, some from musicals Now, we do especially African music, some rounds and 60s music Now, we do especially African music, some rounds and 60s music It has made me more interested in music of all sorts – some African some Beatles, some from musicals I feel so uplifted and so good when I finish a rehearsal. It makes you feel on top of the world and can't wait for next week. It has helped me incredibly with the depression and anxiety that I used to suffer from. Now, we do especially African music, some rounds and 60s music in the mission and anxiety that used to suffer from. I have done things that I have never achieved before, publishing a children's book. I lead a children's book. I lead a children's book in another church, write musicals for it, and have sponsored two children in a partner church in Uganda. I was creative before I joined this choir but have been able to be more so because Itz is so good at organising things. More publicity through radio/posters/newspapers; New social support activities – could operate in children's ecurtes, day care centres, hospitals, prisons even. Could form a community choir within the prison ('it would calm them down') Sound Lincs is not very tremendous friendships. I would be lost without the choir and cannot the choir and cannot the contemplate not being in itThe people and	African choral music). It has widened my musical interests – we sing things we have never heard of before, many of them from musicals. I wouldn't miss it for the world, it has been fantastic. It has been fantastic. It has made me more interested in music of all sorts – some African, some Beatles, some from musicals I would and and the in the village shop. It has made me more interested in music of all sorts – some African, some Beatles, some from musicals Now, we do especially African music, some rounds and 60s music and 60s music with a release – to park all my troubles at the door – it gives to the more plant of the world and the provided me with a release – to park all my troubles at the door – it gives to the makes you'd and the more on the more on the more of the world and can't wait for next week. It has helped me incredibly with the depression and anxiety that I used to suffer from. I have done things that I have enever achieved before, including publishing a children's book. I lead a children's book a publishing a children's book. I lead a children's book a publishing a children's book. I lead a children

		(Nobody looks at you accusingly if you are not in tune.)	me more confident and sure of myself. Before, I would struggle to go to some of the singing events. But now, because everyone encourages you, I feel better able to cope – I feel everyone is behind me.			
Sound Lincs 13	{ I was told at first that I couldn't sing, but gradually discovered that I could.) Originally, I preferred more popular music from when I was younger (The Eagles, Fleetwood Mac etc). Now [under Liz's influence] I have moved onto African music and slave songs, even medieval stuff.	It has been absolutely transformational. I have suffered from depression for years. It is good for my soul: of all the things I do, this is my favourite – I am walking on air when I leave, the sense [of catharsis] is so overwhelming. She makes us believe and everyone is valued for their contribution.		There is a perception that (Sound Lincs 13) engages mainly with white, middle class, middle-aged to elderly people but needs to reach out to younger and broader ethnic groups. Could it be extended somehow to groups of people with dementia groups and others with mobility problems?	2	2
Musica in Crescendo/Orchestra Diego Valeri (MIC/ODV) 17	Playing with Musica in Crescendo opened my eyes to classical music, even if I don't listen to it all that much. I am learning a lot about classical composers.	I am constantly getting to know new people and it is great to work in a group and try out alternative approaches to music and combine them into a common message.	I am a highly sociable person and keen to help people I don't know. The orchestra has definitely helped me to become more sociable.		1	3
MIC/ODV 18	Several years ago I started to play percussion – a group of people already in the orchestra	J -	I have found that I can make relationships with people of different ages, older and younger. I gives me a feeling of			

	T	T	I	T	1	
	persuaded me in. I		responsibility. It has			
	now play more		also created an			
	classical and film music		additional possible			
			employment for me.			
			Previously I was at uni			
			studying maths			
			(geometry); now I might			
			switch to music			
MIC/ODV 22			What I have learned is –	Some people talk too	2.5	2.5
			that more can be done	much and disturb the		
			through a group than on	music – they should be		
			one's own; and it is	restrained.		
			wonderful to convert			
			work into something			
			enjoyable.			
MIC/ODV 27			I am much less timid: I		2.5	2.5
-			can bounce back more			
			easily from difficult			
			moments. I can			
			dedicate myself to my			
			passions more			
			thoroughly, and worry			
			less about what others			
			think			
MIC/ODV35	Previously, mainly	New friendships, new	The orchestra has		2	4
•	American rock music.	encounters, working as a	changed my life – I used			
		team (except for three	to be reserved and			
		trouble makers who interrupt	closed within myself			
		the lessons). To be able to	and now I am sociable			
		play out of doors (is an	and able to make			
		especial pleasure).	relationships with			
			people. People who			
			used to bully me are			
			envious and I can live			
			more happily because I			
			more nappily because I			

		am stronger and more sociable.		
MIC/ODV 41	I have gained a shared passion for music and new experiences. Formerly I thought orchestras were an old people's thing (cosa da vecchi) but not now.	Two years ago I was more closed up in myself, now I have got to know new people which has made me more open. Now everything is in second place relative to the orchestraThrough it I have made many new friends but also stayed in contact with people who have left the orchestra.		

