Minette Mans

8

Living in Worlds of Music

A View of Education and Values

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Living in Worlds of Music

Landscapes: the Arts, Aesthetics, and Education

VOLUME 8

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Minette Mans, previously associate professor in performing arts at the University of Namibia, earned her PhD in a cross-disciplinary ethnomusicology, choreology, and education study at the University of Natal, South Africa. She was involved in Namibian educational reform and curriculum development for several years following her country's independence, assisting the Ministry of Education and Culture, and is currently assisting the Ministry of Education in Eritrea in the development of curriculum and teacher-learning materials. Mans has presented at conferences and workshops in several European countries, United States, Canada, Malaysia, South Africa, Congo-Brazzaville, Australia, Eritrea, Zambia, and Mozambique. She has published widely in her field and sits on several editorial boards of international journals, such as the *International Journal of Music Education, Journal of Musical Arts in Africa, International Journal of Education and the Arts.* She has published four books on music education and ethnomusicology and is a past member of the Board of Directors of the International Society of Music Education, Chair of the Music in Schools and Teacher Education Commission, and Vice-President of Pan-African Society of Musical Arts Education. She currently works as an international consultant on arts education and continues research into the living music and dance of Namibia and Africa.

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Fock, **Eva** is working at VMK – Academy of Music and Music Communication in Esbjerg, Denmark – with musical creativity and compositions in the classroom. As a freelance ethnomusicologist/music researcher, she has for years been involved in questions related to music and immigrants in Denmark, especially from the Muslim world, with several fieldworks in the region. More recently the question of how the "the world" – non-Western music traditions – is presented in the classroom has gained her greatest interest. Next to this, Fock has been working as a researcher with subjects relating to musical identity and identification, as an evaluator and cultural advisor with cultural policy, and as a teacher and writer with cultural diversity music education. Furthermore she has been working with music history, musical heritage, and music education in Iceland and the Faroe Island.

Kaujeua, Jackson Muningandu (born 1953) is a well-known Namibian musician, composer, and singer. He sings in various Namibian languages and English. Born in the south of the country, he broke off an education as a priest at the mission school of Otjimbingwe after he came in touch with the songs of gospel singers whose human rights-related lyrics inspired him. In 1973 he started studying music at the "Dorkay Art & Music college for talented Non-Whites" in South Africa. However, he was soon expulsed from the country for anti-apartheid activism. The SWAPO-resistance movement (with which he still associates himself today) helped him to move to the United Kingdom, where he soon became the lead singer of the group Black Diamond. International success followed with songs like Winds of Change. He returned to Namibia only after independence in 1990, where he celebrated great successes with his music, especially with the song Gnubu! Nubus! He is still one of the best-known Namibian musicians today.

Leung, Bo Wah is associate professor of music education at the Hong Kong Institute of Education. He received his PhD degree from the University of New South Wales, Australia. Dr. Leung's areas of research interest include creativity in music teaching and learning and music curriculum development. He is currently one of the founding co-editors of the *Asia-Pacific Journal for Arts Education* and on the editorial boards of the *International Journal of Music Education: Research, Complutense Electronic Journal of Research in Music Education,* and *Music Education Research International*. He is adjunct professor of the School of Music at the Northeast Normal University of China. Dr. Leung has just completed his chairmanship

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Matsunobu, Koji is a Fulbright graduate scholar in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, received a PhD in music education from Tokyo Gakugei University. He is currently pursuing a second PhD in aesthetic education and is focusing on the interface between spirituality, ecology, and aesthetics in education. His musical backgrounds include extensive training in classical piano as well as the shakuhachi, a Japanese bamboo flute, with which he practices meditation and explores his musical and spiritual horizons.

Murphy, Regina is senior lecturer at St Patrick's College, Dublin City University, Ireland. Her research has included work in the development of a national system for assessing music at primary level and in the use of portfolios as an assessment tool. Her current areas of research are classroom assessment in music at primary level, continuing professional development, gender differences in arts education, and mentoring. As a former primary school teacher and principal, she taught in Ireland, New Zealand, and England and later worked with the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, Ireland, developing the primary curriculum in music (1999). She has presented at numerous in-service workshops and conferences, including the International Society for Music Education World Conferences in South Africa, Canada, Norway, and Spain. She is co-editor of the *Arts and Learning Research Journal*, a journal of the Arts and Learning SIG of the American Educational Research Association.

Nzewi, Meki – African musical arts theorist, composer, music-dramatist, performer, and creative writer. Professor of African Music, University of Pretoria and director, Centre for Indigenous Instrumental Music and Dance Practices of Africa (CIIMDA), Research, Education and Performance for SADC based in Pretoria. He has conducted practical and research studies of the underlying philosophy, principles, and creative theory informing the African indigenous musical arts conceptualizations, creativity, and performance practices. He is concerned with the issues of contemporary documentation, analyses, interpretation, resuscitation, theoretical, and creative continuum of African musical arts heritage that have resulted in books, philosophical essays, research monographs, compositions, novels, and journal articles; the design, creation, and production of literary musical arts works (operas, musicals, music/dance drama, and TV series/serials) deriving from indigenous knowledge systems; creative writing; professional practices as composer, stage director/producer, and African "mother" drummer – literacy and oral; founder/director of Ama Dialog Foundation in Nigeria for research and re-orientation of African indigenous arts.

Olivier, **Emmanuelle** is an ethnomusicologist, senior research fellow at the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) in Paris, member of the Laboratory of Research on Arts and Language (CRAL), and professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS). She is the author of several articles

and CDs on Southern and Western African musics and the editor of *The Bushmen in History* (2005, CNRS Editions). She currently coordinates a 4-year project on "Musical Creation, Circulation and Identity Market in a Global Context" supported by the French Research Agency (ANR).

Oliveira, Alda has a Master of Arts in Composition and Music Education (Tufts University, 1979) and a PhD in music education (The University of Texas at Austin, 1986). She twice won Fulbright-Laspau scholarships and has received the title "Housewright Eminent Scholar" by Florida University in Tallahassee, EUA (2001). Dr. Oliveira has recorded Brazilian music compositions as a pianist and as a composer and has published three books, chapters in books, and several research articles. She has founded the Brazilian Association of Music Education (1991), has worked several years for the International Society for Music Education (ISME), and has served as member of editorial boards for national and international journals. She was director of the Music School of Bahia and of the Pracatum School for Professional Musicians. Since 1990 Dr. Alda Oliveira has won continuously research funds by the National Council for Scientific Development (CNPq). She has supervised dissertations and theses in music education in Brazil, South Africa, and Australia. As a member of ISME Research Commission, Dr. Oliveira has traveled three times to South Africa and worked on teacher empowerment and music research methodologies. Recent research topics are concentrated on the development, application, and testing of a theoretical foundation on pedagogical articulations and transitions (bridges) for teacher continuous education in music. Currently, (since 1989) she is a supervising professor at the Post-Graduate Program in Music at UFBA (Master and Doctorate) and a researcher level 1 A at the CNPq.

Ruud, Even is professor at the University of Oslo, Department of Musicology and adjunct professor in music therapy at the National Academy of Music in Oslo and at Aalborg University in Denmark. He is trained as a piano teacher, music therapist; he is a qualified psychologist and has a PhD in musicology. Ruud has published several books in music education, music therapy, and music and cultural studies. His books in music therapy are translated to many different languages.

Sæther, Eva is employed at the Malmö Academy of Music since 1988, originally as a teacher of Music and Society. Her musical background and point of departure is Swedish folk music, which has served as a platform, for a wide range of activities: development of new courses and projects to serve an intercultural music teacher training and academic studies. In 2003 she defended the doctoral thesis *The Oral University: Attitudes to Music Teaching and Learning in the Gambia.* Apart from teaching, she is also involved in international and Nordic networks, concerning world music and cultural diversity in music education.

Upitis, **Rena** is a professor of arts education and former dean of Education at Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. She recently served as National Research Co-director for *Learning Through the Arts*, a multi-year project involving over 100,000 students. Her research projects have explored teacher, artist, and student

transformation through the arts and the use of electronic games in mathematics education. Rena's current interest – framed by notions of complexity – is on how school architecture both constrains and opens up possibilities for learning.

Veblen, Kari associate professor of music education at the University of Western Ontario in Canada teaches elementary general music methods, foundations of music education, multicultural music education, and graduate research courses. Kari's interests bridge music, education, ethnomusicology, and the arts. She is currently investigating community music networks, structures, and individuals worldwide. Another strand of her research follows a 20-year fascination with teaching and learning of traditional Irish/Celtic/diasporic musics. Research and lectures have taken her worldwide. Kari Veblen currently serves as an international representative of the Music Educators National Conference (MENC) Adult and Community Special Research Interest Group. She has served as board member for the International Society for Music Education (ISME) and on the Kodály Society of Canada, as Chair for the International Society for Music Education (ISME) Commission for Community Music Activity and Education Committee Chair for the Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM). She is on the editorial board for the ISME Journal and is associate editor of the *International Journal of Community Music*. Intellect Press, UK.

Wiggins, **Trevor** is director of Music at University College Falmouth in the United Kingdom. His work reflects on music and issues of education, pedagogy, and change, explored through recording, writing, and performance. His publications span ethnomusicology and music education drawing on his field research in Ghana and experience in learning music from its people. Among other projects, he is currently working on a book about the recreational music of the Dagara people of north-west Ghana and editing a book about music in children's lives around the world.

Chapter 1
Why a Musical World?

Music is a moral law. It gives soul to the universe, wings to the
mind, flight to the imagination, and charm and gaiety to life and
to everything.

(Plato)

Plato, not usually described as a very musical man, manages to capture in his statement above the complexity of music in the many ways that it reaches into and around us. Thinking about music always manages to raise more questions than one can answer. This book raises a few more.

Imagine traveling back through time, maybe back into childhood. Somewhere you hear music, perhaps in the distance. You recognize it. Not the actual melody, but the type. You can almost finish the phrases. How do you know what it is? You know that you've heard something like it before – somewhere.

Let us examine this recognition more closely. Hearing the music, you immediately realize this is not the church choir. You hear a regular, heavy, thumping bass. It's moving, coming closer. Perhaps you associate it with a car, young people reclining in their seats, dark glasses, and bling? Or perhaps a marching band? How would you tell the difference? Both of them can have a conspicuous bass line and move through space. Yet there is no mistaking the two different styles and genres and knowing that the people involved act differently. Each evokes an image situated within a specific cultural landscape. Each represents a different musical culture and/or sub-culture.

We often romanticize visions of the musical past. We think all musical cultures were clearly defined, with songs and movements that "belonged" to them. We imagine children learnt these songs and dances at the feet of their elders through participation in musical activities. But who created the music? And why do the musical cultures of the world have such divergent musical practices? If the potential and desire to create and perform music is universal, and if we all have the same human biological potential and needs in terms of body, voice, hearing, mind, why do humans select, develop, and perform such diverse musical sounds?

In answer, I have considered the possible effects of climate, the natural environment (using available materials), experimentation and accident, communication over distances, spiritual needs, and other possibilities. Some people live in cold

areas, others hot and humid, or hot and dry. Some live at high altitudes and others at low. Some live war-filled existences, others live peacefully. Some have exceedingly difficult geo-physical circumstances, others have it easy. Could these things determine musical development in a cultural context? Surely these elements play a role, but are they the defining elements?

Why should it be that even in my home country, Namibia, different regions have distinctive musical cultures that use tonal systems and body-dance conceptualizations different from those of their neighbors, when one would expect them to share most of their musical knowledge and practice. Or are differences the result of the influence of creative individuals?

Clearly history, belief systems, and social structures must play a role in musical creation and practice, as do social change, cataclysmic events such as war or famine, ideologies, and the inherent cultural character of the group. Humans have a largely unexplained need to create and maintain a distinct group identity, which most likely plays a role in the creation of diversity, but it does not entirely explain the extravagant diversity and creativity of musical practices throughout the world. Or does it?

My search for answers in music literature bore remarkably little fruit. Anthropological research during the twentieth century attempted to define certain areas ethnographically by means of subsistence type, family organization, settlement types, language, and so on.[1] From this thinking comes the 1960 s ethnographic study by Alan Lomax and his colleagues.[2] They were plagued by questions very similar to mine. Lomax[3] based their comparative data analysis on stylistic differences among many different cultures, hoping to identify causative factors. While I do not necessarily agree with all of their hypotheses, the following statements resonated strongly with my observations and ideas about music.

"A song style, like other human things, is a pattern of learned behavior, common to the people of a culture. Singing is a specialized act of communication."[4] The symbolic nature of musical communication is well known to us, but the cultural specificity of the symbolism is often swept under the carpet in preference of the notion of a non-existent "universal language." Just as there is no spoken language that is universal, there is no music that is universal. And most definitely none that is universally interpretable. Thus, if music is a unique pattern of learned, symbolic behavior, what can it tell us about the people that create and perform it and how is it learned and created? What is it that songs communicate and is there something universal about it?

"Whether chorally performed or not...the chief function of song is to express the shared feelings and mold the joint activities of some human community."[5] My reading of this statement is that even in solo, music contributes to the cohesiveness and communitas of a society – even an "imagined society." For this reason it is more than only communication. It is a force that utilizes affect, occupies our bodily intellect, and relates to specific tasks in communities.

As far as regional questions are concerned, Lomax found that "the geography of song styles traces the main paths of human migration and maps the known historical distributions of culture."[6] Again, this is not unknown to us, but what does it tell

us about musical choices in terms of preferred styles, sound qualities, and practice conventions? In the Cantometrics project, Lomax found that song styles shifted consistently with social structures. "[S]ome traits of song performance show a powerful relationship to features of social structure that regulate interaction in all cultures"[7] such as economic production and political or class level (of performers). In addition, the severity of sexual mores and gender domination played important roles in musical styles, although it is not entirely clear how this plays out in the music. However, the way that people construct and sing their songs has much to do with where they fit into their particular socio-cultural environment or landscape, and what the norms of the environment entail. Hence, Christopher Small[8] argues that the fundamental nature and meaning of music do not lie in objects or musical works, but in what people do. He believes that it is only by understanding what people do as they take part in a musical act that we can hope to understand its nature and the function it fulfills in human life. This argument underlies much of what this book is about.

Societies can be seen to organize their music according to the purpose that the music is expected to fulfill. Ethnomusicologists used to say in a somewhat dismissive manner, for example, that African music was merely "functional" because there was music for rituals, weddings, work, and so on. But then, is this not true for all music? Which music does not have purpose, a function to fulfill? Different societies might conceptualize purpose and function differently, but even music for music's sake (art music) is performed not because some abstract sound construction derives pleasure from itself, but because humans derive aesthetic pleasure or satisfaction from the contemplation or experience of such music. It therefore serves a purpose which is both individual and social. Such purposes differ from place to place and from society to society. We need to ask therefore, do purpose and function have an influence on the way music is organized? Moreover, if musical performance is a symbolic reenactment of behavior patterns upon which the continuity of a culture hangs, endowing the music with emotional authority and familiarity,[9] then we can learn so much by examining them within this theoretical framework.

While these ideas and concerns are not new, we seem to have surrendered them in our eagerness to embrace what Lomax half a century ago called the "grey-out" of "big government, national education, information networks, and a worldwide marketing system"[10] which we experience as globalization, multiculturalism, and various forms of nationalism that paradoxically disallow divergent culturalisms.

Taking these issues above into consideration, a structure began to take shape in my mind. My main socio-musical questions evolved from very simple questions: *why* do people make music and if it is a human thing, why does everyone not make the same music? Are there commonalities in *when, who*, and *how* music is made and how does this impact upon the music? Do the sonic features of the music relate to the why, when, who, and how? How are they all tied together? As any educator knows, these questions are not new and original, but I have not come across a study that deals with all these questions as part of a general, holistic, social structure.

In this book I have laid out a socio-musical theory that attempts to address some of the questions in a broad social constructivist paradigm, in which the dialectic interactions between people, their music, their socio-cultural and material

environments are explored. Inspired by Arom's thinking on musical cognition[11] in a cultural context, I examine the sense in which musical organization is guided by the network of social and musical rules, thereby illuminating a cognitive musical system integral to the society. A musical culture is hypothesized here as a musical world with its own structure, rules, values, and forms of implementation. By no means does this musical system imply a mindless repetition of fixed repertoires. Rather, I suggest that cultures form musical systems, and that we are all educated to recognize and memorize certain musical archetypes or templates from such systems[12] in the form of song structures, instrumental music, and dance. Knowing and using such templates is part of how we identify with music (construct identities)[13] and evaluate music aesthetically.[14] But, we knowingly and unknowingly exert constant small changes to these templates, to the extent that such changes are aesthetically acceptable.

Interesting as the questions raised above are to me, their contemplation probably serves little purpose except for scholarly reflection. As a music educator, I am concerned about the state of music (arts) education in schools today. Experience in different places has led me to believe that all is far from well. Could an understanding of how the knowledge inherent in musical worlds is passed on have a beneficial influence on formal (or other) education? How do cultures maintain their musical knowledge and practice?

In contemporary formal education it seems the understanding of, and alignment with, the social purpose and aesthetic values that underlie the music are lacking. This is especially so in multicultural music education, a theme to which I will return time and again. Further, arts curricula in many regions have turned toward integrated arts with a limited time allocation, making it impossible to develop skills and understandings of any depth in music. Many curricula now place emphasis on cultural heritage, often of minorities or indigenous peoples whose music was previously neglected. It is obvious even to the cursory observer that many teachers lack capacity in the "folk" or indigenous music of their region, having been "classically" trained in Western music. Or maybe it is not the actual music they are unsure of, but the "correct" way to teach performance from holistically conceptualized cultural practices. In effect, this means that teachers have to be conversant with more than only music and that they have to understand and abide by the expectations of that so-called "folk" or community. This implies behavioral rules of some sort.

My series of questions led me further toward the concept of a musical world. If teaching culturally requires a holistic approach, what is it that teachers are expected to know? How do societal "rules" and norms guide performance? Are these rules universal or do they differ from place to place? Can they safely be ignored in a classroom without harm to the music or to education? If not, how can teachers take cognizance of the social rules and conventions along with everything else they are expected to do?

The reasons why people perform music in set conventions seem to have much to do with custom and history. I wondered how local histories and political structures play out in a people's music? How do the "patterns of legitimization"[15] function? Questions arose that related to identity, touching on cultural differences and

commonalities. How does music mediate between individual and collective identities? To what degree do listeners' different levels of stylistic, cultural knowledge mediate the use of cultural cues? How does formal education influence the use of cultural cues? This over-abundance of questions needed answers and in the chapters that follow, I deal with them in relation to issues of societal identity, values, and musical meaning.

Following earlier publications on Namibian musical practices in which I referred to aspects of the construction of a musical world,[16] it has become increasingly clear to me that this notion, known in various forms among ethnomusicologists, needs to be expanded into a system that could serve educators. Therefore the main purpose of this study is to formulate a theoretical framework that can serve as a guideline for research in music (arts) education, popular culture, and ethnomusicology. My aims in this book are to probe musical worlds theoretically as systems of situated knowledge.[17] The intricate relations between language, society, history, place, culture, and economy have created certain commonalities within a bewildering diversity of musical practices across the world. In our globalizing world we aspire to greater understanding of "other" cultures and look for commonalities that will help us understand. I argue that a recognizable, identifiable, audible, and visible musical culture requires the construction of a musical world – a conceptual and practical organization of sound, movement, meaning, values, and rules – and that we can trace our cultural and musical identities individually and collectively to such worlds.

It makes sense that music or arts education demands an understanding of the processes that form and shape musical lives. Focus in this book therefore falls on the collective processes and structures that relate to the parameters of societal music ideations, identity formation within the social musical world, and the role of cultural values in the creation and aesthetic interpretation of this musical world. It does not imply a sense of cultural determinism, which would be unacceptable. Rather, it examines the basic tools humans develop within a given cultural environment, with which we approach the music we experience. From this foundation of collective processes I then draw educational implications, ideas, and suggestions. The theory is substantially enhanced by the views of leading scholars from different fields, who add their voices to the dialogue and critique, broadening the vision and providing critical evaluation at every level. The text is personalized by three short reflective narratives by musicians from different societies, giving personal perspectives on their insight into musical practices in society.

What the book does *not* aim to do is to reify specific cultural constructs as timeless and unchanging. Nor does it wish to convey the notion that cultures and societies function as concrete, intra-culturally invariable, and unchanging groups. More on culture follows below. Clearly, cultural relativism and cultural pluralism[18] mediate the majority of interpretations in our increasingly globalized world. Individuals move in and out of societies and cultures at will and might occupy more than one of these mentally, emotionally, or physically. We speak of plural, mixed, and hybrid cultures. Today's pluralistic cultures are made all the more authentic, says Sartori, to the extent that difference (not uniformity), dissent (not unanimity), and change

(not immutability) are "good things."[19] Others prefer to use Homi Bhabha's notion of "identity-in-between" because in-between (or liminal) spaces possess qualities of transit.[20] Cross-cultural acts break new ground and thereby forge new hybrids and result in new aesthetics. As Maria Thamaro!Gubi, a twenty-something woman so poignantly tells us

> I am in the middle of the traditions. I know them but I do not know them well. I did not eat the *n/olo* [wild morning glory – my insert]. I directly started with the water and drank water. I did not eat the *n/olo* like people did in former times. I went to school but I did not finish it. I only finished Grade 5. Then I left school. Nowadays I have difficulties because I didn't go further. I do still have a little bit of life. But I am still behind.. . .we nowadays meet with people who make us perform. I beg that they stay with us forever and take us ahead. We are still behind. We still eat the roots and the fruits of the veld . . .. Although we also eat other food we are still like our mothers.[21]

Hybridity of a kind therefore also exists in the in-between spaces of changing traditions which in Africa and other parts of the world is a rapid and disorienting process affecting whole generations.

The movement of people from one continent or culture to another results in increasingly complex educational environments. In some cases, there are learners who do not speak the local lingua franca, or experience difficulty in integrating socially. Musical experiences could be of assistance, but often the learners relate poorly to the music teachers they work with. Sometimes "real" teaching and learning experiences just do not happen.

I therefore hope that the book will provoke thought, discussion, and research. Indeed, exhaustive basic and comparative research across many cultures is needed to confirm and refine the proposed theoretical structure. However, based on my own and other ethnomusicology research, educational practice, and reflective research[22] the existence of socio-musical systems is no longer in question. The understanding of music as a socially organized system is seen as transformative knowledge that could have significant impact on social action in mono-cultural as well as multicultural education systems. The aim of this theoretical reflection is to interrogate the impact such knowledge might have on contemporary musical arts education.

My research methodology for this book has involved combined approaches. Using the Bruner Foundation's[23] key components of evaluative thinking as a tool, this book will attempt to ask questions of substance; determine what data are needed to address the questions; gather appropriate data in systematic ways; analyze data and share results; and suggest strategies to act on evaluation findings.

My initial thinking was inspired by early data drawn from ethnographic field trips in Namibia covering the period from 1992 to 2001.[24] In this time I observed many performances and conducted interviews with people at different levels of society. I used participant observation many times in dance, as I have found this is the only way I can remember bodily what the dances entail and how they work rhythmically. Many hours of audio and video film were recorded. My research was done mainly among Ovahimba, Owambo, Herero, Lozi, Kwangali, Mbukushu, Ovazimba, and Damara ethno-linguistic groups.[25] As a native Namibian I have also observed music–dance performances of Nama, Baster, Afrikaner, and Ju'/hoan people as well

as culturally mixed choirs, church groups, popular bands, and other performances. Study and analysis of both video and audio recordings continues, with substantive comments by cultural insiders from various ethnic groups in Namibia, South Africa, and Botswana.

Having collected the above basic data, I used mainly phenomenological reflection[26] to examine the diverse ways in which musical heritage is constructed as a knowledge system, based on lived experiences and remembered history,[27] including the way this touches upon identity and societal interpretations of religion, politics, status, aesthetics, and so on. Hence, I have performed reflective research, emerging from my ethnomusicology research and work in educational environments.

In addition, I have gained useful information from informal group discussions and an informal survey of student cultural identity spanning 4 years at the University of Namibia. These students provided me with the divergent contemporary youth perceptions of a multicultural and multinational group. In recent times, this background has been expanded to include cultural and educational practices in Eritrea, where I have worked closely with educators and local artists over a period of a year and a half. My early background in Western classical and folk music provides me with a comparative framework.

The nature of this study demanded a synthesis of literature from various fields, including music and arts education,[28] anthropology and ethnomusicology,[29] psychology,[30] music sociology,[31] music philosophy,[32] and popular music studies.[33] An outline of the collective cognitions involved in creating a musical world forms the substance of Chapter 2. My theoretical positioning of musical experiences within a cultural system is explained in Chapter 3 before looking at the social and aesthetic values that inform such systems in Chapter 4. The potential for application in formal education rounds off the reflection with a suggestion of strategies to act on findings in Chapter 5.

Theoretical Background

Having made statements concerning culture and musical learning above, the assumptions on which I ground my theory need to be clarified.

First, in the absence of substantive, relevant, comparative research on the learning, making, and thinking of music as a collective activity, I shall assume that much of what we have learnt from the fields of cognitive studies and psychology of music concerning individuals, can be applied more broadly to groups of people. If individuals create conceptual and symbolic systems, then it makes sense that when many individuals come together, some form of cognitive system will come into existence by a kind of mutual agreement, negotiation, and disagreement – accepting certain things and discarding others.

Second, I base my theory on the double-sided argument that we are all similar, yet different. There are aspects of humanity that can be considered universal, for example, certain biological and physiological growth and development processes,

and there are aspects that are unique to each individual and to individual cultures. Music is one of the latter, although the fact that humans create music is universal. I further assume that it is true that each cultural system has its own form of education – ways of passing information down generations, often involving ways of learning now neglected and undervalued.

To create a sense of the theoretical perspective this book takes, certain points require clarification. First, the meaning of culture and the way it will be used in this book. Second, the idea of communities of music situated upon self-wrought landscapes is explained, so as to make better sense of the way educational theory will be approached in this book.

Cultural Sensitivities

Referring to "a culture," or learning through "a cultural system" opens the door to an attack on the basic premise of this book – that of *a cultural musical world*. The sensitivity surrounding culture has its roots in the various colonial occupations across the world and their impositions of their cultures as dominant and superior. This was underscored by nineteenth century Western philosophers and scientists who described the world, its people, and nature as being involved in an evolution from primitive to advanced, thereby securing a position for themselves at the top of this evolutionary "ladder" as its designers. Seen from within that conceptual framework, all societies, cultures, and their musics were described in terms of rating scales from primitive to advanced, or ranging from "developed" to underdeveloped. Terms such as "civilizations" were used to create a contrast with "tribes" in their "villages" or "kraals." Houses were contrasted with huts, a contrast that often had less to do with building materials than with who occupied them. In this way, value systems were applied to studies of the socio-cultural circumstances of the "other,"[34] and this led to increasing marginalization of "other" (or "oriental") cultures as exotic and closed, always "other"-ed by the use of "they" and the definite article which "indicates one as distinct from another."[35] Thus, people are described as "the" Arabs, "the" Ewe, rendering uniform or generic all those within this tag, yet distinctly other from the researcher. This reinforces Terence Ranger's qualification of "the invented tradition."[36]

Much of the ethnomusicology and anthropology literature on culture in the twentieth century has been responsible for exactly this, interpreting cultural practices as exotic, primitive, simple, undeveloped, or bound by rigid traditions. A reading of these pioneer musical "hunters and gatherers" demonstrates that cultural practices were interpreted from so-called Western points of view and hence, Western musical thinking.[37] These Euro-American musical concepts and frameworks were deemed universal and "others" who did not conceptualize their music in similar terms remained distinct and apart. As a result of absorbing this ideology for more than a century, it has, in a political backlash, become incorrect to speak of "a culture" as though there exists such a reified construct. This is especially sensitive in ex-colonies, where the term "culture" may be seen as humanly divisive.

Hence, during the latter half of the twentieth century, there was a move away from an encapsulated definition, toward descriptions by insiders who understood and shared aspects of cosmology, philosophy, culture, and values. Sahlins[38] suggests that this time has passed and that culture in contemporary societies cannot be bound and defined by outsiders any longer. It is something which has escaped control and has "been taken up by peoples all over the world in an extraordinary moment of self-consciousness – an awareness of their own way of life as a value and above all a political right."[39] Notable as a measure against global uniformity, Sahlins concludes that this cultural awareness is *not* primarily about "otherness" but about "us" – inclusiveness and its (political) empowerment.

The more relativist contemporary view point is that no culture is superior to another, only different. Focus falls on what we share as humans. Cultures are no longer considered bound and unchanging. Discourse can be situated in a society without assuming that the whole of a society shares a single, homogeneous body of practice, because it may include many streams of discourse.[40] Where difference might have been seen as politically and anthropologically insensitive, this is definitely not the stance that this book takes.

Cultures, in the sense of ways of living, learning, and comprehending, are constantly in motion, changing from within and from without through their interactions with others and through changes in time and historical events. Ranger refers to the relatively stable continuity balanced by continuous change of cultural traditions as being "a great repository of values and solutions which allows for a wide range of elaboration's [sic] and innovations within its terms."[41] Keith Swanwick draws our attention to culture simply as things people do and think. He describes culture almost organically as a form of "connective tissue" between people, as "symbolic activities that generate and hold meaning, that occupy and articulate the space between each individual," and that culture is thus both intra-personal and inter-personal.[42] We make our own cultural selves internally, but we also share practices with others. In this sense (musical) culture is a constructed system for making and sharing meaning whereby we reflect upon, interpret, negotiate, and share experience. Without a structured system of music, using sound and movement as a symbolic system, there would be no communication. The necessity of communicating musically via a collective symbolic system is the core reason for constructing a musical world.

Hence, despite sensitivities that surround the term culture, given the difficulties in finding an alternative one is left with little choice but to return to it. I shall try to reinterpret musical cultures in terms of existing and past practices, without any intention to promote notions of "otherness" or representation. One cannot deny the existence of distinct musical (and other) cultures in the world, where certain localities are inscribed in sound and movement, and people are able to identify with them. It is known that fundamental aspects of society are recognized, time and place are articulated, and cosmological systems grasped through cultural products such as music, dance, theater, stories, media.[43] We further accept that participating and living culturally provides the foundation for the acquisition of life knowledge, skills, language, symbols, meaning, and values.[44] The existence of systems of musical thinking and learning that differ from place to place and also from time to time is

confirmed. I thus prefer to speak of *musical cultures* and *musical traditions*, rather than cultural or traditional music. After all, which music is not a cultural tradition? While the terms I use infer praxis, being humanly involved in creating, maintaining, and changing ways of being, the latter (cultural or traditional music) infers a more static being and focuses on the products as representations of people. Moreover, in this book I also suggest that individuals can align themselves with more than one culture, in an overlapping or a hybrid sense.

An added note: emotionally and politically loaded terms such as "culture" are not interpreted uniformly. The terms "culture" and "tradition" have both developed a peculiar connotation in Namibia and other ex-colonies. In the Namibian case, traditional implies colonial,[45] and a sense of unease and discomfort is associated with "culture," which is used as a euphemism for ethnicity. A legacy of the postapartheid period is that many forms of apartheid remain embedded in society, and the fear exists that a focus on diversity would encourage social apartheid to reemerge. Culture is interpreted very narrowly in Namibia and now refers mainly to the traditional forms of ethnic expression, such as music, dance, and beliefs. A secondary connotation of culture in Namibia is its reference only to San-, Khoe-, Afrikaner-, and Bantu-speaking groups. Excluded apparently are other white and Baster people.[46] Hence, Namibian cultural practices are conceptualized within this racial framework, where African traditions convey "culture," and European-based traditions convey "art." One can see how, in this conceptualization, culture becomes a racialized interpretation of indigenous knowledge systems with their history, architecture, customs, beliefs, music, dance, medicine, and art.

However, recent study has brought the value and importance of "indigenous knowledge" – the systematized knowledge constructions of cultural worlds – to the fore. It is now accepted that culture contexts involve knowledge systems by means of which people understand their surrounding natural and supernatural world. For people who have been settled in an area for a long time, the physical environment is an enabling mechanism for the continuous production of knowledge. Thinking evolves from the physical environment as a direct result of having to engage in food production, general economy, and safety, and from social environment through the need to communicate.[47] In such circumstances, music and dance also respond to the environment, along with elements such as collective history, beliefs, and knowledge systems, thus eventually being formed into musical systems. Ruth Finnegan is cited by Veblen[48] for detailing the parallel musical worlds in the community she investigated. Worlds contain many different values and organizational structures that function across places, spaces, and genres. Borrowing this term, I refer to the existence of musical worlds throughout this book. Such worlds are conceived as *culturally informed systems of musical thinking and creating.* It appears that much of the cultural information derives from its cosmology, value systems, and general way of life both past and present. I suggest that this information contributes to the musical organization at all levels and is fundamentally responsible for the way music sounds and what it means.

A musical world can thus be seen as one paradigm of the entire social world and is conceptualized, understood, inhabited, its rules played out, and its customs,

knowledge, and aesthetics transmitted, through formal and informal education. Understanding the fluidity of movement between systems, times, and places in our fast-paced globalizing world, I nonetheless base the initial theoretical description in more static, established cultural worlds in order to describe certain qualities and characteristics. The effects of deterritorialization and flow will also be addressed so as to locate the theory in contemporary urban spaces.

I draw from very fundamental and commonplace ideas, for example, that all music is a cultural phenomenon – even "art music." Bruno Nettl's[49] ethnomusicological perspective suggests that one thinks about music as a composite of sound, behavior, and concepts (about music). Various strands of this suggestion will be played out in relation to the idea of a musical world. First, the conceptualization and thinking processes that establish and organize a musical world are discussed. Its systemization with different functional levels is related to different ways or forms of knowing music. Second, because this systemization takes shape over time, collectively practiced by people who share a cultural context of some kind, the behaviors associated with musical practices are probed. Hookey suggests that music possesses unique information about the culture which nurtured it. Cultural insiders possess knowledge of the ways in which music can "embody, signify, and represent cultural values, belief systems, traditions, and the deeply felt emotions which are peculiar to each cultural system."[50] The knowledge and behaviors carried with the musical sounds confer the practice with an identity. Third, therefore, I suggest that musical worlds are "inhabited" spaces, and an individual may inhabit more than one world partially. This habitation is an abstract idea. It involves knowing one's own music and relating other musics to it by comparison. But the habitation is also inscribed on our bodies, the way people move, produce sound, and relate to others within musical contexts. This implies that inhabitants have a shared identity of some kind by which they recognize one another, and that they abide by the norms and values of the musical world, because their aesthetic experiences are defined by its norms and values.

One of the key precepts by which we designate the term culture to a group of people lies in the shared way in which they have created their identity – how they identify themselves. This might, for example, be by their language (Silozi), ethnicity (German), religion (Muslim), music, and spirituality (Rastafarian) and how they "live" this identity, that is, whether they "live" it strictly with close ties or in a loose relationship aligning with other cultural identities. Culture and identity are thus intertwined and both are important organizing concepts in contemporary societies. Music is commonly used as a collective marker of identity. Finally, it seems obvious that existing musical worlds have been created by their inhabitants, but that they undergo change because of the passage of time, and importantly, because of education. Every process of teaching and learning music carries the inherent potential for change via reinterpretation, performance, creative experimentation, and reflexion. A generation or two surely sees several kinds of changes occurring within musical worlds as younger inhabitants take their places.[51]

Music enters *and organizes* social life, defining parameters of spaces that provide matrixes for thought and action, mediated by society.[52] It is important that we gain

understanding of music as a form of social as well as individual cognition. We know little about the detail that determines musical ownership, or how a society develops its knowledge structure, and how it functions. In a globalizing world, many people are removed from the safety of familiar normative environments. Can their musical identities function in culturally foreign or heterogeneous societies? What are the value systems that underpin them? Do established musical cognitions function in changed environments, or, if they change, how does this happen? How do people apply aesthetic evaluations in these situations?

Having posed many questions about culture, it is important to look at the communities of music that one is able to find in cultures.

Music Emanates from Communities of Music Practice[53] Drawn upon Cultural Landscapes

Across the world, music is something that emerges from societies, influences behavior, and is an integral part of our identities. Wherever people gather to celebrate or mourn, they make use of music to create a sense of ceremony as well as community. Musicking together implies a "community of musical practice."

If we are to explore music as a means of thinking, learning, and growing, we have to consider how to deal with those differences in preference, judgment, and capacity that are more closely tied to collective and individual histories and interactions – cultural landscapes – than to any immutable, formal, or logical principles. Societies organize musical practice according to their societal identities, needs, and norms, and produce musical sounds that are aesthetically pleasing relative to these norms. This is a form of symbolic production "transmitted from mouth to ear, from generation to generation" which represents a major constituent of the group's cultural identity.[54]

> At a deeper level than that of mere survey, there can be observed, within the various historical circumstances and interactive levels of life in society, the emergence of types and categories within music which demonstrate specific sensitivities. These sensitivities may be developed in a child through a family with a musical tradition, but they will also appear through a particular region's environment of sound, which creates reflexes in the thoughts of a creator of music....Musical sensitivities of this sort condition not just the way of creating music, but also of appreciating music.[55]

Through some kind of collective cognition and repetition, musical categorization takes place, sorting musical behaviors and sounds into clusters and patterns that fulfill societal requirements. Through cultural immersion and intentional education, each consecutive generation learns to understand, memorize, and implement their system (and others) in the above manner, and bring about systemic changes that reflect changes to that society.

Following Murray Schafer, many music educators use the term "soundscapes" for everyday sonic environments. While this is useful as a strictly musical-scape, it lacks the breadth and inclusiveness of the many aspects of cultural lives that

a landscape provides. Appadurai[56] suggests that the global cultural flow exhibits different concurrent dimensions, namely ethnoscapes, technoscapes, finanscapes, mediascapes, and ideoscapes, where global movement of technology, resources, images, words, peoples, and ideas allows individuals to inhabit many different planes or spheres simultaneously. Ethnoscapes describe the shifting and non-localized quality of group identities in our postmodern era.[57] Heikki Kynäslahti suggests that ethnoscapes signify a group identity that belongs to groups which are "deterritorialized."[58] In this sense then, ethnoscapes can be substituted for earlier conceptualizations of "wholes," such as villages, communities, and localities.

The emphasis on flow in current societies is an important one. On a cultural basis, however, we can consider specific cultural landscapes as micro-perspectives that interact with the macro-perspectives of globalization. In other words, the flow and change that occur as a result of globalizing movements and trends do not change that fact that as "imagined communities" cultures continue to exist in some form even under deterritorialized conditions. Much of the contemporary globalization creates new imagined communities in which the youth, especially, function with ease. A look at the worldwide participation in organizations such as *Jeunesse Musicale*[59] and their various programs, makes this clear. However, I suggest that value systems resist rapid change, and that this results in cultural lives being played out even in foreign places and spaces.

Considering the above, I wish to apply Appadurai's "imagined worlds" to the sonic environment as well as the physical ethnoscape. For its familiar qualities, I use the term landscape, which calls forth a geo-physical image – the kind we physically inhabit. It also calls forth the idea of an artwork as a representation of what one person sees in an environment. In this picture, people can be identified on landscapes colored by their peculiar circumstances and histories. But by participating in their own musical cultures, or by bringing in music of different cultures, people repaint their landscapes with new colors and media but possibly still use the traditional shapes and forms. I use this image specifically to enhance the idea of how individual, unique, and creative the content of each image can be, while the image of a landscape itself is a genre that is common and universal to human perception of the surrounding physical world. We all live in landscapes of our own creation.

In the humanities there are many different interpretations and utilizations of the concept of landscape, ranging from ideological and social interpretations to landscape as text or as symbol. A physical landscape can be imbued with meaning. Think, for example, of the allocation of sacred or historical points of reference over time. Physical landscapes are almost always peopled, and those people have histories, cultural contexts, memories, and music. The boundary between physical and cultural landscapes begins to blur at this point, and soundscapes form part of a broad cultural landscape. Angela Impey points out that "culture is as much a part of the treasure of the landscape as are its faunal, floral, and marine resources" and that "songs, dances, and ritual processes present rich repositories of local knowledge about the environment and are particularly relevant signifiers of local meaning systems."[60] Landscapes may therefore be seen as meaning-laden creations of memory and of identity. A landscape involves a conceptualization of all the possibilities

and values residing in the surrounding world. It refers to meanings assigned to cultural and political practices within the framework of individual interpretation of signs. Every sign means something to somebody within his/her own context.[61] A broader concept than a musical world, a cultural landscape includes all the tangible and intangible evidence of a culture, which in turn form and mold the musical world.

Bringing the concepts of culture, landscape, and musical world closer together, a musical world may be seen as something common to musical cultures everywhere but with the differences of musical content and the societal values that are drawn upon that landscape. A musical world encompasses all our sonic knowledge, choices, aesthetic preferences, and memories. It refers broadly to customs of musical practice based on a system of knowledge, understanding, and behaviors brought about by individual and collective musical experiences within a given cultural context(s).

In this book I suggest that musical actions, processes, and products are selected, used, applied, practiced, taught, remembered, evaluated, and enjoyed on the basis of internalized knowledge and experience of this world. Thus a musical identity or identities form part of a broader cultural or national identity. The broad term "world" is used because it refers to the sum total of individual or socially selected musical practices that "belong" to it. It has different levels and categories. Ontologically speaking, the process of learning and living a musical world begins at or even before birth, and continues developing and changing until death. Recent developments within the field of evolutionary musicology suggest that music has its origins in human communication, and the collective repetitions of formulaic sequences in communicative systems.[62] Therefore, the music that surrounds any individual at any given time is a complex weave of sounds that comes from communities of practice, whether conveyed by technological means, memory, or live performance. This book sets its focus on music that is community based or culturally derived.[63] Because so-called "cultural music" seldom receives attention for its educational potential, this study offers a contribution that might have meaning for education, cultural policy development, and community music. I hope thereby to avoid the "bypass" that often occurs between school and community.

The proliferation of community music programs across many nations attests to the fact that there are certain musical needs that formal music education in schools or studios does not meet. It is not coincidence that the very varied community music programs all point to social needs that arise out of specific communities, for example, therapy (Nordic countries); needs in institutions (UK); participative music with "open access" (UK), unconstrained by educational bureaucracy (Australia), informality, cultural representation, and preservation (United States); and "outreach" from better-off communities to less well-off communities (Brazil, South Africa, and several other places).[64] These programs seem to bear out a sense that something is lacking in school music education. These community programs grow out of local aspirations, needs, and knowledge and demonstrate the social nature of music. This kind of social activity does not thrive in formal systems where the music teaching–learning is subject to minutely planned, selected, formalized, rigorously assessed,

and programmed work. The upsurge in community music programs might signify a sense of loss of contact with aspects of functioning musical worlds. The manner in which a musical world functions as a socially mediated arena or landscape lies at the core of this book.

Educational Theory Principles

I use a mainly constructivist approach to interpret the above-mentioned data in light of educational implications. According to this theory, every individual comes to the learning environment with beliefs and basic principles acquired previously, as do I.

There is a great deal of overlap between cognitive constructivism and Vygotsky's social constructivist theory and the latter, in particular, allows room for a social interpretation of musical thinking. For Vygotsky, the culture or landscape in which a child is nurtured gives the child the cognitive tools needed for development. Adults[65] are conduits for the tools of the culture, including language. The tools include cultural history, social context, language, and the arts, as well as electronic forms of information access. From educational theory we recall that John Dewey emphasized learning by experience, as one reflects on experiences and tries to make sense of them.[66] Piaget noted that humans actively build cognitive structures and continually adapt and accommodate them to incorporate new knowledge, developing networked schemas for understanding our world. Juxtaposed upon the argument that the acquisition of knowledge is essentially a socio-historical–cultural process,[67] in which musical learning is but one form of a panoply of intelligences,[68] the basic premise that a society's musical practice is constructed socially, cognitively, and aesthetically out of life and musical experiences as a basic form of learning becomes evident. Therefore this book suggests ways in which musical choices (sounds, patterns, rules) reveal cognitive connections, and aesthetic evaluations reflect basic values and respond to changes in these values.

In the past, embedded meanings in musical arts were learnt through enculturation in traditional societies. Nowadays, even though the songs might still be sung, the contexts have often changed. Young people are seldom fully aware of meanings and most music is viewed as entertainment only. There is an awareness of *what* kind of music it happens to be, but not *why*. What are we doing in arts education to combat this loss of meaning?

Building on the above, I have felt free to concentrate on research-based data and a layer of questions and that have so far remained unanswered or unconnected.

Notes

1. See, e.g., *Murdock's Ethnographic Atlas* (1962–1967).
2. I must express my sincere thanks to Victor Grauer, one of these pioneers, who sent me a copy of the Lomax study, as I was unable to find one in my part of the world.
3. Lomax, 1968.
4. Ibid., 1968, p. 3.
5. Ibid., p. 3.

6. Ibid., p. 3.
7. Ibid., pp. 3–4.
8. Small, 1998, pp. 8–11.
9. Lomax, 1968, p. 8.
10. Ibid., p. 4.
11. Arom, 1991.
12. Arom, 1994; Mans, 2003, Lomax, 1968.
13. Ruud, 2004.
14. DeNora, 2003.
15. Adorno (1976) described patterns of legitimization as aspects of the social context that determine what constitutes a work of art and how that work is valued.
16. Mans, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c.
17. See discussion of this theoretical perspective in later chapters. The term systems of situated knowledge can be ascribed to the work of Lave & Wenger, 1991; Lave, 1996; and Wenger, 1998.
18. Van der Merwe, 2002.
19. Sartori, 1997, p. 61.
20. Bhabha, 1994.
21. Maria was telling her story to Gertrud Boden in south-eastern Namibia. From Boden, 2007, p. 39.
22. Mans, 2005, 2006; Olivier, 2001; Arom, 1994; Nzewi, 2003; Veblen & Olsson, 2002; Small, 1984; Stokes, 1994; Feld, 1986; Seeger, 1987; Lomax, 1968; and others.
23. Bruner Foundation's, 2005, p. 1.
24. The first half formed part of my doctoral research, while the second was a project funded by the French Embassy in Namibia (Dept. of Cultural Cooperation) and the University of Namibia.
25. I use here the local vernaculars without formal prefixes, which I have only used for Himba, Zimba, and Ambo groups as this is common local practice.
26. This was a method I was trained to use in my Masters degree, 1986.
27. I have followed Bruner and Dewey's examples in this regard.
28. Including McPherson, 2006; Lave, 1996; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Nzewi, 2003; Hargreaves, Miell, & Macdonald, 2002; Barrett, 2006, 2007; Vygotsky, 1980; Hansen, 1994; Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1993; Wenger, 1998.
29. Including Lomax, 1968; Blacking, 1967, 1987; Nettl, 1998, 2007; Bhabha, 1994; Arom, 1992, Radano & Bohlman, 2000; Olivier, 2001; Spivak, 1996; Feld, 1986; Stokes, 1994; Seeger, 1987; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1988; Hanna, 1994, 2003; Magowan, 2005; Agawu, 2003, among others.
30. Including Bruner, 1972, 1996; Gardner, 1983; Feldman, Csikszentmihalyi, & Gardner, 1994; Krumhansl, 1990.
31. See, e.g., DeNora, 2000, 2003, 2007; Jenkins, 2004; Bandura, 1986; Ruud, 2004; Veblen & Olsson, 2002.
32. For example, Elliott, 1995; Bowman, 1998; Reimer & Smith, 1992; Robinson, 1997; Small, 1984, 1998; Swanwick, 1994, 2001; Palmer, 1994.
33. Adorno, 1941; Green, 2006, 2008; Sefton-Green & Soep, 2007.
34. A reading of the work of Eduard Said, Homi Bhaba, Spivak, and other postcolonial writers is highly recommended.
35. *Encarta Dictionary* online.
36. See Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1988, where this notion is discussed at length, and then Ranger's more recent reinterpretation in Kaarsholm & Hultin, 1994.
37. The term Western is widely used to localize Euro-American or "white" culture, including Australia and New Zealand because of colonial histories. Eastern or "oriental" is a term commonly used for much of the rest of the world from the Middle East to the far-eastern parts of Asia. Africa seems to fall into a class of its own. The interpretation of the term Western

is therefore as divergent as an interpretation of African or oriental, and consequently hard to defend. Nevertheless, in the interest of brevity, I shall continue to use some of these terms with the understanding that they are, in fact, racialized terms and thus indefensible.

38. Sahlins, 1994.
39. Ibid., p. 1.
40. Feierman, 1990.
41. Ranger, 1994, p. 19.
42. Swanwick, 2001, p. 35.
43. Stokes, 1994.
44. Vygotsky, 1980; Gardner, 1983; Lave, 1996; Kaeppler, 2003.
45. See Winterveldt (2002) for extensive discussion on the notion that traditionalists were collaborators, modernists fought for freedom.
46. The community's chosen name, meaning of mixed race.
47. Thornton, R. 2000, Alexander, J.C. & S Seidman (Eds) 1990 (1994), Geertz, C. 1973; Mercer, 2002.
48. Veblen, 2004.
49. Nettl, 1998.
50. Hookey, 1994, p. 85.
51. I shall not be talking about formal and informal education per se. Suffice it to say that in general, if the terms are used, formal will refer to schools and informal to all outside of school education. In reality, there are so many different forms of formal and informal settings, methods, successes, and failures that I will explain exactly what I mean when using these ideas.
52. DeNora, 2007.
53. I use the term communities of music here in the sense of Lave & Wenger's (1991) well-known idea of "communities of practice."
54. Arom, 1994, p. 137.
55. Mbuyamba, 1992, p. 27.
56. Appadurai, 1990.
57. Veblen, 2004, p. 16.
58. Heikki Kynäslahti, 1998.
59. See *Jeunesses Musicales International*, www.jmi.net/
60. Impey, 2002, p. 9.
61. Mans, 2003, p. 7.
62. See, for example, Dissanayake, 2007; Krumhansl, 1990; Levitin & Menon, 2003; Wallin, Merker, & Brown, 2000; Trevarthen, 2002.
63. Community music most commonly revolves around collaborative music-making, community development, and personal growth (Koopman, 2007) and emphasizes lifelong learning (Veblen, 2004) all of which play a role in this study, but are not conceived within the community music framework. For discussion of community music, see e.g., Koopman, 2007; Veblen, 2004, Veblen & Olsson, 2002.
64. See Veblen, 2004 for an extended overview of different community music programs.
65. Also the electronic media especially television and Internet and communication resources.
66. Dewey, 1938.
67. Vygotsky, 1980.
68. Gardner, 1983.

Chapter 2
Thinking Music: Processes of Musical Cognition

Art is a cultural system, Clifford Geertz[1] said nearly four decades ago. He added that the analysis of art forms is not the same as research of scientific law, but that it requires interpretive analysis in search of meaning. Interpretive, reflective analysis of musical thinking in society – music as societal "cognition in action" – is exactly what this chapter aims at. Blacking[2] identified this social cognition as *musical thinking* which is culturally defined in contrast to, although not separate from *musical intelligence*, an individual but universal potential among human beings. Elliot Eisner[3] adds the idea of *felt thought*, the ability to experience qualitative relationships in sound, whereas Bereiter[4] emphasizes the importance of *connectionism*. The latter idea is a pattern detection device by means of which the mind acquires abilities and dispositions to recognize and respond in various ways to different patterns. In this chapter, we will be investigating these and other interpretations of musical thinking.

The focus in this chapter is not on all the possible learning and thinking processes involved in music making, composing, and listening, but rather on the socio-cultural processes of musical thinking and systematizing in the constructivist sense.[5] I hope that this work will function as a provocative idea which may not necessarily provide a solution, or be a "good" idea in itself, but moves our thinking to a place where new ideas may be generated.

Musical practice within a culture does not just "happen." It is the result of the interplay of many complex factors involving musical, historical, economical, religious, and educational thought, growth, and exchange in societies over a period of time. Most of this learning probably takes place informally (outside schools) and involves various ways in which a society teaches its music to itself.[6] Musical practice is also the result of layers of individual experience – musical trials and errors within specific contexts or situations – that have been socially refined, reflected upon, practiced, and remembered over a period of time, all the while undergoing small adjustments and changes. Within a group, the musical functions are more complex than in the performance of an individual. A group has to meet the aesthetic needs not only of an audience or onlookers but also within the group. Through their musical interactions and communications, they try to reach beyond good, to transcend as a group.

Social refinements might occur collectively by performing together, through discussion about the "right way" or "wrong way" or "better ways" of performing something, through educational practices, and through audience responses or market responses, for example. Reflections and changes might occur when the individual expresses preferences or recalls memories of personal experiences (being sung to by mother or "our favorite song") that privilege certain musical types. One could therefore assume that the structure of a socio-cultural musical world is related to its social organization and time, providing a peek at its power relations, values, and historicity.

In this chapter, we will look at ways in which the perception and cognition in a society seem to occur as a result of *collective "decisions"* to create musical systems and identities that cultural groupings relate to. The assumption that there are such systems is brought into question by Bruno Latour[7] who asserts that such an interpretation of the social "credits translation processes with a coherence that they lack." According to this author, a statement of a system serves to allow macro-actors to grow by disarming the forces that they systematize, as they add on new ideas, beliefs, thereby creating a many-headed leviathan. If the converse, however, is to assume a complete lack of "real" systems in societies, the work of the educator is severely restricted by the bewildering confusion of information with which they have to deal. Since this book aims to simplify a socio-cultural understanding of music for educational purposes, it is based on an assumption that social systems exist and that they function because societies find this useful.

Hence, if "music is an organized set of informed actions and understandings transmissable by instruction,"[8] then it is a system that is perceived, understood, and practiced, meaning that it is a form of information, cognition, and actions. A phenomenological examination of existing musical practices will be supported by an extrapolation of information from cognitive theory and psychology of music. The chapter will also touch on the cognitive processes involved in cultural memory-making and meaning-giving within the framework of value systems.

An existential analysis reveals human beings in-the-world (*dasein*) as a primary ontological category,[9] which itself has three components, namely human, world, and being in. This implies that a human being always approaches the world from a specific situation and actively gives meaning to the surrounding reality, objects, and fellow human beings. Humans actively engage the world and enter into specific relationships with reality as displayed by physical objects, fellow human beings, and self.

Given this phenomenological reality, we can also deduce that music making is a human onticity, rooted in the life world. There are several basic reasons for this: first, that expressiveness is one of the *daseins* categories of humanness, and music is one of the fundamental yet powerful ways of expressing self. Second, humans always stand in relation to others, and music is a means of communicating and being with others. Third, human beings are by nature cultural–historical beings, creating their own identities, spaces, and histories. Fourth, human beings are spiritual beings, seeking to understand and explain their worlds and finding transcendency through supernatural (higher than natural) powers, and music has been a religio-spiritual

medium since the earliest known times. Finally, human beings are by nature active beings that become part of their surrounding world, and music is one of the ways in which people engage with their worlds. There can be no music without active engagement, and music making therefore relates particularly well to the active nature of a person. All the above *daseins*-categories indicate that it is natural for human beings to seek to surround themselves with a structured world of sound by means of which self-expression, social expression and communication, identity formation, and spiritual well-being can be achieved through active engagement with sonic possibilities. It is this world of sound that I refer to as a musical world.

Let us imagine a human infant within a specific cultural context and examine how she perceives and processes musical sound and how the collective influences this process. Children are born with an innate potential for musical learning and performing, much as they are born with potential for mathematics or sport.

For an individual, the world of sound begins with the rhythms of the mother's heartbeat and internal organs prior to birth, laying the auditory foundation common to human beings. But the musical world of a newborn really begins with its own first cry and the vocalized communication between mother (or caregiver) and child.[10] The infant establishes an early identification with the timbre of the sound of his or her own voice from the first cry onward. The mother typically communicates with the infant by means of repetitive sounds, descending patterns, different intensities, and exaggerated facial expressions.[11] The infant reacts with physical movements and sounds that grab the mother's attention and bring about renewed interaction. In this way, mothers are agents of culture[12] right from the start. They set an infant's earliest actions within an intimate setting deeply informed by their own cultural knowledge.

The infant's first attempts at vocalization are met (by adults) with an explosion of positive reinforcement, encouraging continuation of the interaction. Ellen Dissanayake[13] describes this communication as a primary human capacity and need, and says that infants, in their early weeks, respond best to "interactions that are regularized, and predictable." This means early recognition and anticipation of the experience being repeated. She continues, saying that infants also respond best to "soothing and lulling" – an indication of the presence of affective and physiological responses – and that "adults provide these in their soft vocalizations and tender facial expressions as well as with gentle rhythmic stroking or patting."[14] This kind of infant–caregiver communication is a common human behavior.

Notable is the fact that the infant is no mere recipient but actively interacts with parents (caregivers), contributing to the communication and learning process. The experience also predisposes the infant to intellectual and social competence, "developing recall and prediction beyond the present situation,"[15] emphasizing the development of memory. But Dissanayake's contribution to current thinking on artistic learning and behavior goes further, in that she believes that the nature of these interactions are fundamentally aesthetic, shaping preferences. Hence, these very early experiences begin to shape personal musical worlds. From behavior that seems to be common to all humans, differences begin to emerge – differences that speak of identities and cultures. From being potentially able to learn any language

and music, our hypothetical infant is starting to focus on certain repeated sound timbres, components, and patterns, which will predicate future language and musical perceptions and preferences. Kodály is known to have referred to this as the "musical mother tongue."

The links between the initial acquisition of language and music are strong, and both are reliant on the character of a particular society, community, or family for content and structure. Infants and small children process sound experiences and begin first to match tones and speech fragments and later to sing melodic fragments from their sonic world. As they grow, they model bits of song, or sound chunks, performed by adults and other sources. Even early research[16] showed that there are certain schemata or patterns that, either through innate disposition or through experience with a music, come to form musical archetypes that we search for and find in our musical experiences. From the basis of these melodic and rhythmic archetypes, children also make up and play with their own vocalizations. It is only later that this basic shared "vocabulary" of archetypes allows children to sing together. They are thus a part of the socialization and enculturation process, whereby children gradually learn their own musical culture and begin to experience how the system works. Through pattern connections, such early experiences form the basis of more complete musical templates to which people relate best at later stages of their lives – the tonalities, tempos, timbres, and rhythms. By a process of musical experience – the hearing, singing, and embodying of musical sounds, along with the reinforcing adult behavior of approval (or disapproval in certain cases) – a network of musical behavior is built for and by the child. These experiences (that include the influences of radio, television, and recordings) confirm certain sounds, sound combinations, and bodily expressions as "good" or pleasing, while others are experienced as undesirable.

As an example of positive reinforcement, a mother's soothing songs, her playful vocal repetitions, and the small child's early vocalizations gradually give rise to the vocal qualities that are considered musical within a particular cultural environment. It is especially timbre discrimination that develops early, as infants of a few days old can already distinguish the timbre of their mothers' voices.[17] Not surprisingly, culturally preferred vocal timbres are reproduced from an early age. For example, the strong throat-resonated speaking and singing voices of adult Ovahimba women in Namibia have an influence on children's voices. The throat-resonated, vibrated singing is clearly discernable even at ages 8 and 10. In this musical culture, a "straight" or thin voice immediately marks a singer as a cultural outsider. However, at the opposite end of Africa, Tigrinya mothers in Eritrea speak and sing in high-pitched voices, a quality that even a casual listener can discern in the playing voices of the children. In both cases, cultural identities gradually become embodied in the voice through situated experiences. Children hear such vocal tone qualities and perceive them as approximating qualities that are familiar and aesthetically pleasing. They then adopt and develop similar qualities by means of enculturated imitation. The earliest perceptions of vocalizations therefore to a great extent determine later vocal musical production and appreciation. Two 10-year-old girls of similar physique but different cultures will have developed completely different singing

voices, not because of their physiology, but because of their auditory image of the "right" sound to produce as a result of their situated learning experiences. Songs performed in an unfamiliar timbre would just sound "wrong" to them.

Thus we can say that while it is natural for all children to have potential sensitivity toward music as an acoustic phenomenon, the manner and form of their early awareness, perception, and expression is culturally biased and is an extension of their developing musical identity.

Socio-cultural Processes of Musical Thinking

Our hypothetical infant has learnt to recognize and identify with certain sounds. Very soon, her innate intelligence will allow her to begin to organize her sonic experiences into a system using different mental operations. The nature and manner of the system, however, will be determined by her own innate sensitivities to music and the nature of the environment within which she is growing up, and it will be based on the cognitive and affective systematics of her socio-cultural environment. Within most socio-cultural groups, people share a logic for ordering their sound experiences. Inasmuch as a language is systematized and in the learning process systematizes an individual's perceptual and cognitive processes, so too does music.

Seen from a constructivist view on thought processes and learning, the social world in which individuals live must be examined. There are kinds of learning that cannot be reduced to specifiable objects, contents, or actions. Bereiter and Scardamalia[18] argue that knowledge building also involves making connections and a class of learnings that they describe as "learning one's way around in" some physical or abstract domain. Music is one such form of learning – an activity that requires cognitive, affective, spatial, and communicative functions. In socio-cultural contexts, children are drawn into musical activities in ways that nurture and "scaffold" their thinking.[19] We can see that the process of engaging with music involves not only a form of decoding a culture's musical systematic but also active encoding of musical experience, selectively perceiving qualitative relationships in musical sound.[20] Musical sounds also systematize a society's perceptual and cognitive processes through encoding, continuous feedback loops, and social reinforcement. Responses to music therefore involve variables not only of the music and the listener but also of the listening situation or context.[21]

Using the basic neurological and musical principle of input preceding output, let us look at perceptions of musical sound, followed by the various ways they might be processed and then expressed in performance, composition, or verbal response – all in a socio-cultural context.

Classifying Musical Sounds into Categories

There are several principles which undergird musical practices in societies. In this chapter, I will focus on three that relate to the forming of a musical world. First, music has purpose, and second, these purposes are socially motivated, which gives

the music meaning and value, and third, the information in and about music is categorized for purposes of efficacy.

The first principle, that musical worlds are fundamentally rooted within musical and extra-musical purposes, is intimately related to cultural practices and customs. There are always reasons why music is performed or listened to. Sometimes it is to soothe a child by singing lullabies, or to "tune out" other noise, or maybe for relaxation after a long day at work like the informal *saraus* musical gatherings in Brazil. Or, there may be therapeutic, individual, or nationalistic reasons. But music has purpose, whether it is overt or covert. Think, for example, of the way in which music has for centuries been used "as an element of persuasion, to awaken the sensitivity of the believers, to attract them to religious practices."[22] Commenting on the ways musical structures resonate with their extra-musical purposes, Nzewi emphasizes functionality as well: "Various structural conformations and performance practices [are] formulated to perform differentiated tasks in the social, religious, political, economic and health systems."[23] Similarly, Arom[24] sees socio-cultural functions of music in central Africa as being "woven into the cycle of individual, familial and collective existence to such an extent that they are an inseparable and indispensable part of the social and religious life of the community."

Well, you might say, that is so for Africa, but is it true for France, for example? Then one thinks about music at international sporting events such as football, one thinks of music for dance such as ballet, trance or house, "muzak" in stores and restaurants, music in theaters and the various religious institutions. Are these not also inseparable and indispensable parts of that socio-cultural life, purposefully created and performed by musicians? Imagine how these institutions would function if the music was not there.

Common musical purposes include devotion, celebration, education, patriotism, entertainment, and recreation of many kinds. The performance modes within the structure of a musical world hint at cultural philosophy, pedagogy, mythology, tradition, and history. Music for each of these tends to be specialized and classified as such. But within societies, the original purpose might for certain reasons be redefined and categorized by different attributes. For example, music may be created for certain groupings or categories of performers, e.g., symphonic orchestras, temple musicians, or *escolas de samba*. This means that sometimes the actual kind of music is created specifically with these groups of performers in mind, a result of various historic developments.

The second principle underlying the forming of musical worlds is that musical practices are socially motivated and have meaning and value. Musical sounds are probably never processed as sound only. There is always a measure of recognition of certain sounds as being musical and others not, implying that humans perceive music as something other than, but inclusive of, sound in general. Sound, but more than sound. The "more" lies in patterning and meaning. Interestingly, even when music is unfamiliar, we still know that it is music, although we might find it unappealing or strange. We apprehend, appreciate, or recognize the organization of the sound stream as either familiar or unfamiliar. Therefore, our recognition of sound as music relates to the perceived organization of the sound stream, as well as the

meanings we assign to it. These meanings are derived from behaviors of people around us as well as from our internal responses and memories. Bamberger refers to situational meaning-making as an aspect of musical development "that focuses on the present and unique function of events within the context in which they occur."[25] She continues

> When pitch/time properties associated with an event (a motive or a harmony) are embedded in a new situation, the invariant properties change their identity and function in response to where and when they occur.[26]

This indicates that the identity and meaning do not lie within musical properties per se, but in the meanings ascribed to them via function and circumstance. Hence, Bamberger continues, the abstract act of meaning-making lies in the ability to hold certain musical abstracts constant, in spite of a change in circumstances, against a fixed reference structure.[27] Thus meaning-making can be seen as a form of Bruner's equivalence categorization (further on), wherein certain *meanings* rather than sounds are the attributes that allow the music to be recognized, identified, and systematized.

The third principle mentioned is that information in and about music is categorized and that this improves efficiency of information processing. The classification of sounds into categories seems to be one of the most basic of all human musical cognitions, yet despite its importance for survival, it is taken very much for granted. I argue that categorization is an important cultural act, one that in many ways defines a peoples' music, and yet it is universal in its intellectual ordinariness. At this point, we need to consider exactly what is meant by categorization in general and in terms of the musical categories found in a culture.

What are categories? *A category is defined by certain attributes that dictate that certain objects, events, people, or musical types/purposes can be grouped together on the basis of their perceived similarities*. Within a given cultural grouping, such similarities are the basis of collective categorization through language and through music, but these might not be easily observable to cultural outsiders. On the other hand, categories should not be seen as having clear-cut boundaries, and clusters of features are not necessarily discontinuous. As Wittgenstein[28] explains, broad categories (he uses games as an example) can sometimes only be explained by the similarities among the examples in that category, not by boundaries. Attributes within a given category system are defined only for the sake of economy, to make the system as logical and economical as possible, but if it becomes out of phase with real-world constraints, it will probably evolve and redefine attributes to be more in line with those constraints.[29]

According to Rosch,[30] the task of category systems is to provide maximum information with minimum effort by reducing the infinite differences among stimuli. Because the perceived world comes as structured information (informed by the category system already existent in a culture at a given time), maximum information is achieved if categories map the perceived world structure as closely as possible. She continues her analysis by describing category systems in terms of both a vertical and horizontal dimension. The vertical, she says, is the level of inclusiveness

of a category, while the horizontal is the segmentation of categories at the same level of inclusiveness, i.e., the internal structure of the category. Moreover, categories can also themselves be classified as superordinate (e.g., furniture), basic (chair, table), and subordinate categories (e.g., kitchen chair, lounge chair, office chair). Each category can be qualified in terms of its attributes or features that are usually in opposition to other categories. Musical superordinate categories might be vocal and instrumental. Songs, chants, praises, orchestral, percussion, wind, and strings might be some of the basic category objects, each with their own features. Further qualification of, e.g., songs as religious, nationalistic or soothing songs, and rock, art, or folk descriptions would place the songs from a variety of groupings into subordinate categories. In general, Rosch says, the principle appears to be that there are relatively few attributes for superordinates, many for basic objects, but not many more for subordinates. This research led her to conclude that basic objects might be the most inclusive form of category for which it was possible to form "a mental image isomorphic to the appearance of members of the class as a whole."[31] However, Rosch's language-based research indicates that despite certain discrepancies, basic categories are the beginning point in the categorization actions, spreading out toward superordinate and subordinate categories as taxonomies increase in depth. I will return to this finding in the next chapter.

Jerome Bruner[32] approached categorization from learning theory and identified two main kinds of categories, namely identity categories and equivalence categories.

> An *identity category* functions when different forms of a thing are still recognized as the same thing. For example, when "Silent Night, Holy Night" is performed at double speed, is arranged for orchestra, or is sung in a foreign language, it is still identified as the same song. This, in a sense, involves what Arom[33] calls a "model" of a musical work – where one has developed a memory (or category) of the basic components of that musical work, enough to be able to recognize it even under changed circumstances such as variations. The category consists of the "collection" of all the forms and components of that song.
>
> *Equivalence categories* are employed when different things are seen as similar, having something in common, for example, when many different melodies and texts are all recognized as hymns. They all contain certain attributes that allow them to be classified into one category, although this category is not necessarily exclusive. An example might be military marches. There are many of them, but the attributes they share in music and meaning allow them to be grouped together. This indicates a certain flow among categories. However, the ways in which we define or perceive these equivalencies might rely on affective responses (similar feelings are aroused by certain types of music); purpose or function of the equivalencies (they share a common purpose such as wedding music); or categories that might be determined and formalized by users of music – researchers or even disc jockeys looking for a new description. A formalized category might be something like "baroque fugues" or Turkish *saz semai*, bounded mainly by date and style ascribed to

them by "experts." One could also say that affective categories tend to be more individualized ("romantic" music, "cool" music), while functional and formal categories tend to be socio-culturally determined.

Categorization is one of the most fundamental cognitive operations, and sensory–motor interaction with world plays an important role in the development of categories.[34] The process contributes to the formation of prototypes within the cultural taxonomy and plays a role in cognitive processing, representation, and learning. When musical perception takes place, information is processed and categories are formed by organizing the constant load of input from the environment in a meaningful and economical way. Categories help for quick referral and processing of perceptions. But when incoming stimuli are entirely foreign or new, dissimilar to any previous inputs, a person is initially unable to process it meaningfully because it does not relate to any category – until the person then forms the basis of a new category for this "foreign and new" information.

In musical terms, it is the existence of these categories that in the broadest of terms determines a sense of music that is recognized as "ours" as opposed to "not ours" or "not music." This might be one of the reasons that the elderly often complain about youth music as noise – not only because it might be loud, but because they are unable to "place" it within their known categories. A category of music will have certain essential attributes that determine belonging. For example, in a global context, gospel music might take almost any form or musical style,[35] but to belong to the gospel category, it must have some kind of religious or devotional message as an attribute. To be *gamelan*, music should not only be played by a *gamelan* ensemble, but should also have the attributes of the correct polyphony, interlocking, and the *pokok* (basic core melody with a cyclic metric structure).[36] But, it is also possible for a category to refer to an attribute that a music is assumed to have, or may have, but is not required to have. Thus, the category sets rules that govern the strictness of variation from one situation to another, while still allowing "membership" in a group.

As hinted above, a superordinate categorization of music might be based on decisions like "serious" or "entertainment" within different cultural contexts, where the purpose defines music for entertainment, music for worship, or other purposes. Place categories refer to music for theater and music for clubs, while time categories might be music for evening or a season. Basic categories would refer to specific types of song and instrumental music for that purpose, place, or time, with each type normally having a name and involving a collection of pieces or examples. Subordinate categories might have to do with performance, e.g., instrument(s) as in an evening sitar raga, by one or more persons, and with specific sonic components of the music in terms of tonal, temporal, and timbral qualities. Any of these categories might over time and with use become formal categories. However, the discussion of categories becomes problematic if one is too concerned with its boundaries. Emphasis on the correlational structure of the perceived attributes might be more useful so that categories are represented by their clearest, most structured portions. I shall do this in the next chapter. In the context of this discussion, it is helpful to distinguish the

use of the category structures in processing tasks. Hence, the categories that are discussed in Chapter 3 are not presented as reified, solid constructions, but as a system used for musical thinking, creating, and performing within cultural contexts.

A further consideration in this discussion is that categories do not stand by themselves. They are organized – coded – systematically. Each category has some kind of relationship to others, and often the relationships are hierarchical. Each hierarchical level becomes increasingly specific. The more knowledge an individual has about a topic, the better that individual is able to refine categories, create subcategories, and make connections between different categories, in other words, to create a more complex thinking system. In cultural contexts, the societal complexity will also determine the complexity of the classification system. Terms like formal and informal music, African or Asian music, folk or art music might all be used to create a specific taxonomy.