The testimonies of table 2 put in question the impression emerging from Tables 1a and 1b, that participation in community-music initiatives is more valued for its contribution to social capacities and assets (extroversion and capacity for conflict resolution) than for its contribution to individual capacities such as resilience and individual locus of control: the average increase in within-sample extroversion, 1.70, is only slightly in excess of its incremental impact on resilience, 1.56. They also draw attention to beneficial impacts of community music which although not statistically significant in tables 1a and 1b nonetheless have been vitally important for particular individuals, such as the ability to alleviate depression (Sound Lincs 3, 5, 6, 9,11 and 13; Orchestra Diego Valeri 35). In addition, they illustrate the multiple processes through which the two organisations have been able to achieve personal and social impact - personal inspiration and encouragement by teachers and thereby development of self-confidence in the learner, often extending beyond the learner's immediate family (Sound Lincs 3,5,7,9,11; MIC/ODV 18,27,35), encouraging participation in a broader range of musics (Sound Lincs 5,7,9,11,13), widening the social circle of attenders (Sound Lincs 4,5, 13; MIC/ODV17,22,35,41) and broadening participants' aspirations (Sound Lincs 6,7; MIC/ODV18,41), their perception of what they could achieve (Sound Lincs 5,7, 9; MIC/ODV 35, 41) and some of the channels through which it could be increased, such as better publicity (Sound Lincs 9, 11) and ideas for the extension of musical initiatives to a broader range of vulnerable groups (Sound Lincs 4,5,6, 9).

There is, therefore, plenty of evidence to document the transformative impact of our two sampled institutions. However it is time to narrow the focus, and to ask what part of that impact was captured by lower-income individuals, and the implications of this. This information is provided in table 3. Amongst the fifty individuals interviewed, there were ten, as recorded in Table 3, whose households were below the national poverty line in 2019¹¹ three in the UK and seven in the Italian sample. A majority of these lower-income participants had aspiration levels in excess of the mean, but four experienced an increase in resilience and four experienced increases in levels of extroversion: both measures of human capital. Additionally, four lower-income participants (not the same four as had experienced improvements in human capital) achieved increases in 'social skills' (ability to socialise and to arbitrate and resolve conflicts) in excess of the overall sample mean. Often these impacts, especially the social impacts, went beyond the learner's immediate family: we note interviewee 5's insistence (see table 2 above) that musical participation had helped her 'send a more calm response to people in crisis'. Whilst the achievements reported here could of course be improved upon, they provide substantial evidence of improvement in personal and social capacities induced by collective musical performance among members of lower income groups. The question now for discussion is how this improvement in personal capacities could be diffused in a more socially inclusive way.

¹¹ Sound Lincs respondents were invited, as adults, to provide an estimate of their 2019 post-tax income, and their classification as poor or nonpoor is based on that response. Musica in Crescendo and Orchestra Diego Valeri respondents were classed as poor if all the following were true: household living in rented accommodation; no or only one parent working; no or only one car in the household.

Table 3 Sound Lincs, Orchestra Diego Valeri and Musica in Crescendo: lower income participants and others, income and asset progression 2017-2019