To conceptualize the complexity of mental categories, imagine an electronic archival system. If one were to try to archive an entire nation's music, where would you begin? – with composers (a category), types of music (another category), or dates (yet another form of category)? Naturally there would have to be cross-references, which would begin to create more categories and connections such as instrument types and grouping and musical events. Each person searching an electronic archive might use a different point of entry (search word), so multiple cross-referrals which function like synaptic links must be available – similarly our cognitive musical categorizations. Musical operations are complex, and there are too many possible classification systems to select only one. A musical world, however, is a system that helps members of a culture to organize their wealth of musical data *their* way.

Categorization helps us to know within our cultural environments when and why music is made and what kind of music that is. This is important for education. We know that there are different repertoires for categories of music, and we are able to recognize the typical and appropriate sound combinations within each repertoire. We understand that the whole system is bound by socio-cultural constraints of behavior and meaning. Each existing musical world is an immense system that involves many years of mainly informal education, performances, auditions, compositions, memory archives, and more – all in an ongoing process of development and change.

The main questions of interest for musicologists are what are the attributes that the music in a category share? What are the links that allow matches of attributes? The possibilities for classifying according to perceived attributes are endless, yet many societies appear to perform the categorization process in fairly similar ways, or at least in comparable ways.

That we recognize something in musical sounds which immediately allows us to categorize those sounds implies a fundamental yet complex process. The mental process is, of course, individual. But the cultural aesthetic environment that reinforces certain perceptions, musical choices, and predictions of musical outcomes derives from the collective musical environment. As individuals within our socio-cultural environments, we have learnt to perceive, recognize, or discard minute

attributes in musical sounds, analyze them, place them within fields of known sound combinations for comparative purposes, and file them into existing categories or create new categories. Indeed, "our ability to discriminate patterns of sound far exceeds our ability to describe them. For most of what we hear, we have no words."[37] One should also remember that there are thousands of simultaneous processes occurring in the brain, and when we hear music, we are able to recognize and categorize at the same time that we are experiencing affective and bodily responses, thinking about dinner, and noticing special qualities in the vocalist's voice as well as a speck of dirt on the seat cover.

I have argued that categorization is a fundamental musical cognition whereby we recognize attributes in sound and in meaning, systematize them hierarchically, and deal with the information in processes of comparison. This allows us to retain a musical memory archive and filing system and to process the countless changes that continuously take place by creating and referring to identity or equivalence categories in more specific mental operations. While categorization is the fundamental process that constructs the system we know as our musical world, there are several other cognitive processes (mental operations) in music that evolve from and feed into these categories.

Recognition, Identification, Selection, and Anticipation

While I do not intend to rewrite the wealth of information available on cognition, learning, and thinking processes,[38] a few basic points that pertain to the making of a musical world need to be lifted out. The importance of recognition, a memory process, as a fundamental form of musical cognition is obvious. It is a process that is inherent and essential to survival. Recognition involves knowing that something is familiar and is followed by identification, knowing what that something is – a melody, a shout, a bird.

In most cases, the different timbres, melodies (tunes), and rhythms of spoken and musical experiences are experienced repeatedly during infanthood. At a very early age, an infant is able to pick out a sound (timbre), compare it to a memory of a similar sound (timbre), and recognize it as Mother's Voice, with its peculiarities of language, tone and inflection, and emotional associations. The recognition and identification involves the selection (foregrounding) of a particular sound chunk; the act of digging up a memory of the pattern or chunk to which it most likely compares; placing the one "over the other" for comparison, in a manner of speaking, to search for similarities; followed by reinforcement of recognition if it is found to be similar. If not, the process can be repeated.

As infants develop cognitively, certain experiences with voice and sound are more easily identified and a network develops, drawing in different senses, such as visual and olfactory recognition. "Mother's Voice" is accompanied by a scent, a visual image, and a tactile experience. Even though other members of a family are recognized as different persons, they still repeat similar sound patterns, thereby

establishing some sense of community. The infant recognizes and identifies different sets of approaching footsteps and eagerly anticipates the contact. Each recognition reinforces the memory and identification. Gradually, certain actions and reactions come to be anticipated. Anticipation means that sequences of events have been formed into patterns, and when a pattern is incomplete, there is a tendency to want to complete it.

In musical development, the flow of musical patterns is subjected to the same process of recognition and identification. After a number of repetitions and memorization, the shape and form of the musical flow of sound comes to be anticipated. In some music, this might infer anticipation of cadences or length of phrases; in others, it might be the relation to other voices or to certain interval sizes, tempi, and so on. Through repetition, a predisposition to certain sound combinations and progressions begins to settle within musical memory. The mental "cookies"[39] that facilitate quick recognition assist in the process.

Recognition and identification of musical sound play their most important roles in the perception (input) phase, while deciding to perform and then doing it requires a *selection of options* and making of judgments based on concepts learnt within the environment. Thus, in performance "thought and action are interwoven like themes in a fugue."[40]

Within a cultural group, one child's early sonic experiences in the family are approximated in many families. Children's musical experiences are culturally and socially reinforced when people meet.

> Depending on the internal structure of a musical composition, its appreciation requires an awareness of musical thought, and also a grasp of what we call the language itself; that is, an in-built network of resonances, of features drawn from the living surroundings, and projecting the particular spirit of a given culture.[41]

Soon they are able to recognize voice tones and rhythms, language, and the musical sounds of their environment – in some cases, also instruments. Important symbolic instruments are introduced formally in certain cultures. In Valozi culture, for instance, an infant's head is placed within or close to the opening at the foot of the drum, while a beat is sounded at the top. This is a symbolic act to ensure that children know and identify with the sound and meaning of the drum (ngoma) from a very early age.

Musical experiences during childhood influence the later ability to learn music. When synaptic connections are infrequently or never activated, they are eliminated. Conversely, those that are frequently used are retained and strengthened, to the extent that "what is learned influences what can be learned."[42] This means that infants and young children have an abundant capacity to learn any music, any language. But as they are introduced to the much-repeated music and language system(s) of their environment and gain facility, they gradually lose the ability to hear (comprehend and appreciate) or produce certain sounds. It seems therefore that early musical and language experiences funnel the child toward a preference for and appreciation of a certain music, making it more difficult to fully apprehend

those that are encountered later in life.[43] From all the sonic potential, only certain sound combinations are recognized and selected for performance and listening.

Does the above "closure" contradict the possibility of cross-cultural learning? No, not if one takes developmental *periods of optimal learning* into consideration. During periods of optimal learning, musical learning of different cultures might take place more readily than at other times. The learning of "other" musics may occur at any time in a lifetime, but not always equally successfully or deeply.[44] This idea, taken further, recognizes just how important regular musical encounters are for the young. When a child is surrounded by music from an early age, musical learning is predisposed, as new musical learning is more easily accommodated. Conversely, children who are largely excluded from active musical experiences might suffer an inability to fully appreciate music during adulthood as the neural pathways that might have predisposed appreciation have not fully developed. Almost certainly the same applies to dancing.

Recognition of musical components thus lies at the core of musical categorization in terms of broad generic organization as well as detailed systemization the small sound-bytes that go into the making of musical pieces. The relation of tones to one another, temporal–spatial relationships, timbre qualities, and the ways in which they are juxtaposed with certain musical pieces are anticipated, become familiar, and come to form part of identities.

Memory

Memory is a fundamental process in music because sound is such a fleeting, temporal phenomenon. Socio-cultural memory forms a major part of an individual's musical memory, and vice versa. Socio-cultural musical memory is the composite of the existing musical memories of all its members, old and young. This is the musical heritage – the outcome of musical thinking – of a society.

Almost all the music that we perform requires a substantial amount of memorization. Childhood songs, in particular, are learnt by rote and memorized. This is why repetition is so fundamental to the learning process. If a song or musical snippet is heard only once, it remains within the short-term memory for a brief period, and then it slips away. It is only through repetition that contents such as music settle into the long-term memory[45] and remain accessible for long periods of time.

The two main memory processes are recognition (knowing something has been encountered before) and recall (the process of accessing long-term memory). Recall is a more complex cognition than recognition and functions by accessing categories first, then searching for details. Through repetition, long-term memory is constantly refreshed through "typical" neural pathways. This is why musical learning in oral cultures is so effective. Songs are repeated many times and are themselves often repetitive in structure, allowing ample opportunity for long-term memory processes to take place as mastery of the sonic environment develops. Diana Deutsch argues that musical patterns are retained in parallel in a number of memory systems that correspond to different types and levels of abstraction.

Information from these systems then combines to determine memory judgments.[46] The surface characteristics of the music and text draw the attention of listeners and provide a "framework" for encoding and retrieving a text, implying that texts are better recalled within their musical framework.[47]

Recognition ("I know that song") and memory recall ("how does that tune go again?") are employed by individuals and by the larger collective. The main task of memory, recognition, and recall in the culture's musical world is to create and maintain the archive of its music and facilitate efficacy and sharing in social performance environments.

Development of Templates

The construction of memory configurations is a kind of shortcut that creates easy access to what we know and assists us in recognizing the changes that occur when they occur. Such a configuration of bits of memorized knowledge forms a template, model,[48] or an archetype. A musical template can be seen as a musical design that can be used many times, and even when it doesn't always sound the same, as a subordinate category object it remains recognizable and identifiable. Templates allow us to screen out unnecessary incoming information, keeping to the essentials we need to recognize – they are therefore economical. Musical sounds are organized into recognizable and accepted patterns, but the ever-changing social environment exerts influences on this mental software, and as a result, people adjust or discard patterns and acquire new ones.[49] This mental software in the form of a collection of templates with links provides a shared base of understanding within the cultural context as a result of common life experiences. However, when a person meets someone from a different culture, it can be described as two unlike sets of cognitive patterns confronting each other. When and as the individuals who make up a community of practice change, the existing auditory templates which stabilize and maintain musical cultures also undergo small adjustments and changes.

Templates refer to the entire range of variations within a particular distribution of essential musical elements that allow the music to subsist from one generation or area to another. Template forming appears to take two basic forms in musical worlds. At a subordinate level, we find song or "piece" templates (or archetypes, memes, or models), involving type features in the form of tonal and temporal patterns and usage. The other is the broad range of sonic or musical possibilities that travel across categories, are culturally preferred, and recognized as "ours."

A song or piece template consists of a cluster of recognizable features – its name, social function, and melodic–rhythmic formula. This template is a (culturally) memorized model of that song, which, even if stripped of all variations and embellishments, remains recognizable and common to all its realizations as an identity category object.[50] In many folk musics, the words, meanings, and functions of a song might undergo changes over a period of time, or in different regions of a country, yet retain the melodic–rhythmic–harmonic and timbral characteristics that make it recognizable. Think, for example, of the song "Waly-waly", also known as

"The water is wide" or "Lord Jamie Douglas" in different regions. In a Namibian context, the song "Taanyanda" appears in different forms and dialects in different areas but has a chorus response that keeps it recognizable. Songs for similar occasions can easily be created using a template but working exploratively by adding, varying, and adapting bits. This resembles what romantic composers did in using the "folkstümliche musik" from their musical cultures to create a popular resonance and identification with their music.

Seen in its broad sense, a socio-cultural musical template includes all the typical musical formulae used in diverse circumstances. Involved are all the temporal–spatial musical elements and performance modalities acceptable and traditional to the particular society. This might involve regular meters, diatonic tonal organization, and symmetric structures, or asynchronic, polyrhythmic, atonal structures. The creation of "new" music usually involves the selection, adaptation, and arrangement of cultural musical formulae into new formations, which clearly requires some degree of competence and experience with the cultural template. Both forms of template described here are categories that operate in conjunction with one another, where song templates are derived from the broad cultural template.

Musical templates are important to learning because formal and informal music education selects the majority of its examples and performances from its own culturally identifiable collection of templates. Similar to language development, it appears to be important for children first to develop a sense of music recognition – knowing the broad cultural template, recognizing specific musical models, and being able to recall examples in practice – before they are expected to be able to work with "other" types of music.[51] For example, childhood songs, especially those that can be seen as generic, form a kind of scaffolding for the development of a musical sense. Often referred to as archetypes that may at times cross different cultural environments, childhood songs establish fundamental frameworks for perception, comprehension, and response. They may also function as internalized habits of perception and cognition that operate within a set of cultural constraints.[52]

Cultural Immersion and Creative Thinking

Musical categories are formed through informal and formal education, and cultural immersion is a major part of such learning. Living in and being part of a musical world is not predestined. Depending on social environment and personal inclination, people absorb the music(s) of their environment by means of enculturation and education. In some cases, individuals also seek out a specific musical practice to which they are attracted, for more in-depth experience and learning. The most common process of getting to know music is by means of enculturation – an ongoing process of lifelong learning whereby cultural practices from one's close environment are perceived, experienced, understood, absorbed, accepted, practiced, and valued. In constructivist views, learning is a process of comparing new experience with knowledge constructed from previous experience, resulting in the reinforcing

or adaptation of that knowledge. Social interactions are an essential part of this experience.

Enculturation is thus an ongoing experience. However, when one is exposed to a different culture and adopts aspects of that new culture, it is referred to as acculturation. Therefore, for most people in our rapidly changing world, there are constant enculturation and acculturation processes at work as worlds of experience are affirmed and expanded. Through musical experiences the younger generation gradually absorbs the mental software system transmitted to them by the older generation, although they often adjust, adapt, and transform this knowledge to fit the expectations and reality of the world they occupy.

Cultural immersion is largely founded on observing and modeling the behaviors, attitudes, and emotional reactions of others in situated experiences. Bandura reminds us that

> Learning would be exceedingly laborious, not to mention hazardous, if people had to rely solely on the effects of their own actions to inform them what to do. Fortunately, most human behavior is learned observationally through modeling: from observing others one forms an idea of how new behaviors are performed, and on later occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action.[53]

Through modeling and other means, people involve themselves in musical experiences, for example, selecting appropriate music for specific needs or occasions – the national anthem at a national celebration, a rousing protest song during a march, a soothing love song, or a calming Bach cantate. Gradually a sense of ownership develops. These musical experiences are guided by knowing *how* to behave musically within the framework of cultural and aesthetic values of the environment. They are also guided by knowing *what* to perform. Whereas the how-to (and when) emerges from socio-cultural customs, values, and mores, the what-to involves the engagement with musical sound. But what-to also has to do with referral to various categories before making a selection. It is informed by musical and socio-cultural cognition.

Whereas the above might seem to reify cultural categories as unchanging, this would not be natural to humans. Music cognition in a culture clearly has to involve creative thinking in order to refresh and renew musical experiences. Creative thinking can be applied in the creation of new pieces of music, the re-arrangement of existing pieces, the ways of performing music, and the various combinations of music with other aspects of life or art.

Musical creating functions from a known musical framework. New musical ideas are based on, or arise from, known music. The theory of creative cognition features two central cognitive processes that contribute to creativity: a generative process in which an idea is initially created and an exploratory process wherein an idea is examined or interpreted in different ways. The first process implies the inspirational kind of composition, when a musical idea emerges. It may only be a small idea, but it is a process whereby something that seems new is born. The second process involves a form of problem-solving. It could follow on from the first by expanding on new ideas, or adapting an idea in different ways. It might also be part of a working process where many "solutions" are tried before settling on any,

or being creative through variation and extemporization. Creative thinking avoids mere repetition of existing knowledge by adding on, changing, or leaping into new areas. New compositions can be created by extrapolating to test new developments, expanding, varying, or omitting material from a broad musical template, using and changing cultural formulae. Especially the second form clearly reveals the existence of previous musical knowledge and experience and indicates that all musical composition derives from existing musical knowledge. Composition needs some functional templates in place.

Creative thinking might be individual, but as we know, it might also be a collective action. Csikszentmihalyi[54] suggests that creativity is a cultural construct that functions at several different levels, which include the domain or field of creativity, the person involved in the act, and the field or context in which this takes place. He refers to the importance of societal judgments of creative actions, which feed back into the creative process. This means that creative thinking takes place within the broad framework of cultural conventions. Such conventions do apply not only to the musical construction but also to the performance with its meanings and symbols.

Enculturation as a learning process in a society is an ongoing, more or less formal communication between and among generations, passing on relevant and also dated knowledge and, importantly, meaning. The musical communication between generations (grandparent/parent/child) in a society develops into narratives of mutually constructed meaning. The situated experience of one generation might differ from the next, and so they might construct meanings in different ways. Learning in a culture also includes all the forms by which meaning can be transferred to others, and this again involves the cognitive patterns that are required to interpret them as meaningful. An inability to interpret the meaning would render the transferred forms meaningless to the uninformed outsider. Without meaning, the music is merely a conglomerate of sounds.[55]

Meaning does not stand alone. There are meanings lodged within the musical content, and there is the act of meaning-making. Meaning-making involves understanding, interpreting, and producing (music). Meanings are comprehended along with the values that underlie the meaning, even if these values might not be verbalized. The meanings attached to musical customs are learnt by enculturation. They are often either "spelt out" in gestures or expressions (especially for the young) or formally taught. Musical knowledge (knowing how and that) is deepened and enriched by the meaning-making process.

Cultural immersion, therefore, is part of the broad music education of any individual. By means of the memorization processes that occur even in passive listening, individuals are immersed in certain sounds and all that they signify. The process of immersion is seldom passive, however, as there is always a choice involved in identifying with a musical practice and its values, or not.

Understanding Symbols and Value Systems

From the preceding, we know that music emerges from a system where meaning is collectively interpreted.[56] In this sense, music is a symbol of something and it

also symbolizes something. Music stands for something else. To appreciate music as meaningful, one must therefore be cognizant with a culture's value system and be able to interpret the sounds and the performance. This involves evaluative thinking.

Evaluative thinking is one of the fundamental operations concerning music in individual and social contexts. Evaluative thinking is the ability to weigh one idea against another, or judge it against given criteria.[57] The criteria invoke values, for example the criterion for "proper" performance, as well as knowledge of what the performance entails, in other words, all the relevant information. Some of these values invokes are normative and guided by the socio-cultural constraints surrounding the music. Others reside in the sound itself and are derived from the musical world and its sound templates constructed by that culture and society.

Understanding the symbolism within the music adds meaning to the performance for performers and recipients. They know that musical sound is more than it appears to be. Even should someone only be listening interpretively to the music, the complex process includes analysis of the performance as it happens; recognition of symbols such as small repeated components, or certain timbres or rhythmic patterns; recall of their meanings against previous experience; evaluative thinking and aesthetic evaluation; and interpretation as a more conscious process, understanding the music's urgency, energy, nationalism or cohesiveness. Clearly, there is a relationship between "symbolic form and social meaning, and the performance of sounds as communicative action."[58]

In applying aesthetic evaluation, culturally informed decisions are made about the merits of the performance by judging it against the criteria for correctness, appropriateness, and excellence. The process involves matching values against the musical template for correctness, while interpreting meanings and symbols in the music. For example, people are perhaps performing a Hebrew song–dance for a wedding. While singing, the performers need to be guided by a mental image of the song in mind (template) but also perform the music knowingly in terms of its symbolism in relation to the wedding and carry the meaning across to the wedding couple and other guests or participants. There might be quite a wide range of understanding regarding the criteria, but the fundamental values that inform the criteria are widely accepted within the given cultural context. Evaluative thinking is therefore developed in musical practice, and the development of this thinking skill increases with experience.

For music education, and indeed social studies and other arts, the processes involved in the creation of musical structures in socio-cultural environments are of importance. Gone are the days when occasional singing songs "of the world" constituted a broad music education. Consider the implications if educators addressed the entire system and its processes, at different times and in different ways. This chapter has focused briefly on musical cognition in a socio-cultural frame and shown that categorization is a fundamental human and social cognition that plays a constitutive role in a music culture. Other cognitive operations that relate to categorization were highlighted with the purpose of showing that understanding a musical culture involves more than just knowing some songs. How this plays out in musical terms will form the basis of the following chapter.

Notes

1. Geertz, 1973.
2. Blacking, 1973.
3. Eisner, 2001.
4. Bereiter, 1996.
5. See, e.g., Bandura, 1997, 1986; Vygotsky, 1980; Bruner, 1972; Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1993; Blum, 1994; Wenger, 1998; Thanasoulos, nd; Lave & Wenger, 1991.
6. As Nettl, 2007, p. 829 neatly puts it.
7. Callon & Latour, 1981.
8. Elliott, 1991, p. 23.
9. This analysis appears in an expanded form in Mans, 1988, here using the concept formed by Heidegger.
10. See, e.g., Trainor & Trehub, 1993; Trevarthen, 2002; Dissanayake, 2007; Custodero & Johnson Green, 2003.
11. Dissanayake, 2007, shows pictures of similar behaviors in many cultures across the world and proposes that this behavior is probably universally human.
12. Trevarthen, 1988.
13. Dissanayake, 2007, p. 785.
14. Ibid., p. 785.
15. Ibid., p. 788.
16. E.g., Meyer, 1973; Du Preez & Steenkamp, 1980 and discussion in Deutsch, 1999; Wallace, 1994; Levitin & Menon, 2003.
17. Hodges, 2006, p. 59.
18. Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1996, p. 487.
19. Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1993; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Bruner, Olver, & Greenfield, 1966; Bruner, 1976.
20. Eisner, 2001.
21. Hargreaves, North, & Tarrant, 2006.
22. Medeiros, 2002, p. 1.
23. Nzewi, 2003, p. 1.
24. Arom, 1991, p. 7.
25. Bamberger, 2006, p. 71.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid., p. 72.
28. Wittgenstein, 2002, p. 272.
29. Rosch, 2002, p. 265.
30. Ibid., p. 252
31. Ibid., p. 258.
32. Consult the writings by Bruner and the many discussions and analyses of his work, e.g., Bruner et al., 1966; Bruner, 1976; Tagatz, 1976; Du Preez & Steenkamp, 1980.
33. Arom, 1991.
34. Bruner et al., 1966
35. See Miya's (2004) dissertational analysis of Christian music in Kenya, where Congolese *rumba* with *ndombolo* (pelvic thrusts) are accommodated quite comfortably in religious settings.
36. Miller & Williams, 1998.
37. Eisner, 2001, p. 9.
38. See e.g., Bruner et al., 1966; Bandura, 1986; Du Preez & Steenkamp, 1980; Csikszentmihalyi, 1999; Bereiter & Scardamalia, 2003; Bereiter, 1997; Deutsch, 1999; Flohr & Hodges, 2002; Hodges, 2006; and others.
39. A term used by computer programers to describe the remnants of Internet sites visited that are left on a person's computer. These "cookies" speed up subsequent recognition and display of the same sites.

40. Elliott, 1991, p. 25.
41. Mbuyamba, 1992, p. 27.
42. Quartx quoted by Hodges, 2006, p. 55.
43. Ibid.
44. Flohr & Hodges, 2002.
45. Du Preez & Steenkamp, 1980.
46. Deutsch, 1999, p. 390. She also argues that it is evident that "memory for music must be the function of a heterogeneous system, whose various subdivisions differ in the persistence with which they retain information."
47. Wallace, 1994, p. 1482.
48. Arom, 1991, uses the term "model" used by musicians as their mental reference.
49. Hofstede, 1993, uses the example of computer hardware (innate abilities) and software to explain his ideas about learning.
50. Arom, 1991, p. 174; Bruner et al., 1966; Tagatz, 1976.
51. Naturally, this is not exclusive. Many children grow up with different musical cultures simultaneously, as do they with languages. Young children are able to fit this into their musical schemata, but they still recognize the different templates as different from one another.
52. Bamberger, 2006.
53. Bandura, 1977, p. 22.
54. Csikszentmihalyi, 1999.
55. See an interesting discussion of this matter raised by Hannerz in Saether (2003, p. 45).
56. Refer also to Seeger, 1987; Small, 1984; Green, 1988; Stålhammar, 2000; Robinson, 1997; Oehrle & Emeka, 2003; Garnett, 1998; Feld, 1986.
57. See, e.g., Munro, 2006 and Schonmann, 2006.
58. See Feld's now classic discussion of symbols, 1986, p. 147.

A Musician's Narrative by Koji Matsonobu

Postcolonial Formation of Japanese and Western Identities in and Through Music

I went to a Catholic kindergarten from a Buddhist monk's house. Although the number of Christians accounts for only less than 1 percent of the entire Japanese population, 20 percent of Japanese kindergartens are Christian schools. While at home I would listen, every morning and evening, to the rhythm of my grandfather's chanting of Buddhist sacred text, at school I would sing and listen to Christian hymns and children's songs. When it came to my own private music learning, however, I was exposed only to Western music. In fact, almost no choice was available for me to learn (and even listen to) Japanese music: my parents only thought of Western music for children. Like my friends, I started my musical training in piano (later, trumpet).

It may sound odd that Japanese children are given very little opportunity to learn Japanese music. Generally, learners of Japanese music tend to be late starters. People begin the study of Japanese music at different stages of life: rarely at school ages but often in college, after getting married, or during retirement. They enjoy

music as a hobby and become constituent members of the "lesson culture" (Moriya, 1994). For example, my mother started the shinobue, a Japanese bamboo flute, about 10 years ago, yet she was the youngest female student in the group. Even so, she was eventually granted a teaching license to serve as an active member in the region. In fact, late starting of Japanese arts has been the norm in Japanese artistry transmission. For instance, Motokiyo Zeami, the founder of noh theatrical arts, believed that intensive training of noh singing should begin after the student turned the age of 20 (Sekine, 1985).

With my passion and love for music, I majored in piano performance and education in college. As a music student, I often stayed for long hours in a music room to practice – sometimes from morning till midnight – to prepare for exams, juries, and occasional public performances. I had been quite happy in the program. But one day a quandary dawned on me. It began with small wonders: why am I expected to be so "expressive," being an introvert person that I am? Why am I required to abide by the judgment of invisible others (the composer, audience, juries, etc.)? Why do I need to spend a large portion of each day for void exercises? Why do I confine myself to a tiny music room all day long while in my early childhood I spent countless hours outdoors and in nature? I had no clue as to how to answer these questions at that time. I simply believed that I should be able to feel true to myself through piano playing (I turned this into a noun). However, my frustration gradually became more and more, and I eventually stopped playing the piano.

Naturally, I looked for ways to release my mind from the product-oriented approach toward music. It was around the time when music education scholars claimed the importance of bi-musicality as the basis for culturally sensitive music education. I listened to many recordings of world music and began to immerse myself fully in it. In so doing, another question arose in my mind: Why do I know only of Western classical music as a person who was born and raised in Japan? Would my piano playing ever help me find my roots and history? I questioned what I have been missing.

It is not uncommon that people begin the study of Japanese music after spending some time abroad. My former colleague at a university where I used to work began studying the shakuhachi in Germany, amidst professional German flute players, including his teacher, who took a great interest in the shakuhachi and possessed a number of shakuhachi instruments. My colleague felt ashamed for not having learned any Japanese music. The same process occurred to me before I studied abroad. But surely, my living experiences at an international student house in Tokyo had some influence on my attitude toward Japanese cultural heritages.

Filled with much curiosity and an exotic gaze, I started learning the shakuhachi (as well as English). The kind of shakuhachi music I was introduced to happened to be a very old tradition developed through the Kamakura to Edo period between the thirteenth and nineteenth century. It conveys people's sensitivity and expression of the time through its sound and the way it is taught, most of which have been lost in contemporary Japan. In fact, what is considered as "Japanese music," or *hogaku*, is actually a genre of cultural hybrid manifesting Western influences. Musical instruments have developed accordingly. For example, the shakuhachi is

traditionally made out of a single piece of bamboo with minimal artificial modification in order to maximize the character that the individual bamboo segment naturally bears. The modern type of the instrument is made with a filling material, called ji, put inside the bamboo in order to control the diameter of the inner bore of the bamboo and thus to produce tuned (Western) pitches and bigger volume. Differences are identified in terms of not only the specific method of instrument making but also the philosophy regarding the extent to which people are encouraged to control nature.

I felt that practice of the shakuhachi is truly emancipating: The main repertoire of shakuhachi music, called *honkyoku*, is traditionally played for the purpose of meditation practice. The rhythm of one's playing is based on one's breathing pattern that is acquired and refined through repeated practices with one's teacher. Because of this feature, the honkyoku repertoire is often paraphrased as *honnin no kyoku*, which means "one's own music." When engaging in the performance of honkyoku pieces, I felt as if I could release myself from "noises" coming from within the "chatter box" in my head that constantly sent me a series of alarms and criticisms about my playing, a counter-product that I acquired through my piano training. The simplicity of honkyoku music helped me to focus on my state of consciousness and achieve mindfulness. A Zen monk once said, "the essence of Zen is to engage in the act itself. You eat when you eat!" I realized most of what I was previously doing through my music training was not serving itself but for something else, for example, playing scales on the keyboard or playing long tones on the trumpet was intended solely for muscle building but not for music making or the attainment of mindfulness. The separations between technique and music, content and form, mind and body, and the disparity between means and end were evident.

Practicing the shakuhachi served me as a medium to understand what has been lost through the westernization and modernization. By studying the old tradition of shakuhachi music, I could directly experience a kind of indigenous knowledge and practices that have been preserved and passed down from the pre-modern musical realm. For example, we dig and harvest bamboo, make instruments out of natural objects, and maintain an ecological attitude of preserving and appreciating nature inherent to each bamboo piece. When blowing into such flutes, we often feel that we are part of nature. To put another way, we sense oneness of the self and environs, the spiritual and physical, the body and mind, and the artificial and natural, through the realization of the spiritual energy flowing in and out of the body. This type of organic experience in and through music – hardly introduced and practiced in the educational realm – teaches us that music making is place-based and that music helps us to understand who we are, where we are from, and where we are going.

It was also through the experience of the shakuhachi that I could realize my hidden and embodied sensitivities as a Japanese person. Like other forms of Japanese arts, shakuhachi music represents an art of *ma*, the time or space between events – often a silence between phrases – in which a moment of here-and-now is brought about and a sense of focus and flow is renewed. "*Ma* describes neither space nor time, but the tension in the silence and in the space surrounding sounds and objects" (Galliano, 2002, p. 14). The rhythm of shakuhachi music resonated in my mind with

the tone of a big bronze gong suspended in a temple. Interestingly, when I was growing up, I spent a lot of time on the elaboration of single tones on the piano. I was trying to find the depth of music in a single tone rather than in a highly developed melodic line, complicated rhythms and harmony, and all other features interwoven in intricate musical structures. Each refined tone led me to a mindful satisfaction (see, Matsunobu, 2007b, for more description). When I experienced shakuhachi music, I realized that my obsession with the elaboration of single tones on the piano synchronizes with the essence of shakuhachi practice (Matsunobu, 2007b). My aesthetic sensitivity naturally seemed to have crossed the cultural boundaries.

It is this multicultural sensitivity that helps me to connect and align my research and teaching with my own music making. My multicultural experience through music provides inspiration and insights into my research and teaching, and my auto-ethnographical inquiry, in turn, deepens and expands my experience of music. This process is perhaps much like what Rita Irwin (Irwin & de Cosson, 2004) refers to as *a/r/tography*, a metaphor of lived experience of artist–researcher–teachers who integrate their roles in their personal and professional lives. My backgrounds in both Japanese and Western music enable me to create a liminal space in which tensions between my Japanese and Western selves are constantly contested, negotiated, and recreated, thus serving as a source of intercultural dialogues over human experiences of music. My possible contribution to the music education scholarship may derive from my efforts to explore the shared realm of musical–educational endeavors rooted in different cultures and traditions.

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Chapter 3
A Functioning Musical World

Systems are intended to work. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* defines a system as "a complex whole; a set of things working together as a mechanism or interconnecting network." The human brain functions as a system. Assuming the existence of a musical system, there must be a reason for its work and an internal structure.

Music is a human practice and it originates *among* people, meaning that music is at core a social act. Sociologists have emphasized music's situatedness in society for decades and claim that societal divisions and structures are the primary framework around which music is organized. Individually experienced in body and mind, music is used to express and convey something people share with one another. In itself, music is not sentient, and therefore one must assume that the expressed meanings and feelings lie in the humans and what they expect or understand, rather than the music itself. Musical practices are therefore invariably rooted in socio-cultural interactions, rituals, and conventions. Contrary to common belief that this is only true for "traditional" societies, an analysis of contemporary multicultural urban practices will reveal that they also have structured musical systems.

The "social identity theory" of Tajfel and Turner[1] suggests that people strive for positive social identity and that we all categorize ourselves as members of groups (ingroups) and define others by their groups (outgroups). Using the distinctions between different groups as a basis for self-evaluation, we clarify various identity issues and also music–cultural issues. This suggests that a society somehow senses the need to individualize – in the sense of creating differences – and systematize its music and employs its system to serve the peculiar goals of the society. Part of the employment of the system is education.

Human societies, it seems, have ways by which they create, learn, and teach a musical repertoire and distribute it through the society at different levels. This implies that music is organized or archived in the collective memory or through technology, to be recalled or accessed as the need arises. Reflection on musical practice also shows that it is socially organized in terms of the people who practice music, for example, according to age or gender, as well as the contexts in which the music belongs.

The relatively young field of the sociology of music and music education provides recent views and insights. Bengt Olsson[2] points out that our understanding of

"social" is linked to theories about the organization of people and their actions, and about the relations among people. He also points out that social theory has had less influence on music education than psychology and philosophy have. Thus, the focus of music sociology has been on music as a social product, resource, and practice and "music as a device of social ordering."[3] The perception in music sociology is that the nature of social circumstances profoundly influences human beings in their music as well as their words, thought, and deeds. Hence, one might view music in terms of its structure and inherent rules, as well as the context that is informed by the social reality in which it exists. Olsson concludes that the relationship between an individual and a group is reciprocal, with influence working in both directions, and that identities, values, and beliefs are formed through interaction. Thus, contexts in which musical acts take place influence an individual's norms and values, but an individual influences the context's core values simultaneously.[4] From sociology, we can therefore learn much about music as a human practice, but information on the various hierarchies within the musical structure is limited.

Keeping the relativistic lessons from sociology in mind, there is also much to be learnt from the field of ethnomusicology. Ethnomusicologists have observed social musical structures, behaviors, and philosophies for a long time. The older school of ethnomusicologists[5] proposed an approach to understanding societal musical systems using a three-part model consisting of the music itself, the musical behavior, and the concepts or ideas about the music. This very down-to-earth yet comprehensive approach covers all the music that a society has created and uses, all the ways in which music is performed, listened to, and created, and its symbolic meanings, representations, and values. It provides ethnomusicologists with a method by which they can organize their data and thinking. What the approach does not provide is a method for investigating the interrelations between music, behavior, and ideas, and how each subset is typically organized in itself. The lack of comparative information among different societies has made such analysis difficult, although some empirical studies have been done, especially on infant musical development.[6] Infant research in various disciplines has taught us about cross-cultural comparisons as well as the manner in which culture-specific properties develop.[7]

The Cantometric study[8] attempted to address the lack of comparative information in a large-scale international and interdisciplinary study several decades ago. Their work took an empirical approach to the collection of song data from across the world for purposes of ethnological comparison to establish the existence of clusters of practice. The study covered data on, for example, the relation of solo or chorus singing to the socio-political structures and the relationship between sexual behavior and vowel color and formation in different societies. The project collected and studied an immense amount of musical and ethnological data, measuring details of musical structure (form, texture, rhythm, melodic shape, interval size, timbre, etc.) against diverse criteria.[9] Similar dance analyses were performed in the Choreometrics project. However, the final project was criticized for its cultural bias and its many assumptions based on Euro-American values. It is seldom used currently, yet still remains a rich source of information which might be fruitfully accessed through a more contemporary lens. The main contribution of Lomax's Cantometrics research

has been the attempt to search for structure and meaning across cultures, between individual and group, and between musical practice and the socio-political structures it emanated from. For this it must be commended. However, the wealth of detail and the lack of synthesis in terms of common or shared musical thinking across cultures limit its use for educators.

Bowman and Powell[10] point out in a research survey that phenomenological and biographical accounts gathered from music makers have revealed much about the ways in which people experience and live music in their everyday lives. So, even though we know that music exists in every culture, we do not understand why the combinations of the different sound elements are so culturally bound and why music shows such great diversity across the world. Did early musical development follow language or geo-physical landscapes or spiritual beliefs?

Two apparently universal processes in musical listening have been identified, namely the segmentation of sequence into groups of events and the extraction of the underlying pulse.[11] But cross-cultural studies, for example, of meter and grouping have shown that even this apparently basic phenomenon has been difficult to reconcile among different cultures. If then even something as basic to music as "rhythm" is *not* understood or conceptualized identically everywhere, how do we begin to compare?

In attempting to answer these questions, it makes little sense to try to understand the world's thinking in musical practices by using predefined musical concepts. Instead, we might want to ask how people organize, practice, or speak about their music. The organization aspect might lead to answers about musical structures and socio-political structures, for example. The practice aspect should provide indications of how music is created and performed, what kind of music it is, and how people teach themselves this music, while the language aspect relates to ways people name and describe musical actions and events, providing insight into musical cognition and the way it travels through time and space.

Social Musical Organization

Certain social theories of music identify musical organization concerning the contingent nature of style categorizations and the ideological bases of generic distinctions in music categorizations along professional/amateur or classical/folk dichotomies. Investigation into structural categories such as "folk music" or "traditional music" have often been criticized on the grounds that such categories have been invented in the construction of national or racial identities, or to recreate some romanticized "pure" past.[12]

This book argues that such dichotomies are divisive and unnecessary, as a musical world can comfortably accommodate professional and amateur, art and folk, and other categories if the practice dictates this. These distinctions arise from and depend on societal characteristics and originally probably served to separate class and musical values.

To understand this aspect of musical practice, we might look into the ways societies organize their music in terms of *who* the persons practicing the music are and *what* music they consider important or value-laden. These two criteria will tell us about the socio-political structure of that society, customs that dictate who may, who must, and who may not be involved in performance. The music that a society considers value-laden will tell us much about their ways of life, beliefs, rituals, and values and how they utilize music.

Who makes music in a society may be common or limited. In some societies, active performance of music is a way of life for ordinary citizens.[13] In others, music is more easily acquired or consumed. Passive listening might be a more common practice,[14] while a select few highly respected artists provide the concert performances or recordings for high material gains. Some societies might create music largely to celebrate certain social stratifications. Jorgensen[15] suggests that there are five phenomena that explain the development of what she calls "spheres of musical validity," namely family, religion, politics, the music profession, and commerce. These spheres could be interpreted as cultural musical contexts in which certain musical practices are reinforced, thereby validating musical culture and identity. Bamberger[16] refers to the influence of "multiple organizing constraints." Significantly, says Nettl, "[w]e learn early on that the music in our lives has an organization not unlike the organization of our society; or that we can interpret it by using our society as a point of reference."[17]

What music people make grows out of their ways of life. Musical categorization probably originally arose out of a need to organize music ritually. The practice of using music as a means of social and spiritual communication or for political purpose meant that music had to be organized – classified – very specifically according to purpose. Admittedly, these historic purposes have become defunct in many cases, but tradition as a "living musical collective consciousness"[18] continues to constitute similar categories in musical experiences throughout the world even today.

The mental organization of auditive conceptions pertaining to what music is and how it should sound reflects a sonic world of musical behavior. Our individual worlds of music are placed on cultural-historical landscapes, peopled by family, friends, colleagues, generations, nationality, and "others." Musical behaviors are formed within these socio-musical worlds. Through education governments or those in power intervene to impose perceived national musical codes upon the socio-cultural worlds, especially in young or less politically diffuse nations. The musical world is therefore partially organized on a relatively familiar cultural landscape and partially on a broader national and global landscape.

Musical Practice and Behavior

Keeping in mind the earlier statement that knowledge of music is manifested by behavior in accordance with it and by making statements about it, let us consider musical behavior and language about music.

The sonic worlds that surround us take form over time through intentional interventions, such as a mother's teaching of nursery songs, music at school, and private lessons. But it also takes form through the multitude of less specifically intentioned contacts, through the media, social and religious gatherings, and so on.

A phenomenological reduction of musical essentials shows us that musical practice always involves one or more performers, listeners, and initiators or composers of fresh examples of music. Each one of these components or persons engages with music intentionally and stands in a multi-lateral relationship to the others. Much research has been done on each of these perspectives both in terms of individual and group behaviors. The relations between these three key acts or positions in musical practice differ, and indeed, each behavior (playing, listening, and composing or improvising) might be located within the same person.

Although the three key acts are common to all musical practice, the power relations among them and the value attached to the different musical acts reveal differences in different societies. Blacking[19] saw distinctive musical roles in communities as functional interrelationships among people with useful divisions of labor, while Kari Veblen suggests that roles in musical communities

> concern the fluidity of knowledge, expertise, and roles, with individuals participating in various ways from observer, to participant, to creator, to leader. One's individual responsibility to the group is reciprocated by group responsibility to the individual.[20]

In both cases above, the interrelationships in musical practice are emphasized. Clearly, any speculation about music in society needs to look at individual and group thinking, needs, and actions because it is the interaction of individual and social worlds that create the cultural dynamic and lead to the making and development of music. But the nature of relationships in or among communities is not always entirely predictable, nor are social processes and structures stable. Variations are constantly occurring and depend on the participants and contexts. In addition, musical meanings are also a function of contextualization, purpose, circumstances, and individual perspectives. Through individual and group actions, interactions, and language, the social processes and structures, including those in music, are recreated and redefined. A musical practice therefore, according to Wenger, infers shared historical and social resources, frameworks, and perspectives.[21]

Different societal "types" that may be more or less restrictive, open, technological, or agricultural have an influence on the musical behaviors and the value systems that underlie them. Many musical traditions involve, even encourage the borrowing of instruments, sound structures, and movements from other age groups or communities. Such borrowings are reinterpreted and integrated into musical preferences. But in more closed societies, this would be minimized. Similarly, it is difficult to predict the effect of the passage of time and the dispersion of change. Although music provides a relatively stable medium for expressing cultural values over time, value systems themselves undergo adjustment.

In the light of these statements, it makes sense to search for organization or a system to musical cultures in general. Accepting that different cultural practices are identified by some kind of systematic musical organization which informs us about

the societal organization and thereby contributes to relevant education, I propose a theoretical structure of musical organization that might be common to most musical cultures.

Musical Systems

A socio-cultural organization of music presupposes musical categories, symbols, meanings, and behaviors, all of which are linked and interwoven in intricate ways. As discussed in the previous chapter, categorization is a fundamental form of musical cognition, and in this chapter, it provides the basic systemizing structure.

Musical categories are known by their salient musical and extra-musical features. Small[22] referred to intrinsic and extrinsic musical features, where intrinsic features are the qualities of the musical sounds themselves, and extrinsic features involve the social context, rules, and thinking about music and musical performance. According to Olivier and Riviére,[23] "the relations between music, society and language are . . . a prolongation of a categorization based on musical criteria alone."[24] The process functions in two directions, with musical choices also being an extension of societal and linguistic criteria. Music is in service to these criteria, which change as societies change. Therefore, knowing a music means having the knowledge to *differentiate* between types of music, *being able to select and perform or appreciate* that which is appropriate, and *aesthetically interpret and evaluate* intra-cultural musical sounds, patterns, sequences, components, and movements in terms of quality, signs, and meanings. We are unable to perform all these tasks in a foreign culture, no matter how well qualified we are as musicians in our own.

Ah, somebody might think, but what about the serious art music that is globally loved, surely this falls outside of these worlds of music? But no, it is clear that it does not. The European composers such as Bach, Beethoven, Chopin, and Sibelius (and all the others) composed music that reflected their own cultural templates and musical conventions. This makes it possible to categorize them collectively (in retrospect) as Baroque, Classical, or Romantic composers. They might individually have pushed the envelope in creating new additions to the "standard" uses of music, but they would have been completely unemployable – and sometimes were – had they not remained within the bounds of certain musical conventions. These composers themselves responded to their framework of conventions which categorized their music into different types such as symphonic, or concerti, or chamber music. In all of this, the influences of socio-political events and cultural practices of their times are visible, the symbolic elements have been much studied, and the influences they had upon other musicians and composers as well.

Their music remains part of a socio-cultural musical world that was bound by its own conventions of time and place. Today the sounds are thought by some to convey the epitome of musical art, while to others they remain foreign and unintelligible,[25] indicating that the sonic templates fall completely outside of those musical worlds.
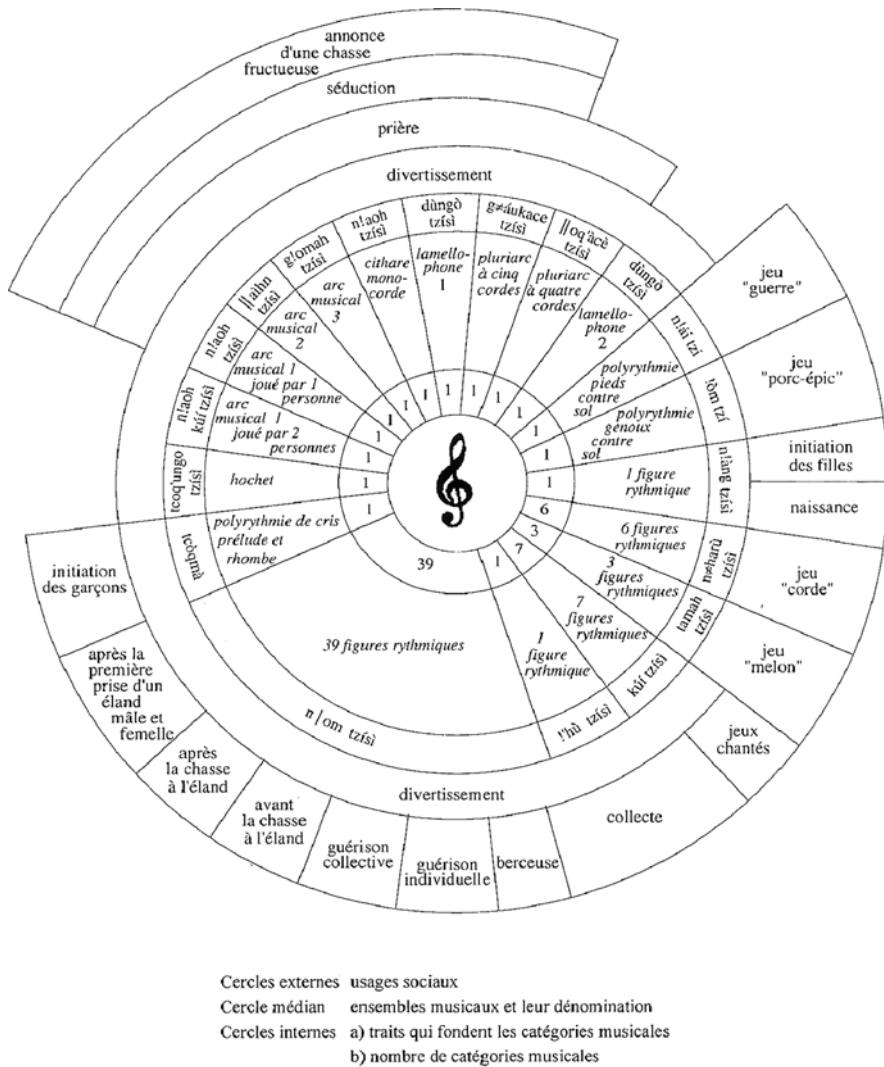
Agawu[26] describes five fundamental forms of musical categorization in Ewe discourse, namely names of instruments, names of musical genres, performance instruction, aesthetic or affective evaluation, and technical vocabulary. He also shows that the naming of musical genres often entails ascription of *social function* and that a vocal–instrumental distinction in Ewe practice is problematic. He suggests one "consider the layers of signification embedded in traditional categories and aim to convey their more intricate semantic spread."[27]

In his study of musical structures in Central Africa, Arom[28] developed a vision of a musical world wherein the music "itself" is placed at the center, and all the other data (musical and extra-musical) is hierarchically classified in an expanding centrifugal structure of concentric circles. This creates a network of "multiple polyvalent relationships"[29] that also determine the distance each item has from the center (music). The nature of the performance and its material tools and devices (instruments) appear in the 2nd circle, repertoire names in the 3rd, socio-cultural functions in the 4th, and symbolic elements in the 5th. Arom's configuration uses the musical structure to explain the extra-musical events and meanings. It seems to imply that the outer circle has the least influence on the structure of the music, explained by Arom as a progression from the concrete (music) to the abstract (symbol). How the abstract, such as purpose and meaning, could determine the outcomes in sound is not clear in this schema, since symbolic elements are variable, ranging from superficial manifestations of culture (words, gestures, objects, pictures) to very deep values. In some musical configurations, the symbolic elements which combine meaning, symbolic messages, and values might be the main reason the music is created and performed in the first place. The rules pertaining to the music might be so strict or sacred that the musical outcome is almost predetermined. Filled with captivating detail of a specific musical world – that of the Ju/'hoan people – Olivier[30] uses Arom's concept as follows:

In Fig. 3.1 Olivier describes the content of the outer circles as social functions; the central circles as musical types with their vernacular names; and the inner circles as (a) features or traits that determine the category (e.g., rhythmic features) and (b) the number of musical categories. Symbolic elements have not been included in this diagram, nor does it clearly indicate the superordinate, basic and subordinate category hierarchies. Remarkable as this ethnomusicology research and model are, its complexity limits its usefulness for music education. It nevertheless displays all the components in Fig. 3.2. (See Olivier's Counterpoint and Interlock discussion further on).

Arom's configuration of a musical world prompted me to test it against the questions posed at the beginning of this book. This process led to a reconfiguration which illustrates the structure and relationships amongst the various socio-cultural and musical elements.

My starting point is the demonstration of a culture's music – a song, a symphony, and a dirge. Each of these types obviously involves some kind of detailed and individualized organization of tone and time: tonal–spatial, temporal–rhythmic, and timbral qualities and pattern-building. Each "piece" of music everywhere has

annonce
d'une chasse
fructueuse

séduction

prière

divertissement

n!aoh tzísì · dùngò tzísì · g≠áukace tzísì · ‖oq'àcè tzísì

g!omah tzísì · cithare mono-corde · lamello-phone 1 · pluriarc à cinq cordes · pluriarc à quatre cordes · dùngò tzísì

‖àihn tzísì · arc musical 3 · lamello-phone 2 · n!ái tzí

n!aoh tzísì · arc musical 2 · tòm tzí

n!aoh kúí tzísì · arc musical 1 joué par 1 personne · polyrythmie pieds contre sol · n!àge tzí

tcoq'ùngo tzísì · arc musical 1 joué par 2 personnes · polyrythmie genoux contre sol

hochet · 1 figure rythmique · n≠harú tzísì

tchqmà · polyrythmie de cris prélude et rhombe · 6 figures rythmiques · tamah tzísì

39 · 3 figures rythmiques · kúí tzísì

39 figures rythmiques · 7 figures rythmiques · t'hù tzísì

n/om tzísì · 1 figure rythmique

divertissement

guérison collective · guérison individuelle · berceuse

avant la chasse à l'éland

après la chasse à l'éland

après la première prise d'un éland mâle et femelle

initiation des garçons

collecte

jeux chantés

jeu "melon"

jeu "corde"

naissance

initiation des filles

jeu "porc-épic"

jeu "guerre"

Cercles externes usages sociaux
Cercle médian   ensembles musicaux et leur dénomination
Cercles internes a) traits qui fondent les catégories musicales
                  b) nombre de catégories musicales

L'organisation de la musique jul'hoan.

Fig. 3.1 A configuration of a musical world by Olivier and Valentin (2005)

an internal organization with aspects unique to itself but also has an organizational structure that is bound by common conventions of the culture it emerges from.

To perform an existing piece, or compose a new one, requires a selection from the multitude of sonic possibilities available organized within one's individual cultural memory. The selection is then combined in a (culturally) acceptable way that anticipates the sound outcomes. It is then performed or formally composed in a more or less culturally acceptable manner. Even the most profane hip-hop song merely

pushes the style envelope, remaining within the confines of its own convention. It seems to be these conventions that determine the meaning and style of performance. But more about that later.

The details of this performance process form the nitty-gritty of music making. Its materials are components of sound. Its tools are the diverse forms of composition and performance. This process is the facet of music that has received the most attention in research and education. It is the detailed sonic *micro-organization* of music, based on a diversity of subordinate sonic categories. But research has not answered questions about why certain sound combinations are selectively preferred by some cultures over long periods of time. While history and cultural exchanges obviously play a role, they do not explain the detail of cultural preference. It is my conviction that taken across cultures of the world, composers select their preferences from sound combinations that align broadly with their internally memorized musical templates which in turn, have over time been refined on criteria that support musical efficacy. Efficacy is most probably highly influenced by religious and political structures and values. From this sonic cognition, they create musical combinations, sequences, and patterns that are seen as original (new) within the broad framework of their cultural conventions. And this framework has evolved over time from the cultural way of life.

Hence, within the proposed system, the processes of music making and selection of musical components evolve from the socio-cultural *macro-organization* of musical events into broad categories. These broad categories appear to be less defined by musical terms than they are intimately linked to social customs and socio-economic structures that might revolve around life stages, religious calendars, physical sites, and/or seasons, for example. Broad categories are refined in terms of a *meso-organization* into purpose-specific or generic repertoires of types of songs, dances, and instrumental pieces, where musical considerations play a larger role in the forms of specific pieces, yet relate to the social. The purpose-specific categorization relates to repertoires that are only used for certain occasions, while generic repertoires might relate to several different purposes, places, times, and reasons. All levels of musical practice are informed by a cultural environment or *framework of rules and conventions* that guides performance. This framework of rules resides within and responds to the aesthetic system of social values and relates to language and the socio-political organization of the culture. At this point, I have thus proposed a structure that is hierarchically but flexibly organized in three main levels, "surrounded" by a normative framework of customs and conventions.

To illustrate, an example of one of Namibia's many musical cultures is provided below (Fig. 3.2). It indicates different levels of categorization within a framework of socio-cultural behavioral conventions in one culture at a given time and area. The categories in Fig. 3.2 are derived during field research in northern Namibia, from the peoples' own expressions of their reasons for making music, for organizing them into certain groupings, and their interrelationships. This musical world is far from being a historical relic as even casual visitors can experience many of its songs and dances. As lifestyles change, however, certain categories such as music for hunting, war, fetching and carrying salt from the distant plains are falling into disuse.
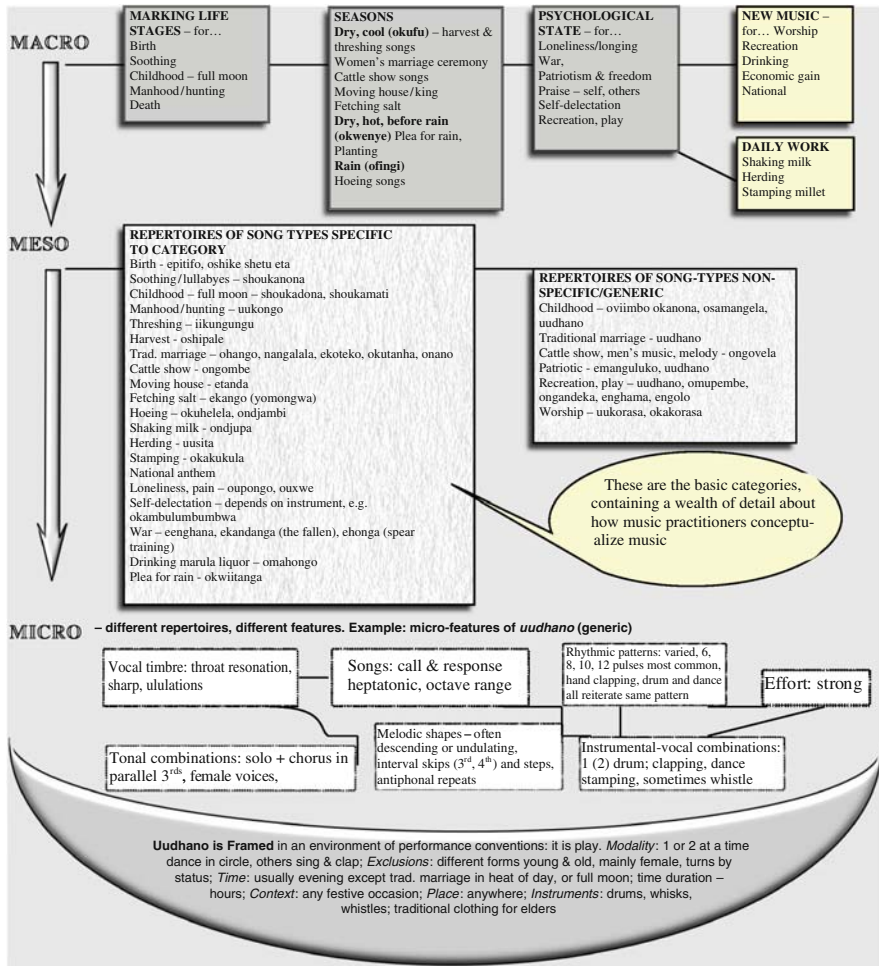
MACRO

MARKING LIFE STAGES – for…	SEASONS	PSYCHOLOGICAL STATE – for…	NEW MUSIC –
Birth	**Dry, cool (okufu)** – harvest & threshing songs	Loneliness/longing	for… Worship
Soothing	Women's marriage ceremony	War,	Recreation
Childhood – full moon	Cattle show songs	Patriotism & freedom	Drinking
Manhood/hunting	Moving house/king	Praise – self, others	Economic gain
Death	Fetching salt	Self-delectation	National
	Dry, hot, before rain (okwenye) Plea for rain, Planting	Recreation, play	

		DAILY WORK
		Shaking milk
Rain (ofingi) Hoeing songs		Herding
		Stamping millet

MESO

REPERTOIRES OF SONG TYPES SPECIFIC TO CATEGORY
Birth - epitifo, oshike shetu eta
Soothing/lullabyes – shoukanona
Childhood – full moon – shoukadona, shoukamati
Manhood/hunting – uukongo
Threshing – iikungungu
Harvest - oshipale
Trad. marriage – ohango, nangalala, ekoteko, okutanha, onano
Cattle show - ongombe
Moving house - etanda
Fetching salt – ekango (yomongwa)
Hoeing – okuhelela, ondjambi
Shaking milk - ondjupa
Herding - uusita
Stamping - okakukula
National anthem
Loneliness, pain – oupongo, ouxwe
Self-delectation – depends on instrument, e.g. okambulumbumbwa
War – eenghana, ekandanga (the fallen), ehonga (spear training)
Drinking marula liquor – omahongo
Plea for rain - okwiitanga

REPERTOIRES OF SONG-TYPES NON-SPECIFIC/GENERIC
Childhood – oviimbo okanona, osamangela, uudhano
Traditional marriage - uudhano
Cattle show, men's music, melody - ongovela
Patriotic - emanguluko, uudhano
Recreation, play – uudhano, omupembe, ongandeka, enghama, engolo
Worship – uukorasa, okakorasa

These are the basic categories, containing a wealth of detail about how music practitioners conceptualize music

MICRO – different repertoires, different features. Example: micro-features of *uudhano* (generic)

Vocal timbre: throat resonation, sharp, ululations

Songs: call & response heptatonic, octave range

Rhythmic patterns: varied, 6, 8, 10, 12 pulses most common, hand clapping, drum and dance all reiterate same pattern

Effort: strong

Tonal combinations: solo + chorus in parallel 3^{rds}, female voices,

Melodic shapes – often descending or undulating, interval skips (3rd, 4th) and steps, antiphonal repeats

Instrumental-vocal combinations: 1 (2) drum; clapping, dance stamping, sometimes whistle

Uudhano is Framed in an environment of performance conventions: it is play. *Modality*: 1 or 2 at a time dance in circle, others sing & clap; *Exclusions*: different forms young & old, mainly female, turns by status; *Time*: usually evening except trad. marriage in heat of day, or full moon; time duration – hours; *Context*: any festive occasion; *Place*: anywhere; *Instruments*: drums, whisks, whistles; traditional clothing for elders

Fig. 3.2 A specific cultural group's basic musical organization

To find out what the musical world of Aawambo contained, I asked questions like "Why do you sing or make music?" "Are there special times or special musics?" "What happens when someone (dies) (is born) (marries)?". This elicits answers such as "When a baby is named, then we have to sing and praise and do many special things for that." In the answers and their linguistic links, one is able to distinguish purpose, special repertoires with their category names, and symbolic elements. In almost all cases, one hears the words "sing (music) *for* … " indicating a purposeful musical categorization at the broad societal level. Musical purpose, therefore, has a wider scope than function because the purpose includes the many social and symbolic elements, values, and beliefs alongside the musical.

Analysis of the music I and others collected in Namibia[31] reveals similar hierarchical levels of musical organization in the different cultural groupings in this

country. As the answer to portraying the sheer complexity of all this on a legible single page has eluded me up to now, I shall break it up into different diagrammatic configurations.

Answering some of my original questions, this diagram which reveals existing conceptualizations about music displays a hierarchical structure. This means that different types of music are determined by what they are for. These are the important musical events that make up superordinate categories. That, in turn, determines what it needs to sound like, involving the micro-organization. At the outset, it must be said that detailed analysis of other musical worlds might reveal further levels of organization than those presented here. However, I suggest that one might find this basic structure in all musical cultures.

From the diagram (Fig. 3.2), it can be seen that the three main levels of a musical world infer somewhat different cognitive operations. These range from a broad societal form of categorization to the minute sonic analysis and synthesis of components such as intervals or timbres (usually performed almost unconsciously if one's own culture, or by music experts). These cognitions have formed over time through musical creation, experimentation, repetition, contact with others, sounds and materials provided or inspired by the environment, the allocation of meaning, and performances that take place collectively and individually. In the example above, these musical cognitions and actions are called forth by the necessities of life, which demand that certain actions take place, such as education, worship, and rituals with appropriate forms and music. With time and repetition, their systemic organization becomes stable, yet remains open to change as situations change.

Categories can be and are formed at different levels. In the diagram and discussion that follows, it will be seen that some of these categories are classified for entirely social purposes, others for a combination of social purpose and musical qualities, and yet others for purely musical reasons. It is important, therefore, to clarify common operations and those that differ. On a purely musical level, Olivier and Riviére[33] come to the conclusion that a musical category is defined by a *musical feature* or bundle of musical features and is always in opposition to another category. A feature is defined by them as constituting "the lowest common denominator of musical pieces that members of a [. . .] community group together ipso facto into sets."[34] As an example, Ju/'hoan customs are cited which dictate that melodic instruments constitute distinctive features – mouthbows being different from resonated bows, and different from a pluriarc. Musical categories for these instruments would therefore quite naturally have similar distinctive features that are in opposition to other categories.

Socially classified categories share the principle of distinguishing features, but these features relate only marginally to musical qualities, as socio-economic and socio-cultural features override them. One of the reasons for the creation of categories arises from the need for musical efficacy. In most parts of the world, one would ask the question: what is this music for? A socially based category is created for a wedding, for example. For this there needs to be a specific type of music. To be recognizable to the community as wedding music, it will have distinguishing features, and it will exclude other categories. There might be a collection of "pieces"

of such a type. Different questions might also be asked about the category constitution, for example, one might think in terms of where it is performed, e.g., symphonic music is music for the theater. From a Muslim point of view, one might ask how this music relates to one's religion, e.g., whether it is *halal* (legitimate and allowed) or *haram* (forbidden). Hence, for each purposive category, there are named repertoires of musical types that link to social purpose but, at the same time, are clearly defined by salient musical features that distinguish them from other types. As Arom puts it: "[t]he totality of a . . .. community's music can . . . be presented as a finite set of mutually exclusive categories, named in the vernacular language."[35]

The problem of establishing what is considered a distinguishing feature in a specific culture, how it is perceived and conceptualized, still requires an enormous amount of research. Features might be embedded within the *musical production* – its modes and patterns of singing, clapping, dancing, playing an instrument, or none of these, and the *sound itself* – the specific rhythmic pattern or timbral nuance, for example. Music for the piano is usually conceptualized as having distinctive features different to that for the flute. The same can be said for *shakuhachi* and *koto* music in Japan. Features might also be embedded in the conventions of performance, distinguishing, e.g., between children's music and adult's music, men's music, and women's music.

Having been formed by situated collective thinking and musical decision-making, the combined forces of musical worlds help each new generation form

– musical identities ("my" music in contrast to "foreign" music),
– aesthetic responses and judgments,
– musical tastes or preferences,
– musical patterns of cognition (including memory, recognition, and creativity).

This indicates an educational, socializing perspective. The creative thinking required for composing or arranging music is backed up by the collective musical world, relative to the individual's musical world(s) and experience.

In the paragraphs that follow, each level is presented in detail.

Macro-organization Determined by Society and Its Systems

The top level in Fig. 3.2, the *macro-organization*, evolves from the basic social purposes of music making. This is the level that should, in each culture, explain why they have music, what it is *for*, and applies to individuals and groups. This fundamental superordinate categorization appears to be driven by the need for a society to organize its musical practice according to its economic modes of production and consumption; the cosmological organization of customs; and its need to celebrate or affirm practices that will strengthen society. In Fig. 3.2, the society has defined several broad, overarching categories, which appear to organize themselves into three main groups I have placed in the boxes Life Stages, Seasons, and Psychological State. These are considered the "important purposes." In addition, there are types

of performances that are not intra-culturally thought of as "music," but nevertheless constitute a mode of performance. Thus, daily chores are lightened by singing, so when the *ondjupa* (milk calabash) is shaken to make buttermilk, or when grain is stamped in the mortar, or cattle are herded to grazing and back home, there are special songs or chants that fit the rhythm and nature of the task. Further, there are new forms of music developing that are seen only by some as part of the culture. This includes music brought by missionaries, new Aawambo songs that emerged from this "collision,"[36] as well as the acculturated and original forms of pop music absorbed into the culture via popular media and regional exchanges.

In the above example, the seasonal music constitutes the majority of all their music and marks every season as well as every important occasion. Whereas some other categories involve solo performances, most seasonal practices involve group musical events. Among the Aawambo people, life stage music is sometimes subservient to seasons. Thus, the traditional marriage for girls, the most noted musical event, was timed to take place according to season, usually in the dry season, just before the harvest.[37] The categories in the box called Psychological State refer to music that is practiced mainly to cause an altered mental–emotional state, such as solo songs that were sung to relieve loneliness or emotional pain when walking the hundred or more miles to the Tsumeb mine for work, or to the Etosha salt pans to collect salt, in the past. It also includes group songs to raise psycho-spiritual energy for war, performed especially in the times of the Owambo–German battles of the last century and early in the freedom struggle. Many of these songs and instrumental pieces are falling into disuse as circumstances change, although play and patriotic categories remain important.

In societies of the past, spiritual and agricultural practices might have been of general importance. But the making of musical categories continues today in urban as well as rapidly changing rural societies and still reflects the conditions in which people find themselves, although original purposes appear to play a more recessive role nowadays. My reflection on musical categories in different world regions – superficial as it necessarily is at present – indicates that most societies have categories that relate to purpose, musical features, perceived inherent spiritual value, social need, or efficacy. Should a people's modes of production relate to agriculture, their musical traditions are likely to relate to seasons. In agricultural societies, the musical world might revolve around agricultural seasons – planting, tilling, harvesting, and the moon. In times past, songs and dances were created to celebrate such events, praise the gods and nature for abundant rain, or plead for good crops. Even today among the huge population of Africa:

> [T]he lunar calendar is the commonest horological system...The passage of the moon dictates and reflects the various rhythms of life – planting, harvesting, hunting, grazing, fishing, commemoration and the passage of time. And these inform the various festivals and ceremonies that mark the continuity of culture as well as dictate and provide avenues and occasions for creative and performing arts.[38]

If the economy of a region has long been based in industry, mining, or microtechnology, one might find little or no relation to seasons in their music, but there

might be echoes of industry in the music, categorization might be more related to time in and time out of work, praise or laments about the industry, those who work in industry and those who stay home, and those who are too young to work and those who are not. Such musical practice might also be quite individualized for those not involved in the industry. One might also reason that the character of a culture or society, as by and large, monotheistic or pantheistic, fundamentalist, rule-bound or liberal, would be reflected in its categories, and its level of flexibility and exchange between categories would be influenced.

Contemporary urban classification by place (e.g., theater, stadium, church music) and formal genre (rock, jazz) is equally relevant to that of an agrarian seasonal classification (e.g., harvest, dry season music). It might seem as if the disembodied production of compact discs, mp3s, and DVDs has enabled new processes of consumption that renders the above obsolete. But do these consumers not interpret and classify recorded music in terms of regional or global categories and matrices of meaning?

It appears, therefore, that several different levels of musical categorization can intersect. Some musical worlds employ generic forms for a variety of events, while others have established different musical categories for every event. In Tigrinya music in Eritrea, the national and religious calendars – especially those of the Orthodox Church (Coptic) and Islam – play a defining role, although agricultural and lifestage events retain important roles, especially in more isolated rural areas. In Ohio, USA, researchers found that Mexican-Americans have their music seemingly organized in categories of festivities, such as public festivities that are US inspired (e.g., Independence Day) or locally developed (e.g., LatinoFest); Mexican International (e.g., *Cinco de Mayo*); and religious or community festivities (e.g., Christmas, Feast Day of the Virgin of Guadalupe). Their other broad group of musical categories relates to life cycle rites such as *Quinceañeras* and baptism.[39] This reveals a combination of religious, national, life cycle, and ethnic categories that span different spaces, negotiating intersections through these categories, of ethnic Mexican, religious, and local (national) American culture.

Entertainment or recreational music is a major category in most cultures. It seems to display characteristics that, unlike most categories, are not exclusive. Hence, entertainment or recreational music might be performed in work situations, e.g., while pounding millet, driving a car, or sewing. Similarly, praise or religious or pop songs might be sung while performing daily chores. In this case, it appears that individual choice (self-entertainment) plays a stronger role than the functional cultural categorization, or alternatively, the musical features or memory of the song override the initial purpose.[40] Thus a person might hum a well-loved song even when the circumstances appear inappropriate, or where it would not normally be performed or listened to.

The social complexity and mingling of many people in urban environments seems to dictate its own categorization of music. Many urban communities bring aspects of older cultural customs or their own "elsewhere" into contemporary musical worlds. These customs and their music undergo changes in the new environment, but the original reason often remains at core. For example, the seasonal, originally,

pagan celebration of Midsommer in Sweden is still commonly celebrated, even in contemporary urban environments with entirely new music. Culturally "unattached" urbanites such as immigrant groups might become involved in their new country's musical culture, and their musical categorization may revolve around place (clubs, churches, or theaters), cultural events (weddings, holidays, football matches), religion (religious calendar), and other globalized musical features (orchestral or digital music or a waltz or hip-hop).

Spiritual efficacy, communicating with the supra-natural world, is probably the most fundamental constituting reason for music in the first place. In our postmodern world, this might not seem important, yet musical categories that originally emerge from spiritual contexts remain with us. The typical distinguishing features of music that is or was created and performed for spiritual reasons are (a) that they are or were intricately bound up in the requirements of the spiritual ritual itself and (b) that they are or were almost always exclusive and strictly in opposition to all other categories. It is true that in contemporary contexts, this is seldom still the case, and I have come across many melodies that were previously linked to serious spiritual rituals that have moved their classificatory boundaries and now become entertainment music.

The lives of individuals in societies are somehow bound to "their" music, whether intricately or loosely. Many youngsters across the world – even passive listeners – can in different ways be heard to say "Music is my life, man." It makes sense, therefore, that over time, they would develop and know collections of music appropriate to the occasion or circumstance, also which music they do *not* relate to. Categories are formed according to circumstances and involve the processes of selection, recognition of features, analysis of characteristic performance requirements, organization of information, identification with or against, and formalization of categories into customary practice. As individuals move in and out of different strata of society, they adapt and accommodate their categorization choices. Individuals in all known societies perform this complex process of categorization. However, without specific purpose, music tends to revert to entertainment, as is the case with much contemporary musical culture.