Interviewee	Age	Aspiration	Length of	Change in	Change in	Change in	Change	Change	Change in	Estimated
no.		level	time with	resilience,	locus of	extroversion	in social	in	depression	household
		(note 1)	ensemble	2017-19	control,	2017-19	skills,	health	(note 6)	income, 2019
			(years)	(note 2)	2017-19	(note 4)	2017-19	(note 6)		(note 7)
					(note 3)		(note 5)			(£thousand)
2	63	2	0.5	0	-0.5	-2	3	2	1	12.0
5	61	4	3.0	1.5	0.7	1.5	0	0	0	14.5
6	51	2.5	3.0	1.0	0	1.0	0	0	2	13.0
19	12	3	0.5	1.0	0	1.0	2	0	0	20.0
32	13	4	3.0	2.5	0	2.0	2	0	2	13.0
35	11	4	4.0	3	2	1.0	3	2	2	13.0
36	14	2	1.0	0.5	2	2.0	0	0	2	13.5
38	13	2	0.5	0.5	0	0.5	0	0	1	12.5
45	10	3.5	2.0	-2.0	0	-1	0	-1	0	15.0
50	13	3.0	2.0	1.5	0	1.5	0	0	0	14.0
Sample		3.0	1.95	0.95	0.42	0.75	1.0	0.4	1.0	14.1
mean,										
lower-										
income										
participants										
Sample		2.9	2.82	1.31	0.61	1.35	1.17	0.15	1.12	19.9
mean, all										
participants										

Source: interviews, June and July 2019

Notes: (1) Aspirations (towards higher achievement) are inferred from answers (graded on a 5-point scale) to the following questions: (i) what training courses have you undertaken over the last two years? and (ii) after school do you expect to go to university, music school, or any other institution of higher education?

(2) Resilience is inferred from answers to the question 'Where do you place yourself (on a 5-point scale) in relation to the following statements 'I tend to bounce back quickly after hard times......It is hard for me to snap back when something bad happens' (see question 5a in the questionnaire in the Appendix)

(Notes to table 3 continued)

- (3) Locus of control is inferred from answers to the question 'Imagine that you have experienced a sudden shock for which you are ill-prepared. What would you do? Answer on a scale from (5): 'Take control of the situation/identify the source of the problem' to '(1) Pray for the problem to go away/hope for a solution to appear' (see question 5b in the questionnaire in the Appendix).
- (4) Extroversion/introversion is inferred from answers to the question 'Do you see yourself as an outgoing person, willing to reach out to people you do not know well in order to make deals with them or establish a friendly relationship with them? (see question 6 in the questionnaire in the Appendix).
- (5) Conflict resolution/mediation skills are inferred (in the case of the Sound Lincs group of adults) from answers to the following question: Imagine that you are faced by a situation where you have to choose between two things both of which you very much want (for example, to stay in your existing job with lower pay or to move to a place where you would be paid more but less happy).

Would you:

- 1. Willingly give up the high-income option and stay where you are
- 2. Willingly give up the greatest-happiness option and move?
- 3. Try and find a way out of the dilemma, e.g. try and commute between the new job and the old house?
- (See question 7 in the questionnaire in the Appendix. Note that a different question is put to participants in Musica in Crescendo/Orchestra Diego Valeri.)
- (6) Both *Health* and *Depression* are inferred from the shortest NHS(UK) questionnaire, the SF-12. Changes in health between 2017 and 2019 are inferred from answers to the question 'In general, would you say that your health is: Excellent<...>Poor?(measured on a 5-point scale). Changes in feelings of depression between 2017 and 2019 are inferred from answers to the question 'Have you often felt downhearted and low?' (measured on a 5-point scale).
- (7) For Sound Lincs, respondents are invited to make an estimate for their post-tax income. For Musica in Crescendo and Orchestra Diego Valeri respondents were asked whether the following statements were true: household living in rented accommodation; no or only one parent working; no or only one car in the household, and income was assessed on that basis.

First, we need to specify the channels by which collective musical activities can influence the welfare of low income groups. There are three of these:

- 1. By taking part in collective musical activities, low-income people can increase their own welfare and move above the poverty line, through the channels described in Tables 2 and 3.
- 2. By taking part in collective musical activities, low-income people can increase the welfare of their audience, for example by holding concerts in care homes, in prisons and among other audiences, as described in Table 2.

3. The benefits described under (1) and (2) above may diffuse to low-income groups through other routes, for example by encouraging or inspiring or bringing together individuals or groups including low-income people.

These three types of benefit, of course, do not materialise automatically: they happen because of deliberate actions to widen the range of beneficiaries. In table 4, we set out a sketch of the range of measures through which this has been done by the institutions studied here and others. Crudely, the known range of options splits into three categories: subsidise the performer, subsidise the audience or (the most interesting in our view) give disadvantaged musicians easier access to the capital market.