The effects of categorization are clearly visible in school music education, where selected musical categories are, often unknowingly, taught and learnt in terms of purpose, especially in terms of special days such as Christmas or Hannukah; history and traditions; or class systems such as classical versus folk music.

Clearly, some intra-cultural understanding is demanded before one can identify and understand its broad macro-categories, some of which might be unnamed or unverbalized. Are the songs that are sung by football fans part of a larger category or do they form a category by itself? That is, do these songs contain a bundle of features that distinguishes them from other songs – either in musical structure or in contextual features? Therefore, the main question related to *why* we make music in the first place, can then be developed into *where* and *when* one could engage with it. The broad macro-categories are at the level most directly informed by the overall guiding framework of societal conventions and rules (*how* one engages with music).

Counterpoint and Interlock by Magne Espeland

As I was reading Minette Mans' text the other day, I was watching my little grand-child Ingvald, 5 years old and close to 6, busily working on arranging some branches and pieces of wood he wanted to transport to a nearby location with his little lorry. He was busy humming to himself – continuously with no pauses at all – sometimes with some words and sometimes just humming and sometimes with glissandi-like and strange sound exclamations. A characterization of this little lad during this activity would render descriptors such as active, goal oriented, happy, comfortable, industrious, skilful, harmonious, expressive and focused towards a certain task. He keeps humming and singing like this very often when he is working on some kind of practical project and I had not taken much notice of it, but reading Mans' chapter made me watch him more closely, simply because he was there in front of me as an individual in a situation interacting with his environments directly and musically. Why was he humming and singing all the time, I asked myself, and why did this so often take place when he was active doing something hands-on and practical? What was he singing and humming, and how conscious was he about his humming and singing in terms of why, when, what and where? Could this activity be explained culturally and contextually OR individually? Would I analyze and identify his humming and singing by referring to his individual and biological qualities, to the situation he was a part of or to contextual aspects such as family background, culture and society?[i]

It is questions of this nature Minette Mans is raising in her text in the previous paragraphs. When making, observing, reflecting, thinking or talking about something "musical", are our physical and mental actions caused and formed by us as individual persons or by the contexts – historical as well as contemporary – that we are a part of?

These questions are not new. They have been with those of us working in academia, in music education as well as other fields, for quite a while. Some weeks ago I attended a seminar in my own institution with the title "Notions of individuality within social learning theory". The seminar focused on traces of individuality in the writings of pioneering scholars in social psychology such as Lev Vygotsky,[ii] Herbert Mead,[iii] and Ragnar Rommetveit.[iv] To me the very title of the seminar suggested that we have come a long way in education and psychology towards accepting the contextual, the situated and the dialogical as important elements – almost to the degree of becoming mainstream it seems to me – in any theory on how we perceive,

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[i]As I am writing and reflecting on my observation of little Ingvald, it dawns on me that my observation has some similarities to Jean Piaget's (1923/1924) classic observations of egocentric speech and subsequent theories on child development more or less predicated on processes within the individual. Many readers will know that Piaget's theories were challenged by Lev Vygotsky (1934) who to a greater degree emphasized the social and cultural aspects of ontogenesis.

[ii]Vygotsky, 1978.

[iii]Mead, 1934.

[iv]Rommetveit, 2008.

think, create, express ourselves and learn. The choice of the word "notions" for the seminar title I am referring to here, seems to infer that the main focus in contemporary theories of learning and perception lie upon the social and contextual and that the individual is "notional" in the sense that it "exists only in theory or as a suggestion or idea", to quote my immediate computer screen Oxford dictionary.

I find a similar socio-cultural position in Minette Mans' text when she maintains that:

> *The top level... the macro-organization, evolves from the basic social purposes of music-making. This is the level that should, in each culture, explain why they have music, what it is for, and applies to individuals and groups. This fundamental cognition appears to be driven by the need for a society to organize its musical practice according to its economic modes of production and consumption and the cosmological organization of customs, and its need to celebrate or affirm practices that will strengthen society.*

Mans's position could be characterized as an extreme socio-cultural view of what decides and forms our musical actions and thinking. I am not inclined to describe it as such, however, but rather as a very well articulated African input trying to balance longtime Western foci in psychology, musicology and education on the importance of individual achievements, the uniqueness of the artistic genius, on rationality and cognitive psychology, and on what could be characterized as the separation of human expression from what is expressed and created. When influential writers, for example, Leonard B Meyer (1956), claimed that the central meaning of music was to be found in the structural interplay of its elements and form, rather than in associations to non-musical events and contextual frameworks, he contributed, in my view to a narrow and false understanding of music as something elevated from society, something which could be analyzed and practiced without a conscious knowledge and recognition of it's functions and contexts.

However, the focus on the individual and on music as something separate from society and culture has been strongly criticized in psychology and theories about learning as well as in musicology for the past thirty years or so (include references). In "Acts of Meaning" Jerome Bruner (1990) asserts that "wherever one looks these days" a more interpretive approach to cognition concerned with meaning-making has proliferated. In the 18 years passed since Bruner's analysis of the social sciences it seems to me that this development has continued, maybe to such an extent that the individual has retreated to a modest and unclear background – hence "notions" – when we talk about human achievements and understanding.

In concordance with her strong social cultural position Minette Mans claims that composers and individuals create "sound combinations that align broadly with their internally memorized musical templates" and that "all of which (categories and repertoires) are informed by a cultural environment or framework of rules and conventions that guides performance." And this is where my observation of little five year-old Ingvald, whose lorry project I described in the beginning of this text, is troubling me. When I observed Ingvald, focusing on his humming and singing, I concluded that; yes, he was recreating melodies and sounds that I could recognize, even if somewhat altered, and I could observe that he was creating new musical patterns from culturally rooted musical patterns. However, I could also observe that

Ingvald seems to be inventing something I had not heard before and that he seemed to be delighting in sounds and exclamations that I hardly can ascribe to memorized musical templates or framework of rules and conventions. Quite to the contrary he seemed to be challenging rules (making all kinds of strange sounds) and what was even more puzzling; he seemed to take a special delight in this part of his singing and humming. In a different text written 3 years ago I described how Ingvald, then 2 years old, repeatedly kept throwing balls, my carpenter tools and other things into bushes and how he seemed to be fascinated with their disappearance. I concluded then that this activity was fascinating to him because it challenged the unknown, harbouring the fascination of intended action towards something uncertain, and the delight of expression through physical action.[v]

Discussing the relationship between the contextual and the biological in meaning-making, Bruner points out that:

> *Young children, indeed, are so easily captivated by the unusual that those of us who conduct research with infants come to count on it. Its power makes possible the "habituation experiment". Infants reliably perk up in the presence of the unusual: they look more fixedly, stop sucking, show cardiac deceleration, and so on".*[vi]

Now, is this contextual, a result of conventions that guide performance or what? Or can it be explained biologically and individually? Bruner describes children's fascination with the unusual by arguing that it is one of the most important factors in narrative and narrative structure, which, he argues, is "one of the most ubiquitous and powerful discourse forms in human communication". According to Bruner we have an innate and primitive predisposition to narrative organization that allows us quickly and easily to comprehend and use it, but it is culture that "equips us with new powers of narration through its tool kit and through the traditions of telling and interpreting in which we soon come to participate".[vii]

Not surprisingly then, my comment to Mans' text and position – which is more of a modifying than disagreeing kind – is that although specific cultural and contextual frameworks can contribute significantly to explain our ways of living and being, we must not let this important knowledge make us forget that we are individual human beings with certain predispositions and with individual capacities to create and generate, change and initiate. When little Ingvald is humming and singing while carrying out his lorry project he is carrying out an established and culture based activity, but he is also capable of challenging the established form of this activity and create something new that fascinates him (and his grandfather). It is, I think, this aspect of fascination that we need a stronger focus on in our discourse and discussion about music and music education, rather than the potential influence of culture or biology on our lived experience and life-worlds.

To ask, then, whether our actions are culture based OR biologically based, is to ask a question where the answer to me is more about placing a focus along

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[v]Dewey, 1897.

[vi]Bruner, 1990, p. 77.

[vii]Ibid, p. 80.

a continuum between the biological/individual and the situational, contextual and social – a focus that can change from issue to issue – than ending up in a positional corner. It is not a matter of either/or, but both.

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Magne Espeland has raised an important concern here. Is the theoretical structure I have proposed too extreme, too much a "positional corner?" Individuals do, after all, make up a society. However, earlier paragraphs have emphasized individuality alongside sociality, with the rider that the basic sound patterns we use – and often change – emerge from culturally founded templates and a collective aesthetic with which an individual can align or reject. If all members of a group speak the same language, can we say that this is a cognitive structure by means of which learning and communicating (among other things) takes place? Even when individuals use and interpret the language differently?

Meso-organization into Repertoires

The second level of the diagram indicates its *meso-organization*. Each category in the boxes at the macro-level (i.e., entertainment, worship, praise, work) consists of a repertoire of songs of a specific type that belong together and to the category. Some of these repertoires may belong to more than one macro-category. A repertoire *for* something is a category in itself, but I differentiate between the two levels because the macro-level is organized according to social purpose or cultural ways of thinking, whereas here, repertoire has to do with basic categories of different types of music in a collection of musical works organized by social as well as musical features.

This level refers to "what" music people make. Different repertoires contain types or genres of songs or instrumental pieces that are (a) named and (b) qualified by distinct features or "clumps" of features. Nzewi notes that "the name of a music type would normally represent all the different items in its repertoire. Every item in the repertoire of a music type does not always have a distinctive or separate title."[41] For example, harvest music (a type) has a name (*oshipale* in Fig. 3.2) and that name represents all the items or songs in the *oshipale* or harvest repertoire. This is a functional way of organizing musical data. Arom confirms this.

Within the same cultural context, functionality and musical systematics are in fact closely linked. For every occurrence that needs musical support there is a particular repertoire. Each repertoire has a name in the local language, encompasses a specific number of pieces, and is characterized by predetermined attribution of vocal and instrumental roles, as well as by rhythmic or polyrhythmic patterns that the percussion instruments categorise, distinct from all the others.[42]

A "song" is thus not always a discrete, singular, named entity but might be a melodic–rhythmic configuration known and used for its purpose with different words by different singers. A broad macro-category such as "religious music" might be sub-organized into different repertoires as wedding, baptism, funeral, liturgical, and praise music among others. But wedding music as a type has its own repertoire and is distinct from funeral music in content, function, and musical attributes. "Seasonal music," for example, might include harvest music, dry season music, and tilling music, each of which comprises several songs, dances, or instrumental pieces. The nature of harvesting and tilling, for example, leads to music of different styles – harvest music might go with drinking and dancing, tilling demands group cohesion, expended energy, and utilization of both hands therefore limited song development. In the minds of the people, these song repertoires are clearly defined and organized by purpose, practice, and behavioral rules. The repertoires for harvest and tilling songs would probably be mutually exclusive (as category) because the one type cannot be used for the other's purpose. In ocean bound cultures, the same might be said for fishing repertoires or canoeing. In order to capture the essence of the features that define a repertoire, it is important to investigate and understand local terms for the repertoires and for the features themselves. Only in this way can the conceptual priorities be revealed. Studies by Nzewi, Agawu, Amoaku, and others[43] certainly reveal the prevalence and detail of musical classification in African cultures.

Some repertoires are bound exclusively to the specific category and may only be performed for a specific purpose. For example, *adhan* – the Islamic call to prayer which is actually not considered music within the rules of the religious culture – is only performed (or electronically sounded) for that specific purpose and none other. Generic repertoires, on the other hand, are collections of music that might fit many different occasions. Entertainment music usually fits this multi-purpose or broad purpose description. Generic repertoires, being more general, may therefore be performed for several purposes across different categories, e.g., *uudhano*, which is a generic Aawambo dance–play. In Namibia, there are several generic music types typically referred to as "play"[44] that could comfortably be performed or enjoyed in diverse circumstances. These generic categories of play are defined by their characteristic movement and rhythmic features and playful, recreational content. They usually have large repertoires. While their original purpose might have been specific (and in local musical traditions this seems apparent), they have developed into a generic performance conceptualized as recreation.

The meso-organization of musical repertoire can therefore be said to refine broad categories into basic categories that form either purpose-specific (mutually exclusive) or generic repertoires of songs, dances, and instrumental pieces. A single

repertoire might consist of hundreds of items or only a few. In certain cases, a specific repertoire or type may contain only one song, e.g., a national anthem. These basic categories are hierarchically linked to broad social categories which, in turn, define their usage.

As members of a culture, individuals are able to recognize music that is appropriate for a specific purpose, whether that be religious, educational, or patriotic. This knowledge is demonstrated by people being able to select or perform appropriate music for different occasions and social or individual roles. Mothers know lullabies; children know nursery songs, games, and rhymes; boys know football songs; churchgoers know worship songs; political activists know freedom songs; citizens know national anthems; and so on. This is clearly not all they know, as one cannot objectify and reduce a musical culture into just one form, nor are the above generalizations appropriate to all people. Nettl[45] argues that every culture has a fundamental repertoire of music that everyone knows and that this might comprise several categories such as nursery rhymes, hymns, patriotic songs, and so on. Hence, even though individuals might not be familiar with all the existing songs in a repertoire, or all the repertoires, a group within a shared cultural context would collectively be able to compile a complete repertoire and would share some music that is common to all.

In multicultural contexts, categories and repertoires are expanded or adapted through exposure to different musical practices. The performance of songs from a person's own cultural background might gradually be relinquished to be replaced by other, possibly generic, categories.

Counterpoint and Interlock by Emmanuelle Olivier **(National Center for Scientific Research, Paris)**

Musical Categorization: From Cognition to Action[viii]

When the question of categories in the social sciences arises, particularly in ethnomusicology, one spontaneously thinks of classification. How is music classified, organized, and arranged within a society? What are the criteria used by its members to identify such or such a song, to class it in such or such a repertoire, to associate it with such or such a social usage? Carrying out an investigation on categories and categorizations is central in cognitive studies, because it gives access to the way thought operates, to human beings' capacity for abstraction. In a praxeological perspective, one can also examine what a category produces, according to experience or in the midst of action, and introduce three notions: situation, individualization and historicity. Those are the two perspectives I will be following here, in a three-part presentation. The first concerns categorization based on exclusively musical criteria; the second the complex relationship between music, language and society; the third, the historicity of those categories.

[viii]Translation from French to English by Gabrielle Varro.

In an article written together with Hervé Rivière, I posit that categorization applied to music is "an operation [. . .] based on principles intrinsically and exclusively musical".[ix] *I mean by this that, though clearly music does not exist outside a situation and is subject to being talked about, those social and linguistic criteria intervene willy-nilly in the operation of categorization itself. Whether they are due to one or several social situations, whether they are named or not, musical categories rest exclusively on a system of opposition and discrimination of musical features. In that sense, I am not confusing category and class (a set or repertoire of pieces), since a piece can refer to several categories, i.e. alternate between categorical features without it affecting the play of contrasts between categories. Therefore, relations between music, language and society do not bring into play categories, but rather classes of pieces which (on the contrary), have a name, a social usage, refer to representations, etc. That is the reason why, with H. Rivière, I clearly said that studying the relations between music, society and language is not a part of but prolongs an operation of categorization based exclusively on musical features.*

Denominations and social uses can also obviously be conceived of in terms of categories, which considerably complicates the operation of categorization, since musical, linguistic and social categories are not a priori joined or seen in relation to any causal inference. I am not certain that each musical category corresponds to a specific repertoire of pieces linked to a particular social situation and called by a specific name. On the other hand, my experience with several societies in Southern and West Africa[x] *has shown me the extraordinary diversity that exists in relations between music, language and society. I will develop one example here, taken from my work with the Ju/'hoan in Namibia (cf. Fig.* 3.1)*.*

In my fieldwork, I took off from the musical practices themselves. On many occasions, I was able to hear, both naturally and when I asked for it, songs that the inhabitants of two villages (//Xa/oba and //Auru) in the Nyae Nyae Region with whom I was working, called «Eland[xi]*» (n!ang tzísì). At certain moments, during healing rituals, these songs were sung by men and women, backed by the women hand-clapping and by rattles attached to the legs of dancing men. Other times, when a young girl had her first menstruations, the songs were exclusively feminine and one of the singers knocked two metal bars together. I also heard those songs sung as a lullaby or even just hummed at all hours of the day. Also, aged people told me that, when they were young, Eland songs were performed when a young man had killed his first two – one male and one female – eland or when a hunter had not killed one for a long time. In the first case, the voices were sometimes accompanied by the hunter's grandfather knocking two metal bars together, the same as those used during the feminine initiation ritual.*

[ix]E. Olivier, H. Rivière, "Reflections on Categorization", *Ethnomusicology*, 45/3, 2001, p. 481.

[x]In Namibia, among the Ju/'hoan,!Xuu, Hai//om, Kxoe, Himba, Zimba, Herero, Kwanyama, Ndonga, Nama and Damara; in Mali among the "people of Jenne", Fula, Songhay, Bozo, Bamana.

[xi]Antilope *Taurotragus oryx*.

I was thus confronted with songs called by one and the same name[xii], but which referred not to a musical feature, but to an animal hunted and eaten by the Ju/'hoan. I will return later to the association between song and animal. All the songs were counterpoint polyphonies constructed according to the same principles[xiii]. From the standpoint of musical grammar, they were therefore equivalent. Yet, the Ju/'hoan assured me that certain songs were reserved for the first menstruations of a young girl, while the others were performed during healing or hunting rituals. I was thus confronted with two sets of songs called by the same name but linked to partially different social usages (all of the songs could be used as lullabies or just for pleasure). The voices hardly allowed them to be distinguished from one another, but neither did the percussion instruments. For the metal bars could just as well be struck during menstruation or hunting rituals, whereas each of these rituals was accompanied by a different set of songs. The answer came from a singer who clapped two different rhythmic patterns, one corresponding to the Eland songs associated with the feminine initiation ritual, the other with the songs reserved for healing and hunting. The "rhythmic pattern" feature thus allowed me to isolate two sets (repertoires), each referring to a specific musical category.

To sum up, we are confronted here with two musical categories corresponding to two sets or repertoires of pieces bearing the same name and endowed with several social usages, of which some are specific to one of the repertoires, and others shared by both. We are quite removed here from any univocal relation between music, language and society.

Among the possible features defining a category, I have voluntarily left out the rattles attached to the dancing men's legs, because they are a good pretext for asking a few more theoretical questions, as I will now briefly do.

Though the rattles were indeed specifically linked to the healing and hunting rituals, they were not with respect to the Eland songs. Other songs, belonging to different repertoires and called by different names (Giraffe, Wildebeest, Mamba, Wind, Malaria, etc.[xiv]), could be performed during those rituals, accompanied by the same rattles. The latter were therefore not a categorical feature, in the sense that they did not allow distinguishing the Eland songs sung during the healing and hunting rituals from all the other vocal or instrumental pieces. Let us consider this a moment. A musical feature, in this case an instrument, could allow one to distinguish two sets of pieces but would nevertheless not be a categorical feature. What may look like

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[xii]Some of them had a particular title that referred to their ancientness, either to the name of their composer or to their use or specific representation cf. E. Olivier, "La musique ju/'hoan: de la création à la consommation", *in* Olivier et Valentin (éds.), *Les Bushmen dans l'Histoire*, Paris, CNRS Editions, 2005, pp. 171–201.

[xiii]Cf. E. Olivier, "The Art of Metamorphosis or the Ju|'hoan Conception of Plurivocality", *in* C. Lucia (ed.), *The World of South African Music. A Reader*, Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars Press, pp. 249–257 [2005]; "On Polyphonic Construction. An Analysis of Ju|'hoan Vocal Music", *African Music*, 8/1, 2007, pp. 82–111.

[xiv]For a more complete list of the different repertoires of songs, see E. Olivier, "Categorizing the Ju|'hoan Musical Heritage", *African Study Monographs*, 27, 2001, pp. 11–27.

a contradiction is not one, however, if one considers musical categories as making up a system, in a relationship of mutual opposition. Concretely, to make up a system, each category should be distinguishable from all the others by being defined by a specific musical feature, of whatever nature. Thus, as we can see in Fig. 3.1, an instrument such as the 5-string pluriarc constitutes a categorical feature opposed to all the other features, made of instruments, rhythmic or technical figures (vocal or instrumental). However, one may legitimately ask what the "operational value" of this system can be[xv]. In other words, do the musicians necessarily identify the sets of pieces with the help of these categorical features? Or else, in a given situation, in the face of a more limited number of musical sets, do they choose another type of feature, non categorical, to identify a piece? Beyond this example, we may well wonder what categorization is aiming for: a conceptual structure of the environment, allowing one to gain access to people's thinking processes? In that case, we are dealing with a theory of knowledge and thought as activities of distinction and assemblage, comparison and abstraction, in a cognitive approach. But an investigation on categories can just as well take place within the framework of an analysis of action, where what is aimed at is accessing a society through knowledge translated into acts.

In such a praxeological perspective, what we are aiming for is rather to understand why a feature, which is part of a particular situation, was chosen, and to analyze the operational character of the category: categorization then appears as one moment in the very act of decision-making, during which the procedures that the act set into motion are selected. From there on in, it becomes possible to envisage processes of categorization as acts produced by individuals, all prompted by different strategies or intentions, depending on context, time and place, etc. If we refer to John Dewey, categories are considered as just so many "points of view from which certain forms of conduct are approached and defined"[xvi]. If to categorize is to identify, to place an object, as it happens, a piece of music in its relation to other musical pieces, then the same feature can be pertinent or not, depending on context. Pertinence is no longer only a question of type and level, but depends on individual strategies. This is not to deny the existence of a system, or the validity of wanting to expose it through categorization, but one must demonstrate that its operational value is relative, by asking how the members of a society proceed. In that way, the cognitive and praxeological perspectives complement and clarify each other.

In certain situations, Ju/'hoan musicians would oppose two generic features, i.e. "instrument" and "voice", when wanting to explain the difference between two repertoires of pieces. Other musicians identified a piece by comparing it with those that most resembled it (a 4-string and a 5-string pluriarc, for example), which made everything rather ambiguous. But, on the other hand, I also observed certain musicians who looked for maximal contrast (for instance, vocal rhythms vs.

[xv] L. Quéré, "La valeur opératoire des categories", *Cahiers de l'URMIS*, n°1, 1995, pp. 6–21.

[xvi] John Dewey, *Logique. La théorie de l'enquête* [*Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*] Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1967 [1938].

melodious instrument) in order to oppose two pieces. A real investigation into these different ways of identification remains to be done to understand what the Ju'/'hoan understand by categorization.

I shall now return to Minette Mans' saying that music depends on social and, to a lesser extent, linguistic choices. In this sense, the example of the Eland songs will allow us to grasp the complexity and diversity or the relations that can exist between music, language and society. Our point of departure is the common denomination of those two repertoires of songs linked to different social, at least ritual, uses, whereas the question is what that identical designation indicates. Following Marie-Luce Honeste, our hypothesis is that "if a word is capable of designating several different objects, it is because it establishes between them relations which are indubitably the result of proximity on the level of representations".[xvii] Through language, one penetrates squarely into a universe of meaning which by far transcends the division of music into categories.

In fact, the eland is the largest antelope (ca. 800 kgs), which the Ju'/'hoan eat and the one with the most fat, which they relish. The eland is also considered an animal with extraordinary supernatural force. During the healing ritual, the Ju'/'hoan explain that for a long time the shamans entered their trance with the support of the Eland songs, before they were replaced by the so-called Giraffe songs. Still today, some shamans[xviii] derive their power from eland songs.[xix] The eland is also the only animal that the Ju'/'hoan imitate by dancing, saying that a good dancer "dances like an eland". Until the mid 1970s,[xx] eland songs were also a prerequisite on the eve of a hunt, when the men who had not killed one for a long time hoped they would this time, as well as after slaying their first two (male and female) eland. On the same occasion, the hunter was scarified to the sound of the same eland songs, accompanied by the knocking of the metal bars; then, so that future hunts should be profitable, his wounds were covered in cinders and a powder made of the parts of the animal supposed to contain supernatural strength. The animal is thus in the centre of hunting and healing rituals, which both borrow its name: djxánì tcxáí ("the dance of the eland").[xxi]

Eland songs are also central in the ritual initiating the girls who have their first menstruations. That ritual, called by the eland's common name, n!ang, is built in the form of variations on the animal: the young girl is herself called eland; her body is greased with eland fat every day; the songs performed every day of the ritual

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[xvii]M.-L.Honeste, «Un mode de classification sémantique: la polysémie», *Faits de langues*, 14, 1999, p. 29.

[xviii]On shamanism among the Bushmen, cf. E. Olivier & M. Valentin, *Les Bushmen dans l'Histoire*, Paris, CNRS Editions, 2005.

[xix]Those are individual choices, allowing some shamans to distinguish themselves from others (cf. Olivier 2005).

[xx]A time when hunting began to decline and the eland to disappear from Ju'/'hoan territory. Cf. J. Marshall & C. Ritchie, "Where are the Ju/wasi of Nyae Nyae? Changes in a Bushman society: 1958–1981", *Communication*, n 9, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1984.

[xxi]*Djxánì* is the name of the eland that men use obligatorily during the hunt to designate the animal.

are accompanied by a pair of metal bars whose sound, when knocked together, is supposed to imitate the front legs of the animal, while the dance symbolizes the pursuit of the female eland (represented by the women) by the male eland (the men). After that ritual, the young girl is officially allowed to have sexual relations, and thus to procreate.

Clearly, the eland songs are the nucleus of the four rituals connected on the level of representations. In that sense, the two repertoires form one single symbolic category. The eland, and the songs associated with it, are a powerful example of the polysemy which can be found in the middle of a network of referents interconnected according to symbolic criteria. Thanks to the example of eland songs, we perceive the complexity of a process of categorization when it occurs on several levels, musical, linguistic, social and symbolic. It is not only a matter of seeing the levels independently but above all their many articulations.

I would like to end with a more explicit commentary on Fig. 3.1. The figure integrates musical repertoires or sets and their names, and how they relate, on the one hand, to the musical categories to which they refer (features on which these and many other categories are based), and on the other hand, their social uses. As it is drawn, in concentric circles surrounding a G clef that symbolizes music, the figure could lead us to believe that Ju/'hoan music is a universe, captured in its totality, a closed world that can be reproduced and even frozen, a self-sufficient system. That is not at all the case. As everyone knows, music is a human, social and aesthetic production, situated both in space and time and which, as Minette Mans very aptly noted, "changes as societies change." It is precisely on the historicity of categories that I would like to elaborate now.

Figure 3.1 represents the totality of categories, repertoires, denominations and social uses I was able to collect, observe or record between 1993 and 2001 in two villages, /Xa//oba and //Auru, in the Nyae Nyae region of North-Eastern Namibia. What the figure does not "say", though, is that some of those repertoires are performed in only one of the two villages, for instance, the pieces for one-string zithers or several vocal repertoires linked to the healing ritual. The consequence of such "geographic" differences, which can be considerable between the villages, is that the Ju/'hoan's musical knowledge is fragmentary, even if there is a sort of common basis to the repertoires shared by the whole of society.[xxii]*. Those geographic differences frequently have a historical explanation. Thus, one-string zithers, played only in a few villages in the South of Nyae Nyae, were introduced in that part of the country by Tswana neighbors (settled to the South of Nyae Nyae) about four generations ago. They came to visit during the hunting parties and some Ju/'hoan men left to work with them as farmers and shepherds. After a few years, they returned to their village with new instruments, such as the one-string zither, but also with the metal-string bow and the lamellaphone. Whereas the metal-string bow was adopted by*

[xxii]It would be possible to refine further, but this is not the place, by distinguishing those who perform music (songs and/or instruments), and who therefore know it from within, those who are happy to just listen, and those who are not very interested.

most of the Ju/'hoan, the one-string zither was to remain in the villages of the musicians who had brought it in, to the South of Nyae Nyae. During my research, only one man still played it and, if he doesn't transmit his art, it is likely the instrument will disappear with him. From the point of view of categories, the disappearance of that instrument will have no consequence, except to recompose relations between musical repertoires and social uses.

The musical category determined by the lamellaphone feature is also interesting from the historical point of view. In truth, they are two morphologically different instruments, one has 22 blades which allow playing on a tetratonic scale, the other, with 9 or 10 blades, on a pentatonic scale. The first lamellaphone came by way of the Tswana while the second came from the Gciriku, who live in the north of Nyae Nyae and with whom the neighboring Ju/'hoan had economic contacts for a long time. Although both instruments are called by the same name, dingò (of Bantu origin), the Ju/'hoan have not given them the same place in their society. The lamellaphone with 9 or 10 blades is limited to entertainment, while the one with 22 blades is also used to ensure good hunting or announce the capture of an animal. Since it was introduced in the south of Nyae Nyae, probably in the early 1960s, it has even become one of the major attributes of the shaman, equivalent to the hunting bow and to the 5-string pluriarc, used to communicate with the supernatural world. In terms of categorization, those two original instruments each make up a founding feature for a new category. Thus, the number of categories is variable, increasing as new instruments appear, decreasing as they disappear. Ju/'hoan music thrives on this constant renewal. Analyzing the categories allows us to grasp not only a system of organization, a wisdom and a fundamental memory, a way of being in the world, but also a practice that participates in the dynamics of a population's contemporaneousness, in its capacity to create, innovate and change, as well as exchange, adopt and integrate.

As Emmanuelle Olivier points out, different social structures and cultures produce different ways of thinking about life, thus also about music. Indeed, some of the issues raised pertain to the framework of conventions and some to the micro-organization (below) in my configuration. The complexity of different classifications should not, however, prevent us from finding human and social commonalities that could assist us in understanding musical praxis and improving music education.

Micro-organization

This brings us to the music itself. Level three, the *micro-organization of sound*, involves the actual music and the way in which it is created, performed, and perceived. At this level, we can investigate the conceptual priorities at the level of musical sound on the one hand and the process of making it on the other.

The micro-level of a musical world includes all the peculiarities of cultural selection, patterning, memorization, symbolization, variation, composition, performance,

and listening in relation to the immense potential of possible sound combinations. It is at this level that people in specific cultural contexts have over time selected and combined sound options into their distinctive patterns and identifying musical features. Importantly, it is the way that people in different musical practices *themselves* identify, name, and comprehend musical components that is significant. Chris Waterman reminds us that

> [t]he analysis of such forms, and of the circumstances of their production and reception, can help us to understand musicians and audiences not as instances of idealized types, but as human beings working under particular historical conditions to produce, texture, and defend certain modes of social existence.[46]

A major purpose of musical distinctiveness lies in cultural identity formation, creating "us" in opposition to "them." But as much of the distinctiveness arises out of geographical location and frequency and intensity of contact with others as from own history, cosmology, and socio-economic and political structures.[47] The micro-organization of music takes place within the sonic structures as well as the music-making processes. The music-making process is informed by cultural context and individual taste, both of which give rise to the musical constructions and patterning of sounds.

Musical Sound

Being a music cultural community implies a group of people having a generalized sense or knowledge of certain melodic and rhythmic patterns and timbres that are claimed as "own" and as belonging to that community or culture. Within the context of a cultural group there is shared knowledge relating to the way in which sounds should be put together in subordinate categories as musical shapes and forms. They know how this music is performed in terms of voice or instrument timbre, tempo, and movement. This involves the tacit musical knowledge about *how* to perform, listen, and create specific musical sounds as well as *what* to perform, listen to, and create. Often we do not realize the depth of this aesthetic sense of identification until we hear something inappropriate! I have often wondered why certain sounds are preferred to others in different cultural contexts. Let me describe how this might play out in an Ovahimba community.

Ondjongo is a generic category of music–dance–play that is performed at almost any recreational or celebrational opportunity, even when singing to one-self. Ondjongo consists of two phases: the first involves a soloist-starter (*ondumbu yondjongo*) who sings, while the rest of the participants respond at given intervals and everybody claps a rhythmic pattern. The second is the playing phase where the clapping speeds up and changes into a different pattern, while singing is replaced by encouraging shouts, whoops, and the calling out of a phrase (words) while a player dances a personalized performance of energetic stamps, turns, and pauses. As a generic category, the ondjongo repertoire has several different types or classes known by their distinctive clapping patterns, the most common I encountered having 16 pulses (2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 3 + 2) to which several interlocking patterns might be added. Songs are further identified by their chorus responses.

While driving through the semi-desert bush in the very isolated north west of Namibia on a research trip, I came across a picnic with about a hundred or more guests sitting under the trees chatting and eating, and about fifty others dancing in a clearing. I stopped and asked whether I might watch the *ondjongo* and perhaps record some dance. The people agreed and the women made room for me in the second row of the circle, somewhat reluctantly as I was an intruder in their space. I soon got caught up in the fun and the energetic music, laughing as people played humorously in their dance, clapping along with them. Eventually somebody "touched"[48] me in the play phase, inviting me into the circle where I duly did my best to perform. I returned to my position amid loud laughter and ululations, while they chanted a phrase for me. On asking what they said, I was told they called me "red jackal" – not very complimentary as jackals are pests, but also quick learners.

Later on I sat and talked with one of the women, who was *ondumbu* – a solo singer. I asked whether anybody could sing *ondumbu*, and what they sang. "Yes," she said through a translator. "Anybody can sing *ondumbu* if they know how." What this involves is being able to sing praises to cattle, ancestors, community members, or places. Or, one can sing criticism of people, politicians, events, and make up humorous comments or stories about people. Thus on one occasion a group of women elsewhere sang (of me) *Ozomburu ka zeno nganda mazekwatare mo ndjira* "White people (Boers) don't have homes, they bear children on the road (like whores)." This was because my husband and I were traveling in a camper and sleeping wherever we found a place to stop.

Ondjongo songs are, in a Western sense, not fixed, recognizable compositions with their own melodies, rhythms, and words. Each one is the creation of an individual at a particular time and place, seldom if ever repeated exactly. The song, because of the personalized text, "belongs" to the *ondumbu* who makes up words and melody as the occasion or personal feeling demands. The chorus response (*ovaitaere)* can have many voice parts and seems to be conceptualized heterophonically. The chorus do not sing words, only sounds like "oho oho oho" but the response is there to confirm or support what the *ondumbu* iterates, and this might also be a very personalized response. I discovered that one man sang the identical melodic response in every song, even if the "tonality"[49] of a new song changed. Other men repeated an identical single tone drone at the same pitch in almost every song, but then suddenly changed pitch at a particular point after five songs and kept to that pitch for the next few. It is this individualized collective singing that creates a heterophonic effect when there are enough singers.

A basic melodic sequence in women's *ondjongo* commonly comprises a descending triad of 5th, (4th), 3rd, and 1st sung as individual consecutive tones. But the interval sizes are flexible and might change within a song. The melodic progression might be sung in overlapping sequences by different persons. Add to this the resonant Ovahimba (Ovaherero) timbre of vibration of the voice on the lower or final notes, and one has a unique, very distinctive sounding music.

"So how did you learn to sing *ondumbu* and to make your own tunes?" I asked another matron through an interpreter.

"I don't know what tunes are," she said. "I just know what to sing, like everybody else knows what they must sing."

"But when is it good *ondjongo*?" I insisted.

"When there are many people who can play hard. When they can make good praise, and when they can tease (*toka*) good."

"Yes, but what about good singing?"

"Eeh?" She muttered to the translator in Otjiherero that she didn't know what I was getting at. "The clapping must be strong, so that people can play hard. It's good when people know how."

The point of this extended description is to show one manner in which the basics of sound are conceptualized and the quality of performance is judged. Both these women and others after them emphasized that Ovahimba would or should "know how," thereby indicating that there are specific patterns, sequences, and meanings to learn. They also indicate that the practice is democratic – "anyone can" – as long as they have been properly taught. From a comparison of recordings done about 25 years previous to mine, the musical qualities of these songs have not undergone much change. Despite the individualized nature of ondjongo songs, the overall, recognizable, basic musical structure has retained its identity at least since the 1960s.