Table 4: Possible measures to target benefits from collective musical activity on low-income groups

	Implementation	Implementation by	Evidence on
	by institutions	other institutions	impact ¹²
	studied above		
Measures to benefit low-inco	me performers:		
1.Active recruitment in low-income neighbourhoods		Sistema Venezuela, especially during the Chavez period (2001-2013)	Poverty impact: Cuesta(2008) Impact on resilience, locus of control and other psychological variables: study by Esqueda
2.Cheaper membership:	Musica in Crescendo: free participation for most at July 2019 workshop	Sistema Venezuela: membership free for all	Torres(2004)
3.'Venue-based' operations in low-income areas		More Music: all activities concentrated in West Morecambe University of Bolzano, 'Banda della Via Mozart'	See Ainsley(2013) See van der Sandt et al.(2019)
4.Assisted purchase of instruments:	Orchestra Diego Valeri: bulk		

¹² We list here only *independent, quantitative* (or qual-quant) studies, i.e. we exclude evaluations which are purely subjective or conducted solely by the organisation which provides the musical training.

	discounts (see text)		
Measures to benefit low-inco	me audiences:		
5.Subsidised entry into concerts		BBC Proms, London: those willing to stand in the arena get in at a concessional price (since 1924)	
6.Concerts given for the benefit of disadvantaged groups, e.g. in care homes or prisons	Sound Lincs (New Tricks programme): especially in care homes Orchestra Diego Valeri: concerts in care homes and for blind and deaf (Manos Blancas)	Several experiments in UK, notably those by Lost Chord (see BBC Radio 3 broadcast 14.10.16)	

So far, our discussion of routes towards inclusion has been focussed on measures to support low-income performers, as discussed in Table 3, a majority of whom did not have to pay the costs of their attendance at the Ofena summer school. Several other possibilities for supporting lower-income performers however exist, as listed in Table 4. They include:

-nationwide *publicity* in apartment blocks and other disadvantaged neighbourhoods of large cities, pioneered by Sistema Venezuela to recruit children under the aegis of the Chávez *Misiones* social protection programmes (see Buxton (2008, 2014);

-what are known as 'venue-based' community music operations, i.e. focussing the *location* of musical teaching and performance in an area of social need, as done for example by More Music in West Morecambe, Lancashire, UK (see the report by Ainsley(2013) and by the 'Banda della Via Mozart' in Bolzano (see van der Sandt(2019);

-and, possibly the least well-known option, *intervening in the market* for musical instruments through bulk purchases in order to obviate cash-strapped performers being discouraged by their extortionate prices (even in industrialised countries, and much more so in the developing world, music shops offering a full range of instruments are few and far between (in Britain, there are only four or five outside London) and therefore instrument prices contain a large slug of monopoly profit to discourage those on a tight budget.

However, this is to consider only one line of approach to the problem of cheapening access to music by the most vulnerable. Another approach exists which is actually much older, - namely to subsidise the cost of entrance tickets for concert

audiences, which has been done since the 1920s by the BBC Proms at the Royal Albert Hall, London. More recently and in a more specialised way, *El Sistema* of Venezuela from the 1990s onward pioneered the approach of taking music to vulnerable members of the audience who cannot access a concert hall – such as the blind, the old and frail, patients in hospices, and latterly prisoners (personal communication, *Fundaciòn Musical Simón Bolivar*, September 2014; Creech et al 2013). Under the stress of an ageing population, this approach has been extended globally to encompass patients in care homes, in particular those suffering from Alzheimer's disease, many of whom - as mentioned by our interviewee Sound Lincs 4, see table 2 above, and also in interviews by Sarah Walker on her BBC Radio 3 programme (October 2017), which reported on various experimental findings concerning the impact of new Alzheimer's therapies 13 - can remember melodies played or sung to them even if they cannot remember facts. Concerts of this kind can therefore admirably complement, for a particularly vulnerable group, the service provided by conventional social care.

ADDITIONAL PARAGRAPH NEEDED HERE TO EXPLAIN WHAT MODIFICATIONS IN FISCAL/SUBSIDY POLICY ARE NEEDED TO IMPLEMENT AND EXTEND THE IDEAS STATED ABOVE.

5. Conclusions and policy recommendations

We can now begin to summarise. The merit of using collective music-making to help finance welfare is that it provides not just a supplement to household consumption, but also an asset, because, as the analysis above helps to show, it develops both personal and social capacities and thereby increases productivity. This idea was acclaimed in public debate as early as the late 1980s and resulted in a number of policy innovations such as the US Earned Income Tax Credit and the UK New Deal, working tax credit and baby bonds. However, the asset which these reforms most helped to build was, especially, housing wealth which then, for many wealth holders worldwide (Finlayson 2009, etc...) turned into a liability at the onset of the 2008 global crisis.