Personalized songs, *joiks*, are also common to Sami and Nenets people in the polar region. There are *joiks* for persons, animals, and land, and each person needs an individual, personal *joik*. This is as important as having a name. Here too, the song is not a finite entity, because a *joik* does not have a beginning, middle, or end. It can be described as cyclic in that it goes round and round. Furthermore, according to Somby,[50] one does not *joik about* a place or person, one simply *joiks* somebody or someplace. The selection and patterning of tones and vocal timbre differ somewhat from area to area but remain recognizable as *joik*.

As a final example, a Ju/'hoan song consists of a fairly short single melodic sequence. Singers freely select certain components of the melody and sing it in a counterpoint to other singers at points they themselves select[51] and they then perform together in interlocking complexities. There is no soloist – only somebody who sets the song off, and after that singers weave different parts of the song in and out of the whole simultaneously. Nobody knows the exact plurivocal outcome of a song of an evening because it depends entirely on how many singers there are and how each individual, according to strict musical rules, sings a component part of the melody – whether it be three tones, or four, or five, where a yodel might be inserted, or at which point of the melodic component the singer enters. Yet each singer retains a memory template of the entire melody, even though it will never be performed as such. They know the "what" (the specific song's melody), and they also know "how" to perform in context with the others, filling gaps in the melody or tessitura – whatever is needed to complete the whole. Hence, this particular form of plurivocality tells us something about this society's values.

Therefore, knowing "what" a music involves means being able to recognize a familiar melodic phrase, flute pattern, or drum rhythm and know that it means, for example, a type of hip-hop, chamber music, or a social beer drinking event where

selected drinking songs (from that repertoire) will be sung and danced. But this knowledge is not reducible to a few simple musical elements or concepts because the "what" that may be qualified and quantified as musical concepts is far more diverse than education has previously considered. Widely used philosophies and approaches to music education talk of using concepts in music as a basis for education or the praxis of performance,[52] but rarely consider how diversified this might be. The diversity of musical conceptualization is supported by research that has shown that "prototypical" knowledge[53] or "stylistic knowledge" is the most important factor in interpreting music of different cultures, whereas it might be less important in processing tasks.[54] Similar findings have been shown for psychophysical cues (tempo, melodic complexity, etc.).

Hence, within different cultural environments, the micro-organization of musical sound entails the following:

– A clear sense of the *tone qualities* with which a group identifies, the tones that are considered good or wrong, consonant or dissonant, ordinary or complex, shrill or rounded. Appropriate qualities are appreciated, and the inappropriate meet with resistance or disapproval.
– A predisposition toward a certain *tonal–spatial organization* of sound into melodies, ostinati, single-tone sequences or polyphonies. Some cultures use harmonies, others simultaneous melodies, maybe extracted from pentatonic or microtonal scales. Some work with undulating, small interval melodic structures, while others use large intervals or melodies that tend to descend or ascend in phrases or time lines.
– Knowing and having a feel for the *rhythms* and the *metric organization*, or what Eerola[55] refers to as *accent coherence* or *accent incoherence* in terms of isochronic or non-isochronic emphases.
– A certain innate *tempo preference* that results in the music typically sounding slow, medium, or fast. Tempo preferences can often be detected in, or determined by, the dance.
– Hearing and appreciating "sweet" *embellishments* and *variation* in music without losing track of the basic template, understanding that variations keep music fresh.
– Finally, being able to *evaluate aesthetically* whether all the above are well put together or not.

All of the above are organized into different patterns and forms, but certain combinations are remembered as templates, as discussed in Chapter 2.

To explain these sonic choices and conventions in Indonesia, Christopher Small mentions the specific tonal selections, *slendro* and *pelog* of Balinese musicians in their melodic pattern interweaving of *gamelan* to create what McPhee called "a state of music"[56] rather than a piece for listening. In Africa, Small says, where art is often described as "a utility, and . . . music is a necessity . . . the outward and audible manifestation of inward biological functions; it is the support and realization of their metaphysical purpose" that determines the sonic structure.[57] One can therefore expect a greater emphasis on music that is lived through the body. For this reason,

it is common to find driving pulsations, repetition of patterns (so as not to be caught unawares), and overlaying of both rhythmic and melodic weaves. Basic patterns for different purposes are identified by name and learnt at a young age. Thus, a Mayei person knows that a certain drum rhythm informs of a spiritual healing, not beer drinking. By the clapping pattern, a Ju'/hoan person knows whether a song belongs to the Giraffe or Eland repertoire. While outsiders might learn the same information, it is the embeddedness of the musical knowledge as a purpose-filled, contextualized template that offers us insight into the cognitive system.[58]

Carl Rogers[59] used the term "memes" for smaller units of imitation, that is, carried over from one person or generation to another, and said that these memes carried the instructions for action. Some researchers prefer the term "archetypes" for templates, and Bamberger quotes Rosner and Meyer who state that

> [Archetypes] establish fundamental frameworks in terms of which culturally competent audiences (and performers – my insertion) . . . perceive, comprehend, and respond to works of art . . . (wherein) they may be and usually are internalized as habits of perception and cognition within a set of cultural constraints.[60]

Over time, through processes of continuous adaptation and change, cultures have developed their own identifiable tonal–spatial, temporal–rhythmic and timbre structures and qualities, with very specific conditions in terms of what makes (good) music. From what we know about certain cultural practices, we can make certain assumptions. For example, in world regions where spiritual communication, trance, possession, and physical energy are part of the basic cosmology, there appears an emphasis on temporal–rhythmic–bodily components. In those parts of the world where tone has been related to religious, spiritual, or astronomical features, we seem to find an emphasis on tonal–spatial qualities in systems of great complexity. Consider the influences of al-Kindi (late ninth century), Abu Nasr al-Farabi (died 950), and Safi ad-Din al-Urmawi (1294) on musical modes in Turkey and Iran.[61] Not only are the Persian and Arabic scale systems of old daunting for those who have not grown up within the cultural environment, but the skilled performance of sliding scales with embellishments even in today's Arabic pop remains a vocal challenge.[62] That there are correspondences with scalar forms and rhythms in India also has to do with the migration of musical sounds, as well as religious and social behaviors. In the twentieth century, many Euro-American composers broke away from their conventional harmonic, scalar, and metric backgrounds into experimental tone progressions and combinations, without discernable metric structure. While readily accepted over time by the musical intelligentsia, this kind of music never became part of the everyday experiences of Westerners in general, although the conventions regarding discordances and rhythmic variations did broaden. These musical cross-referential correspondences are therefore the result of not only music traveling but also people and their ways of thinking, their important beliefs, and their cultural values.

As shown in Chapter 2, the strong inner resonance with qualities of timbre from infanthood onward appears to be widely spread among cultures. This is clearly identifiable in speech tones of different languages and areas. Less well known is

the fact that in certain cultures melodies are also constructed to accommodate the restrictions imposed by tonal languages. Where vocal inflections impart meaning to words and sentences, musical tones have to follow such contours and inflections lest the singer spouts forth nonsense like "the teeth runs beautiful father," for example. Alongside vocal timbre, articulation and "finish" of melodic lines or tones are notable factors. A surprising number of musical cultures attack their notes from a pitch slightly lower – sliding up slightly, and trail the completion of phrases so that they slide downward and "away." In the Euro-American classical convention, this is considered "sloppy" and impure. It is, however, acceptable in popular music and jazz. What do these conventions tell us about the cultures from which they emerge? Do they tell us something about a society's ideology?

The above reflections are clearly broad generalizations, and I do not wish to oversimplify musical structures to a tonal–temporal bilaterality. The examples above merely serve to point out that the influence of cosmologies, ideologies, and circumstance on actual musical construction has not been adequately attended to in comparative studies. It might serve us well to take these questions into further investigation.

The discussion of musical sound and templates with their peculiarities of tone, time, and texture brings us to the point where in practice, these are recalled from collective memory and guide performance. In the process of performance, the musicians may correct, update, vary, or embellish the template they are using. Clearly, one's personal heritage of musical process will inform all subsequent creative acts within the musical sphere, "the acts of inventing and manipulating pitches, timbres and rhythms in order to achieve a desired effect."[63] Performers seek out familiar pitch-time relations, and composers reconstruct them with unique features that would constitute a new composition.[64] In other words, templates are cultural configurations of musical materials.

Musical Processes

It is at this micro-level of a musical world that the practical visible–audible music making or musical processes occur. This involves the individual ability to recognize, select, create, react appropriately, sense, and adjust to others, respond, perform, and aesthetically evaluate the entire gamut of musical sounds, patterns, sequences, components, movements, signs, and meanings as they happen. It is amazing that these processes are the same whether performed by children, adults, or professionals. Only the internal refinements, the tuning so to speak, differ in terms of skill, depth of insight, and expression.

"Knowing how to" implies the ability to perform or to assess a performance by applying cultural aesthetic norms. This musical process is referred to by Elliot[65] as musicing, by Small and also De Nora as musicking.[66] It involves all the step-by-step musical actions and cognitions, ways of using templates, discussed in the previous chapter – recognizing musical sounds, selecting appropriate sounds, chunks or complete songs (works), creating new songs or adapting and varying known ones, rejecting inappropriate or inferior sounds, anticipating combinations and outcomes,

performing correctly with concurrent internal feedback, and appreciating the qualities of a performance. Clearly, whether listening or performing, musicing is a form of active construction involving not only sound but also time, place, movement, and change. Music is "corporeally informed, socially extended, and extensively implicated both in the ways we organize human worlds and in the ways we consequently act within and upon them."[67]

The strongest identification processes seem to occur at the level of musical sound. Even a non-musically educated person can tell which continent a particular musical example comes from by listening to the combinations of tone and time. At the very least, familiar and unfamiliar music are instantly recognizable as such. As pointed out earlier, this knowing emerges mainly from the early learning and development process of an infant and child within a family and community of musical sound. People make choices about the qualities in the music they practice.

For example, several empirical researchers have shown that infants prefer consonant to dissonant music,[68] but the question immediately arises, whose notion of consonance or dissonance are they inferring? Among large swathes of African cultures, the musical convention demands singing in parallel 4ths. In neighboring areas, the convention demands parallel 3rds. No research has yet been done on how infants in these cultures experience consonance and dissonance, but my guess would be that 3rds would sound displeasingly dissonant to some people brought up in a parallel 4th culture! Therefore, based on the sound combinations experienced from an early age, certain combinations are recognized and identified with, while others are rejected. From those identified as own, music is performed and created with others or alone, with changes and additions or without, depending on the situation. Appreciation based on these learned aesthetic values takes place. Meanings are perceived and understood. The thing about being familiar with certain cultural and sonic templates is that they are so internalized, automatically referenced, that people are not conscious of them. But they are able to employ them. Again, it must be emphasized that this does not imply music that is fixed or unchanging, but like having a vocabulary and knowing certain syntaxes, we are able to practice language.

Clearly, these active and intentional musical processes cannot be fully understood outside the broad musical and cultural context which frames the musical environment. This frame of behavioral "rules" is inscribed by custom and deeply held values and enacted upon a particular cultural landscape. Because meaning is so deeply embedded in function and form, de-contextualized performances without value-based functions run a risk of changing meaning or de- and re-contextualization, becoming sterile and artificial. A musical performance is therefore in many ways a normative engagement, initiated and performed purposefully in terms of the broad categories.

Counterpoint and Interlock by Trevor Wiggins

What question(s) should we ask of a piece of music, of a musician, performer or composer? Even just posing the preceding question carries cultural/linguistic values in the conception of a "piece of music" and the identifiable roles of musician,

performer or composer. However, if we are to develop dialogue, we have to accept and explore more precisely the definitions and limitations of terminology, not reject it as inadequate without proposing an improvement. From my research in West Africa, I see most innovation around writing songs where the words seem to be the main focus. As Mans observed in her preceding examples, the words of songs are highly valued for the message and good advice they convey – as well as the humor with which it is said. When I asked John Dery from Ko in northern Ghana how he composed new songs – in Western terms, he is respected as a singer-songwriter – he looked at me rather as though I had asked him how he constructed sentences. He then described how he considered the local situation at the time and the things he saw people doing, before offering advice in song about what people should do to improve both themselves and the situation. His selection of words and particularly the imagery or metaphor was far more important than the musical construction. However, the selection of words and their repetition in the local Dagara language could result in some innovative melodic and rhythmic constructions, although these would be accommodated within a traditional rhythmic framework. Because the Dagara tongue, like all Ghanaian languages, is tonal, this could indicate certain preferred contours to the melody also – although Fiagbedzi[xxiii] *has demonstrated that context is more important as a determinant of meaning than absolute tonal fidelity in some Ghanaian traditional songs.*

Clearly my western approach is asking the wrong questions of music and its function in this Ghanaian society, but how and why is this the case? Is it as simple as the analytic tools that I have inherited are based on abstracted academic musical concepts that are not understood by traditional musicians? This may well be the case to a certain extent within my own culture. In spite of many years of musical analysis, western students struggle to explain the appeal and elegant construction of music they instinctively recognize as "good", often resorting to a phrase like, "simple but effective". When I hear songs by John Dery, although I do not understand the words I can hear his mellifluous voice, a smoothness and variety to the phrasing and line, but also places where he runs over and pulls away from the background structure before returning to it – places that serve to add interest and variety, presumably also adding emphasis to significant words or phrases. He certainly instinctively understands these devices even though he could not describe them in abstract.

Mans also raises the question of why people select one rhythm, phrase, and musical device over another to identify themselves within a communally recognized framework of what is appropriate. Perhaps this process is more akin to that of evolution. No society or community is static. It continually evolves to meet changing circumstances and its language, music, dance and a whole raft of mores and behaviors are more or less fluid dependent on the circumstances. But these changes are not achieved through any one person making decisions about what should happen but at a much more intuitive micro or mimetic level.[xxiv] *Each person creating a new*

[xxiii]Fiagbedzi, 1979, pp. 18–21.
[xxiv]Dawkins, 1989, pp. 189–201.

song – or any other musical statement – will combine a series of known elements, with perhaps some small innovation, but will not agonize over each micro-decision. If any perceived new element appeals it will be taken up and perhaps extended by the next person and so become part of the accepted language, so an observable change of direction is the result of a nexus of interactions. When studying drumming with an Ewe master drummer, I am conscious of his ability to create new patterns in a way that I can't. Closer observation suggests that these new rhythms are a combination of language – pitch combined with rhythm so that the new statement has meaning – and somatic properties needed to realize it. When you look at a master drummer, his (they are generally culturally male) movements will seem easy and fluid, with each movement between strokes being adjusted for shape as much as speed of movement so that the hand arrives at the drumhead at the right time for the next stroke. So again, something new is created through several different interactions, none of them verbally rationalized and not capable of separate justification. My questions tend to focus on a single element as though this is capable of independent function because, in order to "study" I need to hold something still to observe it. Perhaps my problem is not the questions I ask, but asking questions at all – participate more, interrogate less? But then I run a greater risk that I will end up with an understanding which is even more a product of my culture and has less to do with the people I am learning from.

The situation outlined above is rather cozy and insular, assuming a closed society with few external influences. Even for most "traditional" societies, the situation is now very different. There is constant exposure to "other" music, usually via the local radio station, which will often broadcast a mix of popular music from the region together with some more global pop music. In many countries in Africa, young people typically aspire to the material aspects of the American dream so USA pop music has great currency as a cultural icon of power. How is this understood within the cultural ambit of a traditional society? In northern Ghana, it is the vehicle for a clear divide between old and young, with older people having no desire to embrace this immigrant phenomenon. Younger people view it as liberated music, the icon of a world not controlled by older people who tell them what to do – although they still respect the advice of their elders. Young people can often sing many songs in a non-indigenous style heard on the radio and local musicians will be quick to incorporate stylistic elements into their own music to appeal to young people – evidenced in the way that I was taught the "reggae" section of the traditional Ageshe Ewe dance. But, at least in northern Ghana, although young people can repeat the songs heard on the radio, they appear to take little or no notice of the words which are in English (the language of instruction from secondary school onwards). Local people had not noticed the words of the song "Fuck it"[xxv] which was played frequently on

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[xxv]From the album, I Don't Want You Back by Eamon (Jive: 2004). The lyrics include the lines: Fuck what I said it don't mean shit now, Fuck the presents might as well throw 'em out, Fuck all those kisses, it didn't mean jack, Fuck you, you hoe, I don't want you back. (Accessed from http://www.lyricsandsongs.com/song/19574.html on 26 Feb 2007)

*the local radio but would probably have been horrified at advice about relation-
ships with your wife couched in similar terms in a local language. The researcher's
problem, in looking for an answer to why particular elements are chosen, is that
these are almost ephemeral and certainly transitory. Musical structures and sounds
have meanings applied to them by listeners – all slightly different and based on their
personal experience – and these meanings will change with time. If language is the
model, the meaning could even become completely opposite – consider the extent
to which the word "bad" has acquired positive connotations as well as negative in
some contexts. Of course, underneath the coruscating musical surface, there should
be some basic "linguistic" structures that are much more stable – akin to musical
traditions – but this is the level which supports the possibility of communication, not
that at which it happens. So what questions am I going to ask? Well, probably the
same ones basically until I find some better ones through engaging with the music
and musicians more. The difference is in how I try to understand all the answers
I get.*

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    issues and challenges.* Accra: Ghana Universities Press.

From Trevor Wiggins' insightful reflections, it is especially the reference to musi-
cal choices being "ephemeral and transitory" that triggered my constant internal
questioning. I wondered whether the transitoriness applies more to passing musi-
cal preferences and taste as a temporary adjunct to an individual musical world? Is
there a fairly common category of "fashionable music" that changes quite rapidly
as do peoples' tastes? Does this explain why so-called world music is popular
despite all its foreign musical content, although seldom adopted as "own?" Can
such "other" music become part of a musical culture without conforming to the
normative framework discussed below?

Framework with Its Parameters and Rules

The fourth feature of the musical world system can be visualized as a field that
surrounds and contains the three levels of musical practice, providing a contex-
tual environment, *and* a framework of conventions and rules to guide performance.
Oblique references to the framework of social rules and conventions appear in sev-
eral studies[69] but never quite connect to how it guides musical learning in very
practical ways. In the context of a musical world, the framework responds to, and
is seated within a system of social normative values which, in turn, inform aes-
thetic values. One could also say that social forces shape the norms of cultural taste

or preference (see discussion on micro-level). Adorno referred to patterns of legit-imization that are aspects of the social context which determine what constitutes a work of art and how that work is valued.[70]

As can be seen in this simplified diagram (Fig. 3.3), all the musical categories, templates, and components are framed by cultural (normative) rules concerning the circumstances required for performance, inter alia:

- *Reason and context in which to,* e.g., to celebrate, cure, transform into a different state, educate, reform, inspire, entertain, relax, meditate, praise, for commercial gain, political or ritual efficacy, etc.
- *Modes of performance* – determining *how* the music is performed, e.g., solo, in a general group, a (special) small group, any mix of the foregoing; whether it is a formal or informal mode; what the order of performance is; what the *power rela-tionships* are in terms of who leads or controls a performance and who follows, in which order; whose is the dominant culture; *how the modalities are executed*, in terms of seating, standing, or moving, in lines, circles, close or distant, and so on.
- *Exclusions* – who may or may not participate, in terms of gender, age, class, vocation, as members of a secret society, use of certain instruments, levels of secrecy.
- *Time* – where this refers to *history* – personal and cultural; *heritage* – taking the "best" from the past; the *passage of time* and its influence on values old or new; and the use of *current* time during a performance – duration, how to employ it; typical or required time of day or night, season, calendar, and so on.
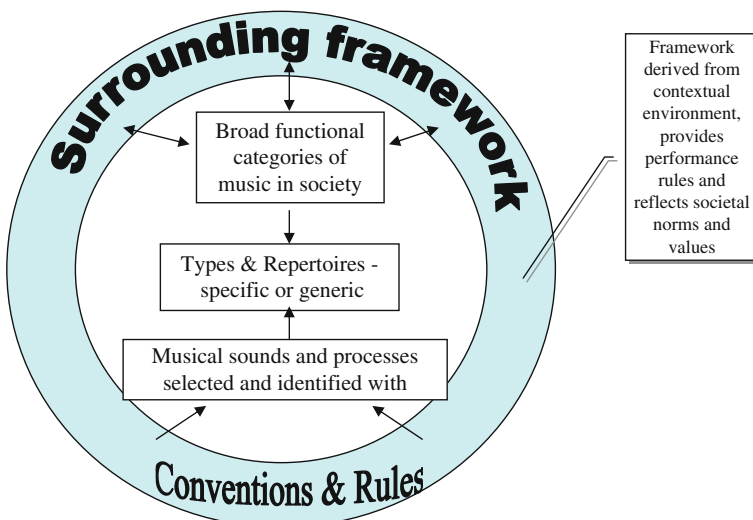
Fig. 3.3 Simplified structure

- *Place* – conventions which may or may not be prescriptive in terms of theater, home, village square, church, temple, field, and so on. This is a two-way contextualization, as the place also imparts a certain *character* to the music, whether it takes place in a theater, city square, pub, church, bedroom, hut, field, or mine. Place is further defined by its *organization*, the *formality* thereof, and any *special qualities* it may retain, as in the case of sacred sites, sites of memory, personal or public space, or hyperspace.
- *Beliefs and symbols* – about the music, the performance, and its potency, including rules and beliefs about composition and extemporization, transmission to others including forms of education, symbolic transmission of ideas, representations of, e.g., natural or spiritual forces, and so on.
- *Material traits* – required for performance or attendance, such as instruments, clothing, potions, masques, stilts, chalice, whisk, and vestments.

All the above factors have and give meaning to performance. They inform and aid the aesthetic experience and judgment which are located in the ethical, moral, economical value systems of individuals and the larger collective.

Music is always performed intentionally and purposefully. These intentions and purposes inform the structure of the actual performance and should be read within the context of the cultural landscape. The framework therefore provides continuous, even ordinary, *guiding rules* in terms of appropriate or inappropriate musical choices such as singing a holy or spiritual song in a drinking place, or a woman playing an instrument considered to be exclusive to men. The great masked dances of Africa, for example, the spectacular Dogon Great Masks (Mali), the body concealing masks of Senufo (Cote D'Ivoire), Nkongela (Zambia), or Mgbula (Nigeria), were laden with meaning and symbolism. Masks such the Mande bird masquerade in Mali,[71] the *egungun* of Yoruba in Nigeria,[72] or the *ngady mwaash* of Kuba people in the Democratic Republic of Congo[73] are saturated with representational meaning embedded within the masks, costume, movement, characterization, and paraphernalia as their purpose is to evoke and invoke the supernatural world.

Alternatively, let us take the premiere of a Brahms violin concerto performed in New York's Metropolitan Opera. The reasons for the performance would include economic gain (for the artistes and the theater), entertainment for the audience, and status of allowing for celebrities to be seen. The context is a grand theatrical space which contextually requires a certain dress code. The performance modes are that of a soloist accompanied by a large orchestra in a formal behavioral and seating arrangement, with a conductor who stands in a controlling power relationship to the soloist who is next, and the orchestra who themselves are arranged in terms of power. The audience is seated in a formal arrangement of lines with certain class features attached to seating areas. They are placed physically close to one another but maintain a personal distance to those seated adjacent to them. While anybody who can afford the ticket is free to attend, this might not always have been so because of various socio-political exclusions. There are definite exclusions among the performers as they undergo stringent testing procedures before being allowed to be part of

the group. This applies even more to the soloist and the conductor. The parameters of time involve formally advertised starting times, controlled by bells, and a premiere would most probably be in the evening, with time taken for a refreshment interval. The passage of time in Euro-American cultures affords the selection of this musical work with much value, as "it has stood the test of time." The theatrical place, as noted above, affords the performance formality and its own character, which in turn influences behavior, such as silence during the performance, remaining seated until the end, and avoiding clapping of hands after a movement. This music of Brahms represents many things to many people, such as notions of innate quality and artistry, about telling the quality of the performance, about strictness and adherence to the original version versus allowing individual expressiveness (no free improvisation on a passage in the third movement!), and represents ideas about "Enlightenment" and "Romanticism" for example. Material traits are picked up in the dress code for the soloist, the orchestra, and the conductor with his baton, as well as the audience, the staff of the theater, and so on. Naturally the actual instruments are strictly defined by the original composer and come with their own meanings and values.

In addition to all the above, musical performances and recordings are always exposed to some form of cultural evaluation – in other words, the implementation of *aesthetic values*. When we observe a performance of outstanding skill, it is often easy even for a cultural outsider to recognize a superior execution. Yet the subtleties of timbre, variation, embellishment, and added meaning are usually lost to a person who stands outside of that culture. An illustrative example of meanings and values "hidden" in the musical performance, Francis Corpataux tells of messages in adult's songs for children in a region of Ecuador where

> mothers work in the rivers searching for gold with their legs spread apart in the water, where fish swim by. Through song, they teach their daughters that men are like fish that pass by and enter their bodies. This is a poetic way to describe sexual intercourse...Children gradually learn these songs and sing them.[74]

This practical approach to sexual education is in stark contrast to a formal education approach where, for example, the "majority of Greek love songs are very poetic and refer to love in a very subtle manner, a fact that makes them suitable for use even with young children."[75]

Clearly, values relating to gender, sexuality, and continuity (discussed in the next chapter) are expressed in ways meaningful to members of the society or culture, but it might not be meaningful or even acceptable to cultural outsiders. As Askew[76] explains, at a *taarab* performance in East Africa, a great deal of political and social significance attends how and when an audience member chooses to stand up, approach the stage, and tip the band.[77] *Taarab* performances can include songs about the human quest for control over the earth, or about the beauty of Swahili women, a changed political economy, or the pain of losing a loved one.[78] Audience reaction of cultural insiders[79] to *taarab* lyrics might involve elaborate gestures, or large and frequent tips for performers, indicating their individual responses to meanings in songs.

Thus, the "standards" by which a cultural outsider might judge the quality of a performance might be misplaced. Because *the standards of musical competency are contained within the framework* – outlining expectations of what constitutes "musicianship" within a specific environment – an outsider might not understand what influence youthful exuberance, individuality, complementarity, gender modesty, or control might have on the aesthetic judgment. "Because of the situatedness of musical symbols and practices, adequate analysis requires detailed understanding of the historically situated human subjects"[80] who are able to understand and interpret the musical symbols and standards for others to use in education, for example. Hence, to become a *jali* (a West African bard and professional musician) means developing not only the required knowledge and skills as musician and poet but also personal qualities as a peacemaker, keeper of the collective memory and (social) cement of the society.[81]

Through processes of formal and informal education and enculturation, practitioners can tell whether the performance of a rhythm, melody, text, and tone are correct and appropriate. In addition, they develop the aesthetic sensibility to judge whether performance quality is better than ordinary, even great. In other words, the framework provides the surrounding miasma of ever-changing rules and conventions that allow a person to interpret, appreciate, and evaluate music. These processes are intra-culturally informed. Music educators often refer to the need for holistic approaches, yet it is rare for teachers to venture beyond the singing and playing of musical pieces into the deeper comprehension of the limits and constraints that this framework places on performers and others alike.

The framework to the musical world thus concerns the total, yet specific, environment in which music making is preceded by purpose and guided by social rules. The frame is, on the one hand, broad and overarching (determining the establishment and unique nature of categories) and on the other hand, specific and detailed down to requirements in terms of beads or feathers.

Counterpoint and Interlock by Rena Upitis (Queens University, Kingston, Ontario)

Body and Breath

Minette Mans presents what she terms the fourth feature of the musical world system as "a field that surrounds and contains . . . musical practice, providing a contextual environment and a framework of conventions and rules to guide performance." It is this notion of conventions and rules that guide performance that I find most intriguing, especially since such conventions, as Mans so rightly argues, are seated in a system of social normative values that affect aesthetic values as well.

Partway through the chapter Mans gives the example of a Brahms performance of a violin concerto, where the audience and performers negotiate a well-understood dance of roles and social conventions. These conventions are so familiar to those who attend performances of Western art music that they are – like many social norms – taken for granted features of this form of social engagement. We know, for

example, that the performance will start almost precisely on time, that members in the audience will sit in close proximity to one another (too close, sometimes, especially if the stranger seated next you takes all of the arm rest or has consumed far to much garlic during the pre-performance dinner), that the music is to be enjoyed in relative stillness and silence, and that one must avoid clapping until all the movements of the concerto have been performed. The dress codes are also understood; the orchestra members wear black, and the audience chooses from a limited range of acceptable modes of dress.

It is this notion of dress that I wish to explore first in my comments. Dress, because it is perhaps one of the least discussed aspects around musical performance and understanding. Dress, because it is such an embodied form of communication, and music making is surely among the most embodied of all disciplines.

Blaikie (2008) observes that the clothes and objects we chose to place on or near our bodies have inherent significance. She argues that the presentation of our bodies in clothing signify a sense of ease or unease, comfort (or not), a sense of the aesthetic or repression of the same, a sense of what is appropriate dress in relation to a given audience or situation, a desire to belong, and above all, a sense of oneself. We create personal visual identities through our choices of clothing, which, in turn, provide a connection to our socio-economic, aesthetic, and political relationship with the world and with others – whether we intend to or not (Goffman, 1959). It can be argued, then, that clothing is a form of literacy, a "nonverbal form of communication that can be constructed, read, mediated, interpreted and subverted".[xxvi] Blaikie cites Lurie (1981), who observed that humans have communicated with one another in the language of dress for thousands of years. The language of dress communicates social class, gender, work, religion, and sexuality. According to Blaikie, the body

> *is always an unfinished entity which develops in conjunction with various social forces; it is simultaneously social and personal. . . Following Connell (2002), bodies are agents of social process as much as objects of social process [italics added].[xxvii]*

Therefore, what one chooses to wear to the Brahms violin concerto performance is not only shaped by social forces: our clothing also shapes our social and aesthetic processes and experiences. This notion of shaping and being shaped is germane to contemporary theories of knowing. In his influential book, Ethical Know-How, Francisco Varela (1999) claims that, "The world is not something that is given to us but something we engage in by moving, touching, breathing, eating" (p. 9). He calls this engagement "cognition as enaction", claiming that our understanding of ourselves emerges from our concrete, embodied, and situated experiences of the world. That is, what we identify as knowledge is attached to what we experience as our environment – or Mans' fourth feature of the musical world system – and as our own physical bodies. As Sumara claims,

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[xxvi]Blaikie, 2008, p. 4.
[xxvii]Ibid., p. 5.

although there continues to be an obsession with the state of the biological body, there also continues to be a pervasive ignorance about the complex ways biological and phenomeno-logical bodies interact to create what becomes noticed and deployed as knowing.[xxviii]

Over the past couple of years, I have become intrigued by the Japanese-based art and practice of taiko. Taiko is a form of ensemble drumming and choreographed movements, which, when practiced well, can result in what some describe as physical and spiritual connections between the drum and the player. The word "taiko" refers both to the drums and to the drumming practice. Scholars have described taiko as a form of "embodied learning that integrates the feeling body with mindful feeling, a form of knowledge that is embodied through participation in socially and culturally prescribed systems of meaning".[xxix] In North America, taiko is a growing artistic and political movement. One of the most influential American taiko groups, San Jose Taiko, is a forum for social action, cultural preservation, community development, and Asian-American identity.[xxx]

The approach that taiko instructors take in their teaching is a kinaesthetic one. Teaching techniques highlight the visual, aural, and bodily knowledge as an integrated whole. Patterns and rhythms are repeated countless times; there is more doing, watching, and repeating than talking. Typically, teachers do not encourage the use of notation – even notations that have been developed by the Japanese (and which I find much more intuitive than the use of Western notation for Japanese rhythm patterns). Their teaching techniques are designed to foster memory – aural memory, body memory, muscle memory. Powell describes in some detail how drumming is taught through repetition, mimicry, and metaphor. She adds the paradoxical observation that drilling and other types of repetitive practices often result in a highly aesthetic quality of experience, and indeed, participants describe out-of-body feelings and of a spiritual unity with instruments, sounds, and other players. As Powell reminds us, the cardio-physical training needed for taiko, the musical drilling, the practice through readings, the ongoing discussions about purposes of technique, and a grounding of the historical and cultural significance of taiko and its place in the contemporary context, is all part of the larger picture that makes for connections rather than dissociation of the physical experience from other ways of knowing – the larger picture that Mans is attempting to elucidate in her so-called fourth dimension.

There is more. Canadian scholar Brent Davis writes about the connection between embodied learning and feelings of transcendence. He suggests that most people can recall experiences where they lost track of time – when immersed in a good book or listening to music or simply the feeling of being swept up in a crowd. Davis claims such experiences can also be cultivated through rhythmic and repetitive activity, suggesting that the purpose of such activities or rituals is

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[xxviii] Sumara, 2004, p. iv

[xxix] Powell, 2004, p. 183.

[xxx] Uyechi, 1995.

to "lift participants from their respective isolations into something greater than themselves".[xxxi]

This view – and indeed, the words themselves – are astonishingly similar to the perspective offered by bioevolutionary scholar Ellen Dissanayake. Dissanayake (1988, 1998) has written several volumes on the importance of the arts to human evolution and survival, based on her anthropological work in Papua New Guinea and Sri Lanka. Dissanayake claims that it is through rule, repetition, and ritual that humans make the ordinary special, and make bearable those experiences that might be otherwise unbearable.

In addition to Dissanayake's anthropological work, there is mounting neurological evidence for the relationship between repetition and ritual and states of transcendence. For over 30 years, Eugene d'Aquili and his colleagues have been amassing evidence and mounting arguments to show how ritual can lead to biological states of trance, opening a window for mystical and transcendental experiences. In the 1979 book, The spectrum of ritual: A biogenetic structural analysis, this notion is explored through a discussion of the origin of human ritual through an evolutionary perspective as well as through a discussion of the neurophysiological mechanisms that likely underlie the affective and trance states associated with many human rituals. D'Aquili and his colleagues have claimed that "ritual is always embedded in a cognitive matrix – a web of meaning, in Geertz's terms – that allows members of the society to interpret the conceptual significance of certain behavior".[xxxii]

I end my comments with some further thoughts on the term spiritual, which, for me, rounds out the connection between music, the body, and learning. Davis suggests that classically, in Western settings at least, spiritual is used "in contradistinction to the physical and is associated with disembodiment, ideality, and denial of the worldly".[xxxiii] He adds that this notion of spirituality was also offered in stark contrast to the predominant conception of science, where science is concerned with unquestionable evidence, and spirituality is concerned with unquestioned faith. But in what he calls "ecospiritual discourses", matters of the spirit are, literally, matters of breathing. For spiritus is derived from the Latin word "breath", and in this sense the spiritual can be thought of as a "constant physical connection to and material exchange with an animate world".[xxxiv] The fourth dimension, then, is rightly described as being concerned with the social and aesthetic, norms and exclusions, place and time, symbols of music, and the material traits required for performance and attendance. But it is also about the breath of the body, which not only gives meaning to performance, but shapes what is ultimately created and known.

[xxxi] Davis, 2004, p. 190.

[xxxii] d'aquili, Laughlin, & McManus, 1979, p. 160.

[xxxiii] Davis, 2004, p. 159.

[xxxiv] Ibid.

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In this chapter, I have laid out a theoretical vision of how a musical world functions, seen from my perspective. To that, divergent voices have been added from authorities across the world. The cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary perspectives provide a foundation for dialogue that will be continued in the chapters that follow as we progress through the arguments sustaining the notion of a musical world.

A Musician's Narrative by Jackson Kaujeua

This narrative emerges mainly from conversations with Namibian musician Jackson, where I asked questions about his life experience as a musician

MM: Into what kind of musical culture were you born?

JK: I was born in the south, in Keetmanshoop. There the cultures in the township, because with apartheid of course we did not live in the white part of town, they were mainly Herero, Nama, and Orlam, but you know, Orlam is actually also originally Herero. Like the Orlam surname Biwa was previously Mbaeva in Herero. So their music is like, a mix of different cultures. But the other, I grew up with both of them. Later we moved to Tses *[a small town tucked between two hills in the southern desert, with a few hundred souls, a school and the national road alongside – my insertion].*

MM: Was that different? More Nama music?