The merit of the asset created by collective music making, by contrast with conventional 'asset-based welfare' is, first, that it gives a lot of pleasure, second, that it provides a benefit many elements of which are collective rather than just personal to the beneficiary, but third, it provides an asset in the form of a skill that is probably less vulnerable to the vagaries of the market than assets such as housing or even savings tied to stock market and security market prices such as ISAs (individual savings accounts). As we show, the benefits of this form of social protection flow through many channels, none of which hitherto have been quantified. We have only taken a small, hesitant step in this direction: we have not sought to measure the ultimate impact of collective music-making on indicators of well-being and inclusion but only to define its impact on individual capabilities which may explain part of that well-being and to map the channels through which this

¹³ A substantial part of this programme reported on the activities of the charity *Lost Chord* (https://lost-chord.co.uk), which sends musicians to perform in care homes in many parts of the UK.

¹⁴ Still in force in most parts of the UK, but currently being replaced by universal credit.

impact may flow. But even this, we argue, can provide pointers to how this branch of the creative arts industry can supplement the social services currently provided. For these reasons we commend it as a means of enabling welfare providers (both in the public and in the voluntary sector) and consumers to diversify their portfolios.

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Appendix. Questionnaire used for survey (English-language version)

Preamble: Hello. My name is Paul Mosley and I work as a professor at the University of Sheffield.

We are doing a survey to try and find out what (name or organisation) has achieved in this area and your own views about how it could be made more effective. The survey will take about half an hour at most.

Your answers will be kept confidential, and will not be revealed to (name of organisation) or any other third party. Participation is completely voluntary, and if we should come to any question you don't want to answer, just let me know and I will go to the next question; or you can stop the interview at any time. However, we hope that you will participate in this discussion since your views are important.

Note: Name (nb not compulsory)
Gender
Age
Current occupation
•
Occupation two years ago (i.e. in 2017)

Questions for individual musicians	Notes and remarks
participating in the survey, and their families	
Background (CONTROL GROUP DOES	
1.(a)How did you became involved in the activities of the New Tricks programme/ Stringing Nettles group? How long have you been a member? (nb new(ish) become members of control group)	
(b)Do you play an instrument? Do you do this as part of the group's activities, or simply sing in the choir?	
2.(a) What kind of music do you most like?	
(b)Has the group you are involved in programme had a role in influencing what kind of music you like?	
3. (a) Please can you describe what kind of music you perform in your group?	
(b)How has being in the group changed your life and your work? (use this question as a springboard for the remaining questions)	
Aspirations	
4. (a)During the last two years, what educational courses have you attended?	
(b)Over the next two years, do you have a plan for what you would like to achieve,	

either through your activities with Sound Lincs or otherwise?	
5.Transferable skills: resilience	
5a. Please say whether the following statements apply to you (on a 5-point scale from 5, completely agree to 5, completely disagree):	From Brief Resilience Scale (Smith et al 2008; commended as robust by Windle et al 2011); some questions inserted from Deakin Coping Scale (Moore 2003)
(score 5) I tend to bounce back quickly after hard times4	
(score 1) It is hard for me to snap back when something bad happens	
Now say what your score would have been two years ago (in 2017): (score 5) I tend to bounce back quickly after hard times	
3	
Do you think being in the programme has helped make you more resilient/better able to withstand shocks? (could prompt social support/relevant knowledge/leadership qualities)	
Transferable skills: internal locus of control Imagine that you have experienced a sudden shock (for example you have discovered a hole in the roof which isn't covered by your insurance policy, and when you apply for a loan to mend the	

damaga vay san't afford the	
damage you can't afford the	
repayments). What would you do?	
Answer on a scale from:	
5. Take control of the situation/identify	
the source of the problem(rational	
solution)	
44	
3	
2	
(score 1) pray for it to go away/hope for a	
solution to appear (panic/dump on	
1	
others/ emotional 'solution'	
Now say what your score would have	
been two years ago had such a crisis	
happened to you then (in 2017):	
(score 5) I would take control of the	
situation	
44	
3	
2	
(score 1) It is hard for me to snap back	
[
when something bad happens	
6 Transferable skills: social skills	
6.Transferable skills: social skills	
6.Transferable skills: social skills	
	The study by Esqueda Terros (2004) is one of the fow
Do you see yourself as an outgoing	The study by Esqueda Torres (2004) is one of the few
Do you see yourself as an outgoing person, willing to reach out to people you	Venezuelan studies conducted independently of El
Do you see yourself as an outgoing person, willing to reach out to people you do not know well in order to make deals	
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Do you see yourself as an outgoing person, willing to reach out to people you do not know well in order to make deals	Venezuelan studies conducted independently of El
Do you see yourself as an outgoing person, willing to reach out to people you do not know well in order to make deals with them or establish a friendly	Venezuelan studies conducted independently of El
Do you see yourself as an outgoing person, willing to reach out to people you do not know well in order to make deals with them or establish a friendly	Venezuelan studies conducted independently of El
Do you see yourself as an outgoing person, willing to reach out to people you do not know well in order to make deals with them or establish a friendly relationship with them?	Venezuelan studies conducted independently of El
Do you see yourself as an outgoing person, willing to reach out to people you do not know well in order to make deals with them or establish a friendly relationship with them? score 5) Very proactive and outgoing4	Venezuelan studies conducted independently of El
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Do you see yourself as an outgoing person, willing to reach out to people you do not know well in order to make deals with them or establish a friendly relationship with them? score 5) Very proactive and outgoing	Venezuelan studies conducted independently of El

(score 1) Reticent and not at all outgoing	
What social groups do you belong to?	
7.Transferable skills: conflict resolution/mediation skills)	See Msila(2015), Brandon and Robertson(2007)
Imagine that you are faced by a situation where you have to choose between two things both of which you very much want (for example, to stay in your existing job with lower pay or to move to a place where you would be paid more but less happy).	
Would you: 1. Willingly give up the high-income option and stay where you are 2. Willingly give up the greatest-happiness option and move? 3. Try and find a way out of the dilemma, e.g. try and commute between the new job and the old house?	
(Imagine a hypothetical conflict situation – the key decision variable is the willingness to apply ultimatums)	
Would you have given the same answer two years ago?	
8.Measures of well-being: health All the following questions are to be answered for (a) now and (b) two years ago(2017).	We use here the shortest NHS(UK) health questionnaire, the SF-12, commended by Jenkinson et al. (1997) as 'the instrument of choice' when two summary scores are adequate.
The following questions ask for your views about your health, how you feel	

and how well you are able to do your usual activities. If you are unsure about how to answer any questions please give the best answer you can and make any of your own comments if you like. Do not spend too much time in answering as your immediate response is likely to be the most accurate. i. In general, would you say that your health is (please tick ONE box): Excellent..... Very good..... Good..... Fair/OK..... Poor..... (could stop here if running short of time; but remember to ask the same question in relation to two years ago?) ii. During the past 4 weeks, how much did pain interfere with your normal work (including both work around the house and work outside the house)? Please tick one box: Not at all A little bit Moderately Quite a bit Extremely iii. These questions are about how you feel and about how things have been with you during the past month. For each question, please indicate the one answer that comes closest to the way you have been feeling. (Please tick one box on each line) How much time during ΑII Most the last month: of of

	the	the	bit	the	of	the
	time	time	of	time	the	time
			the		time	
			time			
(a)Have you felt						
calm and peaceful?						
(b) Did you have a						
lot of energy?						
(c) Have you felt						
downhearted and						
low?						
(d) Has your health						
limited your social						
activities (like						
visiting friends,						
fellow-musicians or						
close relatives?						
ciose relatives:						

9. Education

This question is to be asked of both the (musical) trainee and the head of the household. If they are the same person, fill in the form just once for that person. If the trainee is not the head of the household, fill in a separate form for that person.

Trainee responses: Highest educational level achieved by trainee (fill in only one category): No education
Completed primary education
Completed secondary education (i.e. in UK, one or more A levels
University degree
Higher degree (MA, MSc, or PhD)
Again, compare between now and 2 years

10.Household income/employment
category
What is your household's estimated total
monthly income (in an average month
during the last year) from all sources
(work, sales of goods and services, social
benefits and private pensions, other
including remittances):
(a)+(b)+(c)+(d)+(e)+(f)=Household's
total monthly
income
Again, compare between now and 2 years
ago
11. Household assets
(a) Is your house:
owned/rented
,
(b) If owned: If you sold your house
today, what do you believe its market
value would
be?
(c)How many cars do you have within the
household? What is their total estimated
value?
value?
value?