JK: No, it was the same. But there was more Nama music, maybe. You know, in Herero culture, our music is very much ceremonial and a capella. There are so many ceremonies, like the headgear crowning for young girls. Always there are the notable singers who start the singing, and the other people participate with their agreement – eeh-eh, and so on, you know? They know what they are listening to, and they touch their roots this way. It's about memories and history. Recently also about social problems like HIV, AIDS and so on. Then there is the omuhiva[xxxv] and the outjina[xxxvi] at ceremonies. And very important since after the missionaries, the church hymns. In omuhiva, the men's songs, the man sings his personal song or praises and the other people listen. Maybe he even sings about the Mans farm, your farm, and it tells how you went here and here, and you listen and you recognize those things, those places. Maybe even you cry a little when you recognize it because you know it is so. It is the right story, sound, and poetry. And you agree, you nod while you are clapping, and you sing eeh-eh-eh as you agree. In outjina it is the same for the women singing. There are no instruments, only the clapping. But these days, of course, it seems as if the rules are .... "softening." You can even find a man singing outjina here in Katutura. But not "before."

MM: Yes, I know! I have recorded a man singing outjina, very beautifully too. I felt like crying when he sang some of his songs. Very beautiful, very poetic. He told me that he grew up with his grandmother because his own mother died. He was alone and lonely and his grandmother taught him these songs for women. Even how to make women's headdresses which he now sells for a living.

JK: Yes! He sings it [outjina] very beautifully. But you know, it was never a man's songs.

[xxxv] Men's song type, inclusive of movements.
[xxxvi] Women's song type, inclusive of movements.

MM: So tell me, in Tses, did your mother sing to you as a small child? JK nods.
What did she sing?

JK: My mother sang many songs. She was a very good singer, and she sang the
Herero praise songs very well. To sing these Herero songs takes a special singer who
can get just the right notes. It's not everybody who can sing the poetry. But she also
liked to sing the church hymns to us. She was very religious and liked the hymns.

MM: Would your mother have also sang the Nama songs?

JK (quite emphatically): No, she mostly sang Herero songs, but the church songs,
you know, they're like the same for everybody. The Namas, their music is mostly
the Namastap [dance] and they used the guitar. That's where I learnt the guitar,
from a Nama man who taught me when I was a bit bigger. But not like I play now.
That style of playing, the Nama style in those days, was with different tuning of the
strings, and you know, you hold the neck from the top, playing with your fingers like
this. [*He demonstrates with left hand fingers playing bridged chords from the upper
side of the neck, with thumb at the bottom – the opposite of how guitar is commonly
played today*.]

But that was how I first played.

Then I went to school, the Roman Catholic school of the Rhenish mission, and
there we had much more of influences from South Africa. They never played or
taught us anything Namibian, only music like kwela, marabi, later mbaqanga. But
at least African music. So I heard many different music and different cultures and
my mind broadened with this. After school I went to the city [Windhoek] and here
I started coming under the new influences of soul music and jazz. And then, when I
left the country during the Struggle I found for the first time that the other Africans
were using their own languages and rhythms in their music! This was very new to
me, because here in our country, you know, everybody always thought everything
outside was better, our own stuff was not so good, foreign was hip. Apartheid made
you think that your own culture was not good, it was backward. Foreign was enlight-
enment – but in Namibia it was all mainly Zulu, Xhosa[xxxvii] and English that you
heard for foreign. So when I went to Zambia, I heard these musicians sing hip songs
in Lingala and Nyambwe and I was so surprised.

("I was so surprised.")
MM: Did this influence your music?
JK: Yes, definitely it did.
MM: Do you think your music..."

*MM: Do you think your music would have been the same today without the
influences that you had in exile during the Struggle?*

JK: No, definitely not. Would I have had a chance to become a composer with-
out the Struggle, I don't think so. I had something to write songs about, political
messages. It gave my songs meaning. And I started to use languages from my

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[xxxvii]From South Africa.

own country. I knew more than one language, and a man from the Kavango, for instance, he could speak a San language and he translated phrases for me into their language. That was "Soremandi." So I could sing that and all the other languages from Namibia.

MM: But did a Ju/hoan person or a Kxoe person actually understand or relate to that song as their own? Because with their languages they normally don't sing words because the language is tonal. So they sing vowels. Also, even today they have very special "rules" about melody construction that sound rather different to your song.

JK: You know, in those days I never even knew that there were different San groups or languages. I don't know whether they could understand the song, but once when I performed up there a San woman came to me and she said "Our language is being sung here by the guitar." Not the singers, but the guitar.

MM: Nice, that guitar bit. I wonder what she heard there that "spoke her language."

JK: I don't know, but that's what she said, our language is being sung by the guitar.

MM: So your musical world was really expanding and making contact with many other cultures.

JK: Yes. After Zambia I went to the UK. I wanted to be a performer. Even from a very young age I always wanted to be a performer. Then I heard about a band in Oxford that needed a lead singer. There were about 12 other guys auditioning and I didn't think I had much chance, but I went in and sang "I can see clearly now," the old Johnny Nash song. And to my surprise, they chose me! So that was the start of the Black Diamonds band. We sang only covers, but I started feeling the need to sing own languages. Then came "Winds of Change" [an international hit]. I refused to completely compromise my Namibianess. There was the expectation there in audiences to hear something from your past, not just be a copycat in the music. This world music thing – people want to understand other cultures, build a broader horizon.

MM: So after all the influences, how would you describe your identity?

JK: First Herero, then Namibian, and then...I think, just a human being.

MM: So you don't describe yourself first as a man?

JK: No, just a human being – I am human. But, you know, there are many things I don't know. I would have liked to be able to play okambulumbumbwa.[xxxviii] But I never learnt. There was nobody to teach me.

JK: *(He admits that he finds sales have dropped and the youth music is difficult because the tune and the beat have changed from the days of the liberation struggle and he cannot adapt to kwaito or hip-hop.)* Then it was about the war and the

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[xxxviii] A vernacular term for the gourd resonated musical bow. This instrument used to be common in Herero culture and is still played among Owambo and Ovahimba people.

music was meant to mobilize and inform the international world about our problems. Now it's about development, the beauty of the country, love and, yes, HIV and AIDS, teenage pregnancies, and many other things. The youngsters don't know me anymore. But we will see.

At this stage we had lunch, with me having chicken salad and Jack having tripe, while the neighboring table was enjoying baked sheep's heads in the African way. I discontinued taking notes to enjoy our meal. I wish I had more time to ask about his composition processes, for example, with his local smash hit of the 1990s "!Gnubu!Nubus,"[xxxix] *where and how children learnt Herero musical culture these days, and what he would suggest for music education. But his agent came to hurry him along for an important rehearsal and a press conference.*

Notes

1. Tajfel & Turner, 1979.
2. Bengt Olsson, 2007, p. 989.
3. Olsson, 2007, citing DeNora, 2000.
4. Olsson, 2007, p. 998.
5. See Nettl, 1998, p. 25 and Merriam, 1964, for example.
6. Trevarthen, 2002; Dissanayake, 2007; Trainor & Trehub, 1993.
7. See research by Trehub and associates, for example, as well as Dissanayake, 2007, who mentions a multitude of research in this field.
8. Alan Lomax, 1968.
9. These included social criteria such as individualization versus group integration, cohesiveness and social stability, personality factors and solidarity, among others. The study also investigated structural and sonic qualities of many different musical cultures.
10. Bowman & Powell, 2007.
11. Eerola, Himberg, Toiviainen, & Louhivuori, 2006.
12. See, e.g., Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1988; Middleton, 1990, O'Flynn, 2006.
13. See, e.g., Arom, 1991; Berliner, 1981; Blacking, 1967; Chernoff, 1997; Dagan, 1997; and a host of other ethnomusicologists.
14. See, e.g., Sefton-Green & Soep, 2007; DeNora, 2000; Green, 2008.
15. Jorgensen, 1997.
16. Bamberger, 2006.
17. Nettl, 2007, p. 832.
18. Adorno, 1976, pp. 163, 165.
19. Blacking, 1987.
20. Veblen, 2004, p. 4
21. Wenger, 1998.
22. Small, 1998.
23. Olivier & Rivière, 2001, p. 11.
24. Olivier defends her statement further on in the chapter in her "Counterpoint and Interlock."
25. Students at the University of Namibia have, on completion of a listening task, told me they found listening to music by Mozart and Schumann, for example, just noise. Even after several listening experiences, the music remained somewhat unpleasant to most of them.

[xxxix]*A great hit song in Namibia. The term in Khoekhoe for "short and round" and refers to how a girl should look, especially her round buttocks.*

26. Agawu, 2003, p. 8.
27. Ibid., 2003, p. 9.
28. Arom, 1991.
29. Ibid., 1991, p. xxi.
30. Oliviera, 2005, p. 176.
31. See Zinke, 1997; Löytty, 2004, 2002; Olivier, 2001; Mans, 1997; Mans & Olivier, 2005; Putz, 2007, etc.
32. NOTE: Songs are *omaimbilo* or *oviimbo* (sing – *imbo*). A complete repertoire name would be, e.g., *oviimbo shoukadona,* meaning songs for children.
33. Olivier & Rivière, 2001, "Reflections on Categorization", *Ethnomusicology*, 45/3, 2001
34. Olivier, 2001, p. 13.
35. Arom, 1994, p. 140.
36. See Löytty, 2004.
37. In the Owambo/Aawambo calendar, there are three season, okufu – the dry, cool season when harvesting takes place; okwenye – the dry, hot season at the end of which planting takes place; and ofingi – the rainy season when hoeing and tilling take place.
38. Oehrle & Emeka, 2003, p. 42.
39. O'Hagin & Harnish, 2006, p. 60.
40. See also DeNora, 2000 for discussion on this.
41. Nzewi, 2003, p. 27.
42. Arom, 1994:140
43. See, e.g., Nzewi, 1997; Monts, 1990; Agawu, 2003; Amoaku, 1975; Keil, 1979; Olivier, 2001, etc.
44. For example, the terms that follow are all the performance verb for categories of music: dhana (Oshiwambo) play or dance and oudhano for a generic song–dance–play type; /hurub (Khoekhoe) play, also for dance with flutes; dana (Rukwangali) play and dance; enyanda (Otjiherero) means play, stamp, dance. See also Mans (2002) for extended discussion on this phenomenon.
45. Nettl, 2007.
46. Waterman, 2000, p. 168.
47. Any number of ethnomusicological and anthropological studies support claims that society is reflected in music, and in turn structured by music.
48. This "touch" is similar to "tagging" in some children's games and means that it is your turn to play.
49. Tonality is not conceptualized as such in this musical culture, and the same song might be sung with smaller or larger intervals, sounding more like a major and a minor key, on different occasions. It is still the same song.
50. Somby, 1995.
51. Oliviera, 2005, p. 174.
52. Choksy, Abramson, Gillespie, & Woods, 1986; Greenberg, 1979; Kamien, 1996; the Silver, Burdett, Ginn series of music education materials, 1995; R. Murray Schafer's *Ear Cleaning*, 1967, and so on.
53. Hargreaves, North, & Tarrant, 2006.
54. Eerola et al., 2006, p. 363.
55. Ibid., 2006.
56. See discussion in Small, 1984, p. 41.
57. Small, 1984, p. 53 quoting Bebey.
58. Mans, 2002, p. 59.
59. Rogers, 1976.
60. Bamberger, 2006, p. 74.
61. See Touma (1996) and Qureshi (1997), for example.
62. Listen to "Am-Yehko" sung by Marika Mary-Salman from the album *Bafham-Aleek*, or Irak's classical singer Mohammed Al-Gubbenchi performing classical maqaam in "La Tabki Layla".

63. Agawu, 2003, p. 2.
64. Bamberger (2006) uses specific research examples to illustrate the manner in which children confront and creatively resolve the tension between organizing constraints.
65. Elliott, 1995.
66. Small, 1984; DeNora, 2007.
67. Bowman & Powell, 2007, p. 1100.
68. Zentner & Kagan, 1996; Trainor & Heinmiller, 1998, both mentioned in Trehub, 2006, p. 41.
69. See e.g., Hargreaves et al., 2006; Tarrant, North, & Hargreaves, 2002; Campbell, 2002; DeNora, 2000; Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988; Barrett, 2006.
70. Adorno, 1976.
71. Wilkerson, 1999.
72. See also Morton, 2000 for a brief comparison of Yoruba and Western aesthetics.
73. Binkley, 2004.
74. In Ilari & Majlis, 2002, p. 8.
75. Stamou, 2002, p. 87.
76. Askew, 1997.
77. *Taarab* is particularly popular in Tanzania. *Taarab* denotes the performance and singing of *mashairi* (poems) with instrumental accompaniment and carries connotations of entertainment and expression of emotions (Ntarangwi, 2001, p. 1).
78. Ntarangwi, 2001, p. 2.
79. It is important to note that the terms insider and outsider and not finite or bound, as there are degrees of "insiderness" and "outsiderness." There is also a state of cultural "in-betweenness" as described by Homi Bhaba as a result of people increasingly moving between cultures, being neither one nor the other. Nevertheless, common usage of the terms indicate a measure of enculturation and knowledge of cultural practices.
80. Mans, 2006, p. 812.
81. Saether, 2003.

Chapter 4
Inhabiting a Musical World

> *"I find myself with one foot in the old world and one in the modern world. That's the challenge for the whole world: do we have to leave the old to be modern? I think we can create the best things when we use the wisdom from the old world and find a meeting point with the modern."*
> Mari Boine, http://www.rootsworld.com/interview/lipp-future.shtml 6/3/08

Mari Boine (above), a wonderful Norwegian Sami singer, refers to using "the wisdom of the old world", but what is this wisdom, and what can we learn from the old world? If there are worlds of music, they are, or were, inhabited worlds. A musical world is identified not only by its musical sounds but also by its configuration of musical purposes and categories, repertoires, framed by conventions and rules devised by human beings, as elaborated in the previous chapter. A world of music is a world where peoples' lives are played out in unique social, individual, and musical ways – a world with its own laws and demands, yet subject to universal laws of humanity and musical sound.

Inhabiting a particular musical world and living by its rules defines our musical identity. This implies a sense of ownership through identification with certain musical processes or codes. One inhabits and identifies with "this" world rather than "that." In turn, identity also infers acceptance of certain norms and values, and understanding the meanings embedded in symbols and signs in the landscapes of our lives.

Identity

The concept identity is by nature social because it has to do with I or we in relation to you or they. By identifying otherness we begin to draw boundaries around our self or us. We also begin to notice commonalities among ourselves and others. Thus we are able to construct certain behavior patterns and conventions that are based on our perception of the normative behaviors of the larger group.[1] Taking a phenomenological approach in his reflections upon identity, Even Ruud suggests that

identity is at core a development of the sense of self-in-relationship (with other persons, ideas, and objects), and that sound constitutes an important experience of the inner and outer worlds.[2] As this sense of self-in-relationship strengthens through music (among other) experiences, the character and boundaries of an identity begin to develop.

Identities therefore function as active systems defining who we are and are not. We clearly do not remain the same throughout life, although a core identity normally remains unchanged. This core was referred to by psychologist Erik Erikson as identity integrity within an individual, and he described it as a "progressive continuity."[3] While Erikson's general approach might now be considered somewhat dated, the idea of a progressive continuity elegantly captures the stable core around which change and development – progression – can take place. Change occurs through processes of learning, and identity reflects who one is by creating personal records of becoming.[4] A natural deduction follows; if this applies to individuals it also applies to groups who share a cultural identity.

Identities can also be seen as reflections of how people see themselves and as others see them. Like reflections in a mirror, this will change as situations and perceptions change. Perceptions by others about the United States under George W. Bush – from being seen as land of freedom to power-hungry aggressor – might serve as an example. But a wholly or partially shared identity among a group of people implies that it can be thought and reasoned about by the group, and that it is recognizable or identifiable by others who are not part of the group. In the next few paragraphs I look at some of the ways that cultural practices and contexts – specifically music – work to form, maintain, articulate, and impact on identities. More specifically, I am interested in group (cultural) rather than individual (psychological) identities.

Concepts of identity can reveal a broadly racial basis according to Ani.[5] She challenges existing (racialized) views on culture and identity, arguing that approached with honesty, every culture[6] (perhaps better defined as a people) has at its core a form of *asili*. She describes *asili* as a primal driving force that characterizes and explains a culture (people), carrying within it the archetypical template for development of that culture. *Asili* helps to define the thought, behavior, and creations of a people in terms of origin and logic. From this fundamental primal force Ani draws two further concepts. First, *utamawazo* which is close in meaning to "worldview" or *eidos* and focuses on "the way in which culture acts to determine collective cognitive style."[7] Second, *utamahoro* which she describes as the affective, collective response that accounts for a collective aesthetic, character, and attitude.[8] According to Ani, much of a people's way of life and identity are fundamentally bound up in these concepts which are broader than localized cultural practices. While this is a contentious and arguably racialized interpretation of culture and identity, it provides us with an additional perspective on culture that is too often described as a "way of life" only. It draws our attention to deeper levels. Ani believes that some of the essences of a collective identity are indeed inherent to tags such as "African," "European," or "Asian," and that they reflect ways of thinking, life tempos, and some form of collective affective and aesthetic character and attitude. Barber also

writes about "a deep and ancient disposition that shapes the social, political, and economic domains as well as the cultural."[9] It seems then that there are those who see in people a collective character or disposition that contributes toward the group identity. These statements are a "mondvol" (mouth full) as South Africans might say and cannot be countenanced for their genetically predisposed and racialized point of view. Nevertheless, the idea that cultural identity involves a collective cognitive and philosophical style and affective character bears thinking about.

In apparent agreement Nzewi answers what is "African" in African music by speaking of typologies and styles that cut across communities in sub-Saharan Africa,[10] despite the many ethnic musical varieties. A broad African identity becomes apparent when compared to other music cultures of the world, he says, despite local differences. Juxtaposed against "other" musics the African difference is immediately noticeable, and this difference is internally coherent as well. Thus we find musical coherencies that are generally identifiable among Euro-American musics, Middle Eastern, east European, and Saharan musics, as we do in other regional "blocks." Yet most people define their cultural identities within far narrower boundaries, often national, linguistic, religious, or ethnic.

Certainly, post-structuralist thinking negates the idea of "an identity" or "a cultural identity" arguing that it is an unrealistic, reified construct: "a construct of language and society, an overdetermined illusion that one is really a substantial subject, that one really has a fixed identity."[11] Homi Bhaba comments that "we find ourselves in a moment of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion."[12] Further, we should keep in mind that a national identity, for example, Australian, is a political construct and according to Andersen, a legal system that needs to be separated from the normative and ethical cultural identity.[13] The latter has more to do with a domestic and communal sensibility and way of life, while the former has strict exclusionary boundaries. It would therefore not to do confuse the national with cultural, in the sense that "Australian music" infers national music, and not the diverse musical practices emanating from different cultural groupings in that country. Yet education today demands reflection on the issues of "who am I" and "who are we" in classrooms across the world. It calls to mind the notion of "imagined communities" by means of which people draw boundaries defining themselves in terms of units such as family, gender, place of residence, economic position, employment, or age group.

Considering then that identities are relational, conjectural interpretations of intergroup relations influenced by matters such as access to education and employment, we as educators need to consider the implications of the intersections of socio-cultural, psychological, and musical phenomena in the experience of identity.

Interpretations of Cultural and Musical Identities

Cultural identity is a multivalent concept that has been hotly debated. Nowadays we discard dated and simplistic models of identity creation that might imply a fixed

sameness among members. Cultural identity can change and it is complex and multilayered.[14] Within the general understanding that certain inalienable objects, qualities, and practices define identities,[15] the formation of identity can be seen to occur at various levels or planes that might intersect. Identity involves not only personal and interpersonal relations but also orientations to larger groups and situatedness in numerous contexts. Ruud expresses this identity as "self-in-context"[16] – personal, social, cultural, political, national, class, and gender.

Because of diverse processes by which categorization of self and others takes place, we find different types or interpretations of cultural identity. The following four interpretations or experiences indicate identities that might be ascribed and essentialized, negotiated, fragmented or repressed, and liberated.[17] First, when identities are *ascribed* by others, they tend to remain fixed and essentialized. This leads to racialized and ethnicized identities, rather than more inclusive and fluid identities. The freedom to choose an identity does not always exist, and "[p]resumed cultural identity often depends on a name" assigned by others.[18] Such names – Bushman, Nazi, Viking – sometimes freeze stereotypical identities, making them resistant or unable to change. Second, cultural identity can be interpreted as something that involves the *negotiated* unification of commonalities and definition of differences by members of a group.[19] People form and adapt their identities by selectively assimilating or repudiating aspects of cultural practices, values, and beliefs. We are actors and activists in the creation of our identities, expressed both overtly and covertly. One can choose to identify with a cultural world and customs and newly forming values are based on that choice. This takes place over a period of time, usually while growing up. Third, some identities are experienced as being *fragmented*, repressed, destroyed, and dislocated. In Africa today, identities are often fragmented as they are expected to celebrate heritage yet simultaneously engage with global economies. This creates feelings of not quite belonging anywhere common to many of the immigrant societies. Fourth, one might also interpret identity as something that has undergone *deliberate transformation*, becoming "modernized" or liberated. Such is the postmodern discourse on gender, queer, and "oriental" identity constructions, for example. Hence, cultural identities can be seen as politicized constructs, especially in multiethnic, multiclass, and multicultural environments.

I now narrow the discussion down to cultural and musical matters.

Acquiring a Cultural and a Musical Identity

The term cultural identity is a broad term that includes language, religion, material aspects, place, arts, values, and beliefs. Musical identity is a narrower concept, confined to musical practices and possibly dance, within a socio-cultural environment.

The acquisition of identity is not a package deal. It is formed and shaped over time by many forces, internal and external. In Chapter 2 it was suggested that an infant establishes an early identification with the timbre of his/her own voice from the first cry onward. A period of close bodily auditory communication between

mother and infant establishes recognition of certain sound patterns and plants early seeds of personal and cultural identities. As Wayne Bowman says, "musical identities are always... about who, through musical doings of all sorts (listenings included) we are, and about whom we are in the process of becoming."[20]

Since much of this early communication takes the form of cooing, chanting, moving limbs, and making soothing sounds, a personal musical world begins to take shape. Colin Trevarthen observes that music, movement, and gestures are early building blocks in human relations, and believes that this affective understanding of self and others lies at the root of identity formation.[21] Musical sounds and gestures are early signs of an infant's effort to create a mutual friendship. Researchers have noted these behaviors in cultures across the world and have described the similarities of pitch, melodic shapes, facial expression, dynamic and repetition of mother–infant communication in diverse cultures, indicating a common human form of early communication, probably necessary for survival and for acquiring language, particularly the accent of their environment.[22] Lily Chen-Hafteck alludes to Garfias' research which indicates that the facets to which children pay closest attention during early language development are the sonic properties they first perceive, and that the same properties define accent, pitch pattern, and contour in a (Hungarian) culture's music.[23] This indicates selective listening and memorization of the infant's soundscape.

The very young explore the surrounding environment through sounds as well as other senses. Even in this early form, music provides opportunities for the building of skills, joy, pride, creating a sense of agency even in a very young child. Doing music is an empowering force. As pointed out earlier, an infant begins to focus on repeated sound timbres, components, and patterns, which will predicate future language and musical perceptions and preferences within a particular community of practice. As a result of this early identification with certain sounds that are loaded with emotional content, the infant's musical awareness, perception, and expression become culturally biased. It is my belief that this is a core reason why the literature on the development of emotional responses to music has not been able to establish a universally human emotive reaction. Research now suggests that enculturation plays an important role in perceiving emotions.[24] The impact that vocal timbre, for example, has in establishing tonal preference and identity can be picked up in later musical lives. Hammond describes her Wits choristers' identity discussions on South Africanness and authenticity of performance:

> most choristers connect 'head voice' singing with older Western musical styles and European (especially church) music, while 'chest voice' singing is connected by many choristers with 'modern' music (particularly jazz and African American Spirituals) and African music.[25]

The same sentiment has been expressed to me by members of the University of Namibia choir in personal communications and is a major identifying marker in a choir's collective identity as "African" or "not African."

Music as a practice, a group history, and expression of values is one of the fundamental ways in which people construct, formulate, express, and maintain identity

at different ages. In contrast with the bland description of musical identity as "our broad patterns of preference, and indeed even our transitory likes and dislikes,"[26] I suggest that the conventions that guide the production of musical sound and actions are deeply embedded. As discussed earlier these sounds and behaviors, guided by early family experience, are perceived and stored from the moment an infant is able to perceive sound. Broad patterns of preference would, indeed, be guided by social experiences, but I believe that preferences of musical styles (rock, world, or band music) and their associated identities are more transient aspects of identity, layered and influenced by age, gender, and (temporary) social groupings.

As stated earlier, identity formation occurs at various planes or levels, some of which are relatively static, such as one's name, culture, nationality, and gender. Others might undergo significant changes over time. For example, one may *acquire* the identity of a performer, composer, dancer, drummer, and so on. This identity is then used in interacting with others *as a* performer or drummer, for example. Furthermore, young people might seek music together, creating a common, possibly short-lived, musical identity. At other times, a young person might seek isolation in a room, interacting with "his"/"her" music on a purely personal level. Therefore one could say that a *musical identity is situated* – adapting to the nature of the lived space of past and present. Combining situatedness and understanding of symbolic forms, for the Kaluli people whose music is so evocatively described by Feld "understanding how to make, listen to, and feel the force of the drum sound runs right to the core of knowing how to be Kaluli."[27] The choice to identify with something is intricately tied up with social, aesthetic, and personal values and taste, including negotiated or aesthetic decisions about "good music" and "bad music."

Educators might prefer compact, reified, and defined musical identities that can comfortably be slotted into education programs. This longing for clear identities is echoed in political struggles for various forms of nationalism. Stamou, for example, argues for early education in Greek music for Greek children (although she also argues for multicultural education). She points out that generations of Greek children in and out of Greece have been raised with this music "in an atmosphere of love, respect, and community ideals."[28] This is important because the music carries "a code encrypting the history of these people, their troubles and struggles for freedom, and their values and community ideals, thus encompassing the heart of their culture."[29] Indeed, this code defines what Stamou sees as the heart of a Greek musical identity. According to Tajfel and Turner's social identity theory originally developed in 1979, the formation process goes through three stages: categorization (organizing into groups of belonging); identification and community creation; and comparison (by constructing a sense of prestige for their group).[30] Applying this to the example above, one notes that these three levels are present in the description of Greekness, community, and a sense of pride in belonging. On the other hand, a cultural or musical identity is not generally a referent for music education, "instead music education is itself a move within cultural identity"[31] and investigations into musical cultures will reveal ample evidence of this. Music education as a form of cultural action is a valid, meaningful, and important means of teaching values.

Transacting a Cultural and a Musical Identity

According to Ruud, music is a force in creating relations between people, connecting and functioning as a base for networking, or in serving everyday needs for choosing and articulating values.[32] He notes that this links music to the building of communities, forming cultural groups, and to the expression of the norms and values of such groups and poetically calls it a "narration of identity through life."[33] Construed in this manner, *identity is transacted in the interaction* among people in conscious, stylized, symbolic forms such as arts, and in unconscious forms such as general social behavior within and outside of families. Even in societies we might conceive as relatively unchanging, identity is modified through music, giving rise to altered class or sub-cultural adherences. For example, Groessbeck[34] describes the manner in which timbral variety is used as a symbol of Sanskritic identity, wherein high-ranking drummers in Brahmanic temples distance themselves from less elite traditions through specific techniques.

Sociologists draw our attention to millions of second-generation persons living in countries that are not their "original" countries – Turkish people in Germany, Algerians in France, Jamaicans and Nigerians in Britain, Indians in South Africa. They are described as having a "double culture" or a hybrid culture. Such people are often seen as suspended between the culture of their parents or grandparents and that of their country. Very often, music can be seen to be the tool used to transact and affirm their peculiar identity. Such is the case with *raï* music in France. O'Hagin and Harnish[35] relate the urban world in which the Latino population finds themselves in a state of "in-between" cultures in Ohio. The Latinos establish and transact their cultural identity through traditional *conjunto, tejano*, and *rancheras* music, while still embracing North American country and other styles. The younger in-between or, as the authors write, "bi-cultural" generation prefers the more modern *cumbias*, originally from Columbia.

There might, however, be several conflicts between two different cultural heritages which prevent full expression of either one. This means that instead of having a double identity, people who cross the boundaries between cultures, in effect have *identities and personal cultures "in-between."*[36] This space in-between possesses qualities of transit – the case for multitudes of today's school-going youth. One might best, therefore, view adapted cultural identities in new environments as being on a scale ranging from indigenous, traditional and local through hybrid to trans-cultural.[37] Through alliances and associations with other groups, time and distance are spanned, musical culture and identity evolve and hybridization can take place. Barber describes the result as "extraversion, the ability to draw in and creatively absorb materials from outside."[38] As one shifts further toward the relative and trans-cultural, there is likely to be less attachment to, or identification with the values attached to a particular aspect of an identity within a specific situation. This has implications for music education, and will be taken up further on in chapter 5.

Identities might also become *lodged within activities*, such as participation within long-term projects – a freedom struggle, a religious war. Hence, certain kinds of

songs, such as freedom songs or religious songs, can establish a "symbolically oppositional character"[39] and identity. Persons who are or have been involved in, for example, a freedom struggle identify fiercely with others who shared the experience. This identity finds continuance within songs, which they and their children continue to perform to reaffirm a sense of cohesion and belonging even decades after peace and independence. Such is clearly the case in Eritrea, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa. For this reason DeNora underlines music's importance to

> be invoked as an ally for a variety of world-making activities, it is a workspace for semiotic activity, a resource for doing, being and naming the aspects of social reality, including the realities of subjectivity and self... [40]

Even under normal circumstances we have seen that identities – musical, political, or vocational – change and adapt to different situations, with age, and circumstance.

> [M]usical identities are based on learning one's own position and role in relation to the reactions and communications of other people around, and they are subject to constant development, renegotiation and change.[41]

In transacting contemporary Sami identity, for example, traditional themes in yoiks are being replaced by contemporary topics alongside the

> increased consciousness of the Sami identity as an indigenous people, gains in civil rights, the use of Sami language in education, and protection of the environment in order to maintain their way of life (including the traditional livelihoods).[42]

In its broad sense, music is therefore intimately connected with issues of *belonging*, *history*, *ownership*, and *understandability* which we encapsulate as identity.

In the transaction of a musical identity it might also be important to note the influence of *experienced time* on cultural identities, which are filtered through notions of time and time-in-place. First, identity forms and takes hold over an extended period of time. Therefore the passage of time, perspectives of the past, and the pace of change play important roles. Where the pace is slow and people have spent a long time-in-place as a cultural group, their musical identities tend to be stable and clearly formed. In a changing world this is increasingly rare. Young people in particular are able to move rapidly between musical worlds without necessarily changing identity, knowing and identifying the existence and diversity of such worlds. They do not have to "become other" to seek out, experience, learn, and enjoy "other" musics. The flexibility and fluidity of individual identities are determined by their existing system of ethics and norms. A certain core identity remains located in the world where they know, accept, and understand the inherent value systems. But increasing tension between different identities in the urban, modern environment reveals an uncertainty about where they belong in contemporary society.

Now, one might ask how cultural beliefs and norms are made apparent to others. For this, anthropologists refer to *identity markers*. These are qualities that provide both tangible and intangible cultural practices with their recognizable characteristics, even when they are seldom named or verbalized. Identity markers are

embedded in customs, dress, general economic practices, beliefs, and so on. In some cases markers may involve objects or qualities that are referred to as alienable or inalienable. Alienable qualities such as manner of dress, or colloquialisms or other qualities, are such that they may be transferred to new ownership relatively easily. They might also have been acquired relatively recently. Inalienable qualities, however, are so closely aligned with identity that they cannot or may not be transferable.[43] Magowan (2005) describes the Australian Aboriginal *didjeridoo* as a well-known example of an inalienable instrument. No matter how far it travels in the world or how it is commodified, its identity remains linked to the Australians. Coke and the big M of MacDonalds are American examples. But identity markers might also reside in intangible, embedded meanings, metaphors, and symbolics such as the bird mediation in Kaluli culture.[44] Or, they may become tangible in tonal–spatial, timbral, and rhythmic qualities as well as in instruments – their nature, construction, representation, decoration, and playing style. Think, for example, of the oud or the sitar. Dance, which is particularly revealing of cultural identity,[45] often contains several small but inalienable components which anchor belonging. Musical identity markers are often lodged in the minute details of musical performance, such as personalization of text, or the spaces that are created for others to appear in an interlocking melodic cycle, a vibrated tone or embellishment, a yodel, or throat singing. Such details might be of fundamental aesthetic importance and identify one as an inhabitant of that musical world.

> The primary value of inalienability is expressed through the power these objects [*or practices – my insertion*] have to define who one is in a historical sense. The object acts as a vehicle for bringing past time into present, so that the histories of ancestors, titles or mythological events become an intimate part of a person's present identity.[46]

A case in point is the musical expression of a Dhalwangu identity.[47] By using specific melodies that are identified as Dhalwangu rather than the general Yolngu group, they say they are Dhalwangu.[48]

The quotation above also brings Mari Boine's statement at the beginning of this chapter into context. The qualities that are inalienably rooted in peoples' shared identity are determined by value systems and are sometimes jealously guarded. The Mapuches of southern Argentina and Chile, for example, guard their *Nguillatun* rites with bonds of great secrecy.[49]

In different contexts the clothing or hairstyles worn by musicians, their language, and musical instruments might facilitate recognition, but the recognition might be of a stereotype. One could probably say that an over-emphasis of identity markers contributes to the creation and maintenance of stereotypes – identities that are thought to be static and unchanging. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that some of the existential identity angst experienced in urban, developed, culturally mixed societies results from the lack of clear markers and strong values. Some of these have been relinquished in the service of creating a more unified society. Others have eroded through lack of maintenance, like an old car rusting away against a shed. Inalienable qualities are therefore responsible for a sense of stability and continuity

in a culture. But cultural vitality demands a balance between the employment of alienable and inalienable cultural objects and practices in performing arts, between continuity and change. Thus, Magowan notes that the boundaries between alienable and inalienable qualities are not fixed and might in fact be part of a continuum of alienability.[50] Recognizing the difference between alienable and inalienable identity markers demands insight into a culture and especially its value system.

While identity markers provide visible and audible testimony of cultural identity, they do not necessarily imply *having* that identity. Wearing dreadlocks does not necessarily mean that one is a Rastafarian who practices only reggae music. Habitation of a musical world entails the constant reinterpretation and innovation of its music in relation to its surrounding environment in an ongoing cyclical, regenerative process. Hence, in their negotiations with an environment and the people in it, individuals reconstruct culture and identity through agency. In essence – musical identity does not reside in the markers nor in specific songs or dances. It resides in the meaning and value certain preferential musical processes and structures retain for an individual or collective, along with the rules or normative behavior by which the practice is guided. Clearly therefore, a musical identity is a complex personal and collective construct informed and inscribed by changing socio-cultural contexts. Only very isolated groups have a unicultural musical identity. One might stem from a south Indian culture, and be a radical hiphop star who uses traditional *tāl* in his music, and listens to Chopin's piano music late at night.

Musical identity is often confused with or linked to musical "taste." The latter is, however, more transient and open to a wide array of influences. Construed as transitory, and related to mood and situation, taste has been shown to be related to age, level of musical training and aspects of cognitive style and personality, and the notions of "taste cultures" and "taste publics" have been proposed to explain how social groups might have distinctive patterns of preferences and values.[51] For young people, music is a major way of transacting social relations. It is used as a means of entering a social group who share similar musical tastes. In this way it is also a means of delimitation – excluding those who do not share similar taste on the grounds that they "do not belong." Tarrant, North, and Hargreaves[52] refer to music as a social force that creates "in groups" and "out groups" which determine and maintain self-respect among the youth. Therefore, while taste does not equate to identity and might not even be a clear identity marker, one could say that broad patterns of preference form part of our musical identities because "[e]very musical genre is a latent cultural heritage."[53]

Finally, Ruud postulates that music is not only important in cultural contexts but also plays an important role in human developmental tasks such as the sense of self-in-relationship, gaining a sense of competency and empowerment, developing a sense of self, and learning values and authenticities.[54] However, what these values embody and how authentically they are experienced in different circumstances might prove extremely difficult to decipher. Perhaps it is to the meanings and symbols, messages one might say, that we should look to identify inscribed values and links to beliefs, norms, ethnicities, gender, religion, and politics.

From the above one may deduce that a primary purpose of inhabiting a musical world is to provide a reference structure for cultural identity. Musical worlds function as learning systems that help to construct, define, and refine a shared musical identity.

Counterpoint and Interlock by Even Ruud

Identity and Recognition

From a perspective where values and music are strongly connected, as we have seen in Minette Mans' text, concepts like "identity" and "recognition" become highly important. When music educators take on the task of empowering diverse cultural groups, taking a stand in a politics of identity, they can no longer base their musical practice uncritically on the established musical canon. Minette Mans' ethnographic perspective on music and music education disentangle the unspoken link between a dominant music, its aesthetics and the embedded ethical assumptions. In the new globalized situation, a whole spectrum of musical worlds are recognized as giving meaning, moral values, truth and beauty to the adherent cultural groups. This position, however, challenges our notion of a national curriculum in music. How can we as music educators deal with this situation?

Within a philosophy of recognition, music educators have to support and strengthen, empower and enable people to express and experience the music, which has become a part of their identities. If we accept this strong connection between music and identity and understand how musical identities are a crucial part of our human rights and personal dignity, music educators must engage in a debate on the politics of recognition. How far will music educators be able to go within a national curriculum program where the historical canon of one dominant group often sets the premises for the daily work in the classroom? Is it possible to grant privileges to certain cultural groups because of their musical idiosyncrasies and aesthetic significance?

In a world of migration and diaspora, to what extent will individuals be allowed to bring with them and learn about their own cultural roots? Will music educators continue to suppress, ignore or oppose the music of young people, sub-cultural groups, and certain social classes? Or is it possible to develop a politics of recognition which take care of national needs of equal rights at the same time as it grants privileges to the cultural needs and musical identities of various groups within a society?

A musical identity is established throughout our musical socialization through repeated encounters with musical pieces within our cultural surroundings. Musical experiences give rise to musical memories linking autobiography and emotion to time and place. When identifying with a music, that is taking a subject position within the flux of musical discourses surrounding us, we are at the same time positioning ourselves within a matrix of cultural positions, ethical and political values. Musical statements are performances of gender, ethnicity, moral values in addition to which we place ourselves within a history, a cultural group, social class,

and personal relations. Musical experiences direct our attentions and situate our identities within strong emotional and bodily felt experiences. Musical identities are strongly felt bodily as are cognitive appraisals of musical tastes. Musically constructed authenticities make our musical identities a deeply felt part of our dignity.

*Within the liberal society music education seems to have to negotiate between the following three options. Our point of departure must be how music educators may contribute to create citizenship in a just society, that is a society which through its laws and institutions recognizes its citizens as autonomous persons with different legitimate ideas about the good life, as well as legitimate expectations to be respected and taken care of. Within a position of **liberal tolerance** all citizens have equal opportunities to legal protection and to take part in social, economic and political activities, institutions and programs. Within such a society there is an absence of discrimination in the strong sense, even though such a society does not take any cultural precautions concerning their minorities. Since cultural dominance is kept secret the result is a weak form of discrimination. The argument behind such a position is often that homogeneity is necessary to preserve social solidarity or that it is legitimate to privilege the existent nation. In music education we know this position from the struggle to alleviate cultural and economic barriers, which hinder children from taking part in music education, and increasingly provide possibilities for a plurality of genres to exist side by side. This practice gives cultural recognition to forms of music which previously were not publicly acknowledged.*

*Another strategy would be to provide a more **neutral liberal culture**, a more activist position were one tries to avoid authoritative activities, institutions and programs in order to counterbalance the above mentioned weak discrimination. In this situation majority norms and needs and the monopolization of institutions and public spaces are avoided and instead equal rights are granted to support different cultural forms. In order to alleviate cultural barriers one would allow giving special privileges to certain groups or individuals because of their minority situation or handicaps. In such a situation teachers with a special music cultural background would be hired to take care of minority needs or musicians coming from marginalized groups would be granted official representative tasks in order to demonstrate symbolic neutrality.*

*The last position is called liberal **multicultural compensation** and here we will intervene in a situation and offer special rights and privileges, or economic support in order to secure equal opportunities. In this case, a musical minority will not only have the same offer as other members of the society, but also something more. How far a society will proceed in granting such privileges seems to be on of the main themes in many discussions about the multicultural society.*

Such a politics of recognition seems necessary in order to develop a healthy musical identity. Within such a philosophy of recognition, musical recognition encompasses the love, trust and empathy infants and parents share in their first musical encounters. The second form of recognition concerns the right to take part in the universal and formal rights, which all members of liberal society should have – including the right to maintain and develop a musical identity. The third form of recognition has to do with how we as members of a society experience being fully

part of a community through our contribution to the society on an equal basis and where we are recognized against the background of our particular identity.

Following the above thought-provoking comment by Even Ruud to which I will refer in Chapter 5, the issues relating to norms and values need to be addressed.

Normative and Aesthetic Values Invoked by Musical Worlds

In recent decades education systems have been laying increasing emphasis on the development of technological yet humane societies, implying that humane values should be instilled. Values education was introduced into schools in certain systems, e.g., the United Kingdom.[55] But despite good intentions, war, poverty, crime (including youth crime), and other social ills have increased exponentially.[56] People then turn to the arts – sometimes even reproachfully – and remind us that it is through arts education that (presumably good) values must be instilled, but they dismiss the demands facing arts educators, such as the challenges of multiethnic, multicultural, hence multivalue education. Political leaders look longingly to their (romanticized) pasts and reflect that modern humanity has lost its soul. As the honored Japanese music educator Yasuharu Takahagi has stated,

> Japan has experienced wonderful progress in science and technology, but the cost has been that material values have outdistanced spiritual ones. In this situation, the role of the arts in the task of restoring modern man's lost humanity seems to be vital.[57]

Is this demand realistic in a school situation? While it is true that music is a major vehicle for the transmission of social values, schools have rarely been the best sites for this kind of learning. Values are best inculcated within close-knit environments such as family and small communities (worship groups, choirs, ensembles) (see Fig. 4.1). Formal education's typical emphasis on individual achievement and competitiveness might overshadow the values that families and communities hold most dear. As political institutions, schools are obliged to implement national policies, usually in terms of dominant cultures.

Value is the "regard that something is held to deserve" (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*), as well as principles or standards of behavior. It stems from the Old French *valoir* – be worth. When the value of something has been ascertained, a value judgment has been made in terms of one's standards or priorities. Values have diversely been described as "good" things, and as personal and social preferences. Literature variously describes values as "beliefs, attitudes and feelings that an individual is proud of, is willing to publicly affirm"; as "emotional commitments and ideas about worth"; and "those things... which on balance promote human wellbeing".[58] Halstead settles on the following as a working definition:

> Principles, fundamental convictions, ideals, standards or life stances which act as general guides to behaviour or as points of reference in decision-making or the evaluation of beliefs or action and which are closely connected to personal integrity and personal identity.[59]

We are reminded of the societal basis of values learning that the ideas, language, and values we have and live by "are initially acquired from others – parents, peers,
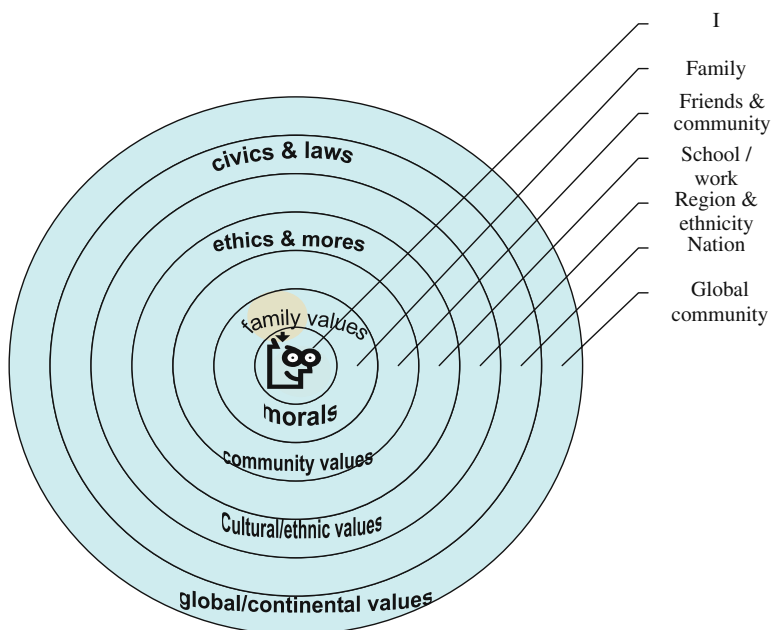
Fig. 4.1   Value levels in a broad cultural world

the school, the wider community."[60] Because general use of the term values invokes some form of judgment of worth, certain criteria for the making of those judgments are implied. In a relativist approach, such criteria are regarded as sets of subjective, not absolute, criteria. In this text I will refer to these value judgments in music as aesthetic evaluations. Certain types of music and musical practices are commonly held in high regard, while others are deemed of lesser worth, even worthless or alien.

By its nature, a value implies a continuum on which something is rated either a high(er) or low(er), or somewhere between good and bad. Therefore a value such as honor, for example, might not be felt equally important to everyone, especially when placed in balance against a different value such as kindness or consideration. Consequently, value interpretation is relative; it is influenced by time, place, need, and gender and is fundamentally influenced by family and cultural background. Therefore, among the troubling questions that arise when we think about values education are what values do we mean, whose values do we teach? What exactly are values and why are they important in education? We tend, sometimes, to speak of a certain value expecting others to attach the same level of importance to it. This might not be so. Moreover, because the system of social values also guides the way music is valued, it influences aesthetic evaluations.

In the next few paragraphs the role of societal values in music and in the development of aesthetic criteria will be probed.

Values and Music

> *You don't think little of your mother. You don't think little of your father. You don't think little of your elder brothers or sisters. In our tradition the people did nothing like that.*
>   Bernard Xaima Kaverekua Khaagub.[61]

As elaborated in Chapter 3, musical cultures are guided by a framework of rules and conventions that inform and bind musical practice. This means that musical cultures, like societies in general, are guided by systems of moral and ethical values and beliefs that are historically and culturally derived. Music is one of the forms through which values are exhibited to others. Other cultural symbols such as dress, way of living, and behaving toward others perform a similar task. Many serious human misunderstandings take place during interaction at the values level and with greater insight, might be avoided.

A true tale from Burundi might serve as an example. A missionary family of European descent moved to Burundi in central Africa. The minister planted a field of pineapples, hoping to harvest a bumper crop in this lush climate to increase his family's small income. However, every time the pineapples began to ripen, they were all "harvested" by the local population before he could. He accused them of theft – stealing all his pineapples. The people were shocked. They didn't steal, they said, they merely took what he possessed in abundance. They were hungry. He protested, saying that he had planted and worked the fields. They were his pineapples. The people threw up their hands and remarked that he clearly was not a Christian. How could he object to sharing? After three seasons, he gave up, and told the people that he didn't care any more. He had dedicated the field to God, and that they should just do as they thought best. Immediately, he had offers of help in the field, and the pineapples remained on the plants. After all, they said, they could not take what belonged to God. And so the harvest of pineapples was shared among everybody – although truthfully, I do not know whether the missionary took an equal share.

The moral of the story is clear. The missionary adhered to values of individualism and ownership, working hard for himself and his family, expecting to reap the rewards of his labor. He interpreted Christian sharing as a matter of formal church projects providing help for the poor and the sick, not sharing personal wealth. The local population held to collective values of sharing whatever the earth, the environment, or good fortune produced, and if something was needed then it could be taken. By the same token, "something" might have to be "given" (passed on) to others. Ownership was of lesser importance, except that which belonged to a supra-natural power. This had to be respected even in the face of personal hunger.

One might ask, what is the point of this story for music educators? As is true of most transcultural communications, values either ease or hinder relations. The same applies to understanding, performing, and appreciating music. Reflection will show that values guide every musical performance, whether in the grandest of theaters or the most poverty-stricken home. These values are embedded in the original purposes of the musical categories – the broad categorization that I have called the macro-organization of a musical world. Through purpose, these values become embedded within the musical sounds that are produced and the forms of musical process (the

musicing). For instance, when music is for entertainment purposes only, the personal or emotional investment into the performance is slighter than when music is for an important ritualized purpose involving beliefs.

In education it also behooves teachers to consider what values they personally convey to their students through their verbal and their non-verbal behaviors. Do teachers themselves demonstrate a real sense of commitment and interest in what they do? Are they often late for classes? Does "difference" irritate, even when one doesn't want it to? Is competitiveness encouraged in musical performance? Is much emphasis placed on the avoidance of "mistakes"? How much focus is placed on personal satisfaction and enjoyment? All these behaviors convey values held by a teacher – values that might or might not correspond with the values learners bring to the classroom. Whose values should prevail?

While working on this book and after thinking about values and publishing some articles on the topic, it felt serendipitous when I came across an article given to me by Andrew Tracey years ago. I had glanced through it without paying it the attention it deserved. So much of what I am trying to articulate, he has said previously and far more poetically. I would like to acknowledge the ideas which somehow subconsciously fed into my own. What emerges from Tracey's article on African values in music is the integral relationship of societal structures, beliefs, and values with musical performance and indeed, many other aspects of life.

> What is remarkable is how transparently African music reveals these ideas, as if it were a system designed directly to translate African thought into action and sound, a symbolic mirror image of African values.[62]

I suggest that the anthropology literature reveals that this is true for other musical cultures as well.

Broadly interpreted as a cultural world, we can discern several levels of values within what is generally referred to as a value system. At each level surrounding the individual, there appear to be different kinds of values transmitted or inculcated (see Fig. 4.1). Certain values seem to be tied up in human survival and are probably quite universal. Values might relate to particular ways of life, for example, sharing is vital to survival in poverty-stricken communities. Others are deeply seated within religious, philosophical, and ideological approaches to life relating, for example, to power, levels of social stratification, perceptions of time, and purpose of life. The values we perceive in the world around us obviously include religious, political, economical, moral, and ethical values. These are usually caught up in a country's constitution and laws. Within the diagram the most fundamental values are placed centrally because the values a child learns from an early age at home, mainly in terms of behavior, role models, honesty, and respect, usually remain very deeply held. This applies even when these values are absent or distorted. The (negative) effects also remain with the individual. Hence, even when informal, family and community values learning is deep and lasting, while other levels – often more superficially adhered to – are still considered important to society. At a greater "distance," values instilled at a national level have more to do with adherence to the law, civic behavior, and citizenship. Important at a national societal level, these

values often receive only superficial adherence. For example, everyone might agree that consideration for others on the road is necessary and good, unless they are in a hurry themselves. At schools and later in the workplace, values instilled include the importance of working together, relating well to others, punctuality, responsibility, competitiveness, striving to excel, loyalty. Schools especially tend to stress these values. But the more subtle cultural values, such as our attachment to material goods, our belief in stability or in change, individual striving or collective good, often remain unspoken. They might, however, emerge quite clearly in musical behavior, i.e., performance and response to music. "Inherent" cultural, racial, and ethnic values (which Ani[63] earlier referred to as *utamahoro* and *utamawazo*) therefore play a defining role in the diversification of musical worlds in particular times and places.

The importance of the above to education has much to do with specific countries' educational ideologies and philosophies. Stress might be placed at different levels. For most arts educators, however, cultural values would play an important role, as would the ethics that schools bring into play.

Socially, values are transmitted by various agencies and means, but it is up to the individual to accept and adhere to them. If we focus our attention on the socio-cultural values exhibited in music – observing the way people behave as audience or performers, experiencing musical processes, listening to the peculiarities of musical sound, we will notice things we recognize, like, or identify with. Yet it is only from *our perception* of the intangible values, the implicit meaning, and the imagery or emotions that the music conjures up, that we are able to fully appreciate it. A few examples will illustrate this.

Music itself has no intrinsic value. It is how it is valued by people that inscribes music with value. In cultures where the passage of time is valued, incremental value is lent to material objects of age. Hence, certain European and Asian art music are valued more deeply because they "have stood the test of time," whereby such music is perceived as "better" than music that does not remain in circulation for long. Conversely, for Indonesian *gamelan* music or Mozambican Chopi *timbila* orchestras, it is a sign of cultural vitality that music constantly undergoes change, as new music is developed and used and some music is discarded. Perceptions about the passage of time also affect the duration of a piece of music. In cultures where time has economic value, for example, a "piece" of music is usually finite with a definite beginning and end. Its time is meticulously recorded on a disc or film, down to the second. In other music, typically folkloric music, the passage of time has more to do with the "right" time for the music to be heard and performed (according to the frame of cultural rules and conventions), while duration is indefinite. Music can continue for as long as is required when other features have been satisfied. Some music can continue all night. While this demands a certain amount of musical repetitiveness, it does not mean one song is repeated endlessly. Rather, the musical template for that event might be repeated but supports different songs or a repertoire. Hence, the rhythms and beat, tonal combinations and instrumental combinations would remain fairly constant while melodies, performers, and words change.

For many, it is a concern that music education materials and textbooks which emanate from Euro-American societies convey the assumption that musical values are universal and shared among musicians and educators. This assumption is overturned when one considers the fragility of one's ability to comprehend, interpret, and evaluate "foreign" music. What are they singing about? Why do they make so much noise/horrid sounds/use ridiculous instruments? Some musicians suggest that a good performance can always be judged by the skills and technique of the performer(s).[64] Again this is questionable, because criteria such as achieving "purity" of tone, the ability to remain "in key," "strict" meter, breath "control" draw one back ineluctably to societal values. Consider, for example, purity of tone. In many musical cultures it is demanded of the singer and musician to attain purity of tone and retention of key. "Perfect pitch" is highly regarded. This implies that a singer should avoid a rising or flattening pitch. Yet in Sami yoiks (Arctic region) and African dance–play, rising pitch is a typical and valued phenomenon. Carol Krumhansl and her colleagues cite Arberg's findings regarding the performer's tendency to raise the pitch level over time and suggest that the phenomenon is emotionally conditioned. "A person may start to yoik somewhat cautiously and begin rather low. The growing certainty and engagement then leads to a rise in both dynamics and pitch."[65] In African singing, because of the intimate relation with dance, the cause of rising pitch is closely linked to the production of energy. One who judges these musicians unknowingly might conclude that they are inexpert, or lack voice control and aural acuity, or are simply "too excited." But not so, rising pitch denotes rising excitation among singers so as to exhort instrumentalists and dancers to excel themselves. In a different example, factories have in recent years manufactured a selection of "African" musical instruments for schools. These include sturdy, economical, *standardized* marimbas and lamellophones that produce good sound. Unfortunately, these instruments are not always acceptable to African musicians, because the tone is too "sanitized," too standardized. They produce only buzz-free, "plain" notes (with little tonal ambiguity) that fail to create the preferred buzzy, busy, mixed timbres of many indigenous musics. Tonal ambiguity in instruments allows for rising pitch in singing. For aesthetic reasons, Indonesian gamelan instruments also avoid perfect tuning and musicians rather take pleasure in the timbral range elicited when playing together.

From the above one can detect that we are often more deeply influenced by our value systems than by our musical knowledge, in terms of the qualities we perceive in music. Tracey[66] summarizes the most important African values expressed in and through music as "people," meaning a high regard for human beings, for good neighborliness; participation and cooperation, both of which underline the first and primary value; energy, meaning giving power and energy to others through performance; accuracy of relationships among the parts in music; movement, which brings the musical sound to life; and difference, whereby the part (or performer) only realizes its full potential "in relation to others."[67] Values in music in other parts of the world might resonate or be in conflict with these values and this has much to do with the structures of such societies.

   To outsiders, the formality of the masked performance of the Japanese art form Nô might seem to indicate conservatism (see below), formalism, and a lack of emotion. But to the cultural insider the value of the performer–audience communication is fundamental. The entire purpose of the performance is imbued with the ideal of gaining the love and respect of the audience (people). "Nô is not meant to be comprehended by the intellect. It is theater of the heart, predicated on direct experience through feelings"[68] where the experience transcends the normal bounds of time and space so as to reach a deeper consciousness.

   Values are often encased in verbal or other metaphors that hide meanings from uninformed outsiders. Because so many societal values remain unspoken, even hidden, the arts take on a pivotal role. "Arts are metaphors for the attitudes and assumptions of our culture"[69] is how Small sums it up. For example, a Valozi song expresses a social value through the metaphor "The frog has a wristwatch" (*Simbotwe sinani wachi fa lizoho*), meaning a person is showing off riches/property he/she has not earned.[70]

   In studying the literature on values in musical practice, it has been difficult to find information that identifies common socio-cultural values among different societies and groups, although David Hebert[71] brings this perspective out compellingly in his work on Japanese wind bands. For some reason, the actual naming of values appears to be a sensitive subject. But identifying and naming the values that are expressed in music could benefit education in many ways. Consider the potentially conflicting value commitments within distinctive religious, racial, political, or economic groups, or variations in gender and sexual concerns.[72] Even interpretations of what a society considers "normal" or optimal living are implicated. Educational practices that ignore built-in presuppositions and ramifications may come into conflict with localized value systems or human rights, often in unpredictable ways.

   At this point it is necessary to remind ourselves that values are not "possessions" we have, nor do they possess a life of their own. A value only "exists" when it is enabled or used to guide decisions and judgments. It is this insubstantial character that hampers discourse and belies the power of these decisions in influencing the course of history. Moreover, values are taken up into peoples' lives in different ways and because of the ways societies function values are often linked to one another. Adhering to one value often involves taking a stance on another. Hence, it is notable that people adopt and hold clusters of values. The possibilities for different strengths and combinations of values are potentially infinite.

   We will consider here some typical values held by many people across the world, but in varied clusters. Each has an influence on the kind of (cultural) music people make, the way in which it is performed and produced, and the consumer or responder effect. In many societies one might expect to find various permutations and degrees of values. I have expressed some known values below as extreme points on a continuum. Others are exemplified by their diverse interpretations and relations. Having spent a few years reflecting on the nature of values and how they become apparent in music, the following values seemed significant for music education. However, because values are so society related, certain important values may have

been left out because of my personal lack of insight into other cultures. The list of examples below can only serve as a stimulus for further reflection.

Values we might find in music would include

– *respect* for age versus youth; personal wealth versus shared subsistence; skill versus intuitive knowledge; humanity versus science. For example, valuing age means finding beauty in age, wisdom, taking time, self-composure, considered actions, rootedness, responsibility, serenity, old objects. Finding value in youth implies adherence to energy, vibrance, impulsiveness, lack of roots, new objects, unexpected results. Both of these might be valued and expressed in music and dance, but in different proportions
– *conservation* as opposed to waste of natural resources, human energy, words, noise, money, time. Valuing conservation might imply preserving, keeping things as they always were, inflexibility, using and valuing collections in museums, the "old masters," and their music. Conservation might also mean refraining from exertion, shouting, or loudness. Not holding conservation dear implies the easy relinquishing of old songs as they become too familiar and "used up," or flinging all one's energy into a performance, even allowing loss of control, falling around, singing until you are too tired to continue, etc. Consider how these are articulated in "art" versus "pop" music
– *striving* (to excel, to be a star, progress, ambition, effort, for development, for more, "nose to the grindstone," "tears and blood") as opposed to
– *blending* (never standing out, allow something else or some power to work through you, working together "as one" to reach a goal, teamwork)
– *control* (obedience, conductor, fixed harmony, perfect pitch, consonance, dissonance as tension that needs to resolve, pure tones, strict time, lines, identical costumes, fixed composition)
– *self-control* (choice, free communal harmonization, margin of tolerance, dissonance as lack of synergy, heterophony, no fixed order, improvisation, tonal ambiguity)
– *materialism* (ownership, "mine," keeping, permanent structures, expansion, development, copyright, individual composition, gathering knowledge through education)
– *non-materialism* (sharing, "ours," discarding, temporary, re-cycling existing templates with variation, collective composition, gathering knowledge through experience)
– *individualism* (competitiveness, star or virtuoso, exclusivity, striving for perfection, winning, "in your face," "pushing the envelope")
– *collectivism* (egalitarianism, communal participation, inclusivity, striving for synergy, taking turns, avoiding competitiveness, eyes cast down, repetition with small variations)
– *continuity* (lineage, life cycle, fertility, nature, supra-nature, reincarnation)
– *present* (living for now, making everyday work, performance as a one-off every time)

– *commitment and passion* (to practice, to quality, to sharing, to excelling; to family and partner)
– *loyalty* (to community, chosen direction, nation)
– *spiritual well-being* (introspection, collective worship, serenity, expulsion of energy, repetitiveness, trance)

In plotting certain values, one might want to consider what some of the musical outcomes are likely to be (Fig. 4.2).

Immediately catching the attention is the dichotomous antithesis of individualism and collectivism. Although much has been written about this in human studies the musical implications need to be examined.[73]

A society's stand on an imagined continuum of choice regarding individualism versus collectivism impacts fundamentally on performance and appreciation, as it does on so many other aspects of daily life. At one extreme the meaning of "virtuoso" or the expert in a society that values individualism supremely implies that they value solo above orchestral, chorus, or band performers. This in turn has bearing on the education of performers, weeding out those of lesser "talent" (a notion of inherited ability that remains ingrained in many societies) to make room for the superlative few. It also grants additional status to section leaders in orchestras, band leaders, in fact all "solo" leaders including presidents. Alternatively, a less individualistic reading of the notion of a virtuosic performance might reside in the ability of a cast to move the hearts of the audience, as described earlier in a Nô performance. At the opposite extreme (collectivism) a virtuoso performance might be realized by the ability to create "space" for others (to perform), or in the energy to continue when others have tired, or in the synergistic energy raised by the entire collective. I have observed Meki Nzewi capably demonstrating this value to young learners. When one person picks up a drumming pattern, the next can only properly play "with" if the first has created the temporal space and the "questioning" or inviting rhythmic statement that allows the second player to respond *as an equal*. Thus a drum conversation is begun, but still, room has to be allowed for others to find their places, either in imitative unison, by selective emphasis, or ornamental insertions, for example. Now a true drumming community has been created, to which voices and dancers and others instruments are added – each in their own space – without

individualism	collectivism
present	continuity
materialism	non-materialism
control	self-control
age	youth
striving	blending
conservation	relinquishing
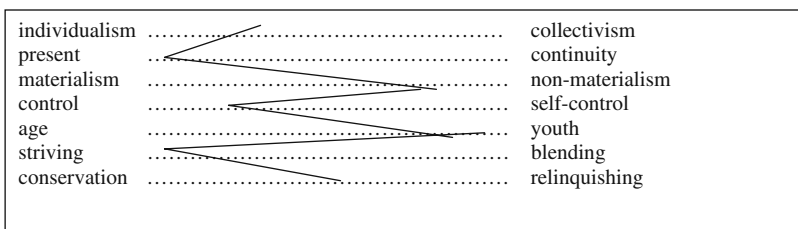
Fig. 4.2 A possible plotting of personal values

intruding upon others. In strong collectives, the striving for total loss of individual identity to strengthen group cohesion is embraced as virtuosic. This is the case in Vietnamese and Javanese temple dancing and in gamelan, for example. Toward the center of the imagined continuum an interweaving and mutual dependency of the body social and the body individual might be aesthetically emphasized. When implemented in music, the entire focus of a performance – in terms of musical process and focus for performers and audience – is shaped by the value stance taken, and so are the aesthetic criteria (see further on).

Commitment is a value that provokes another interesting perspective. Where music is seen as art (rather than functional medium), stress on commitment to the art form appears to be the norm. Many hours and years are dedicated to rehearsal and to the pursuit of excellence *as an end in itself*. The value of such commitment is usually interpreted as being "good for character building" and strengthening resolve or being able to deal with adversity. It is also closely linked to notions of loyalty to persons such as teachers or mentors, to the art form, an employer, orchestra, chorus, or even nation. When teaching studio classes, for example, piano, sitar, or kora, teachers demand exhaustive hours of dedicated practice from their students, often at the cost of other activities and time with friends. By contrast, many community-based musical practices see performance as an act and medium of social and/or spiritual communication. And commitment is limited to the actual hours during which performance takes place, demanding input, passion, and unflagging energy for that short period. "Practicing" an instrument alone is often considered odd, because music is conceptualized as a social activity – even when learning to play an instrument. There is no "working" or rehearsing alone, unless one is constructing an instrument, or just "fooling around" while improving technique. Learning to play *is playing* when you feel like it. The latter often takes place within a social context as well, with comment from mentors or family members to guide the player. In many African drumming ensembles, for example, it is almost impossible for one drummer to play "his part" alone. He does not conceptualize it as "his part," only as "one part of the whole." He knows in which temporal space to enter and how to adjust his playing to that of other drummers to create a collective driving sound where emphases (for dancers) are indicated by a coming together of the instrumentalists' actions at certain points in time. By playing with others the drummer learns where a bit of individual variational or improvisational freedom may be taken and where that just cannot happen. This approach should not be construed as a lack of commitment, as apprenticeships (formal or informal) require hard work and the building up of skill over time. Compared, however, to the kind of rehearsal practice that goes into a competitive band, the nature and form of the commitment are dissimilar. One focuses on the development toward a musical product (with accolades for the outstanding performer), while another focuses on the musical process or act in the short term (with appreciation for the modesty of a player who does not try to stand out but uses skill to synergize the collective performance).

In formal education the interpretation of values exposed in music might prove unexpectedly oppositional. It might involve value shifts between inclusive as opposed to exclusive musical practice within a band, for example. This has much to

do with a group's willingness to accept or reject having both skilled and unskilled performers in the same performance. Moreover, inclusivity influences the levels of skill required for a specific performance, and the scope for learning "as you go along" or demanding that expertise be developed prior to performance. Consequently, the range of inclusivity–exclusivity impacts on the criteria concerning musical and social acceptability.

In music and dance, values are part of the flow of the creative process, structure, and aesthetics of the performance. They dictate how, when, and where music should be performed or created, and what would be appropriate and relevant. All this forms part of the manner in which the frame of conventions and rules guides and binds a world of music. Therefore, because values inform and resonate as part of the landscape in which we live, we are able to interpret musical signifiers and their meaning within specific contexts. Such interpretation demands a conceptualization of the possibilities, values, and meanings assigned to cultural practices and allows for individual interpretation of signs in the surrounding world.[74] It is a contemporary problem that, for many reasons, traditions and norms are no longer efficiently or accurately transferred from one generation to the next. If we agree with Stokes[75] that music allows one to recognize fundamental aspects of society, articulate time and place, and grasp cosmological systems, then changes in music education must in return impact upon the articulation of time and place, social foundations and values. Societal changes such as globalization impact quite heavily on musical cultures. The resulting changes in musical practices affect the articulation of time and place by moving from rural past to global present, for example. Individual ties are transferred from family and clan to (multicultural) workplace and neighborhood. Values are adjusted or eroded. Multicultural situations create normative confusion. Typically, the media has more impact on value formation and aesthetics than families or the older generation.

Aesthetic Evaluations

As stated above, musical cultures are built on and reside in systems of norms and values, including aesthetic values. The latter represents modes of evaluative thought and responses that we associate with the arts. Any statement about the quality of a work of art, or that one work or one form of art is better than another, assumes that there are criteria by which one arrives at such a conclusion.[76] Lomax argued years ago that the "good" defined adaptive and normative social behavior and the "beautiful" defined aesthetic style or communicative behavior, which co-vary.[77] Kariamu Asante proposed that

> The foundations of an aesthetic can be found in the culture of a society. The value system and religious ethos normally provide and stimulate the creative setting for "stylized art", that is, art which is no longer directly associated with religion or ritual. The particular qualities of an ethnic group provide the ingredients which distinguish the aesthetic and enable individual expression as well as manifest collective expression.[78]

In music education, the preferred term for an evaluative act seems to be "appreciation." This is partly the result of the (sometimes negative) associations that the term aesthetic might have with a certain musical philosophy or approach,[79] or alternatively, a search for balance, order, and harmony.[80] These are, however, *not* the senses in which it is used here. As Tia DeNora so perceptively writes, music is one of the cultural materials or devices that is used to order societies. She suggests that music "brings into relief the expressive and aesthetic dimension of ordering activity," rather than only having bearing on cognitive and discursive "skill."[81] This brings into focus the force of aesthetic thinking in instilling and reinforcing social values, meaning far more than only how good a performer is or how beautiful the music. I shall be referring to aesthetical values in the sense of the systems or modes of evaluative thought that they infer. I propose that such modes of evaluative thought are structured differently in divergent cultural groups and contexts. Hence, in diverse worlds of music, aesthetic preferences can take a multitude of different forms.

Much of the literature in music education looks into aesthetics only from Eurocentric musical parameters. Fortunately, ethnomusicologists and dance scholars (ethnochoreologists) have done much work in this field, and I turn to them for background.

Thornton suggests that the products or practices we call aesthetic can be regarded as material parts, or extensions, "of the agency of those who create or utilize them,"[82] thereby indicating that aesthetics are not fixed or reified concepts or objects but the results of human thinking, knowledge, feelings, and agency. Asante (1985) draws our attention to the cultural foundations of aesthetics and the relation to values and religious ethos as a general principle. She reminds us that ethnic differences provide ingredients which distinguish the aesthetic, manifested individually and collectively.[83] With all the sensitivities that surround ethnicities and the looming shadow of racialism, Judith Hanna defends claims that aesthetic enterprises are fraught with suspicion and misinterpretation, by saying that efforts to identify aesthetics invite debate and investigation – even in dances such as a striptease.[84] Further, any aesthetic interpretation of perceived phenomena is subject to individual interpretation based on experience and knowledge, but there is always a sense of aesthetics being a sensitivity that underlies all cultural systems.[85] The functioning of each culture's musical world is based on its own peculiar cluster of values. These values guide the standards for performance and provide criteria for the judgment of quality. Because musical worlds are ever-changing in terms of detail and content, aesthetic evaluations undergo adjustments to accommodate new information or experiences. Aesthetics, nevertheless, remain in close contact with societal values and are relatively slow to change.

My emphasis on diversity throughout the text thus far does not contradict the presence of basic human values which can be considered universal, for example, caring about others. Nor does it contradict the fact that we all share certain psychophysical characteristics. Shared human characteristics brings about certain shared perceptions within music, e.g., loud/soft, quick/slow. These perceptions lead to some shared aesthetic features, such as preferences for combinations of twos (pulses) in danced music, because of our shared physical construction. Eerola[86]

maintains that even the small number of cross-cultural studies that have been done provide "evidence of both substantial differences and similarities in the aesthetic responses of people from different cultures," ranging from emotional responses to melodic expectancies, pulse-finding, and interval discrimination.[87] In general, though, even this meticulous empirical research found that cultural (stereotypical) "stylistic knowledge" is the most important factor in *interpreting* highly specific patterns of culture, such as language content or specific emotions in music. But stylistic knowledge is less important in processing tasks (musicing).[88] Extrapolated from these findings, it seems clear that aesthetic judgment requires musical interpretation and knowledge of the criteria that enable judgment of quality, all part of "stylistic knowledge." Hence, insider cultural knowledge.

Aesthetic thinking generally functions in a fairly predictable manner. Within the parameters of a musical world aesthetic principles and criteria reside in the surrounding frame, emerging from and linked to values and beliefs. "Inhabitants" therefore check a performance against the known (familiar) template of sound and movement for correctness; against the rules of the framework for appropriateness, and then look for innovations, superlatives, character, any of the qualities that take the performance beyond the ordinary.

In my research fieldwork in Namibia, I attempted to ascertain the nature of the prevailing aesthetic criteria among people in different regions of the country. Naturally, the formulation of such questions is very difficult, given that one is working through a translator. Questions I asked included redundant: Is that good singing? How do you know that? Should a singer have a "strong" voice or a "light" voice? Should singers communicate (eye contact) when singing? Should they sound "like one" or like many different voices? How is a solo (leader, starter) chosen? What should this person be like? When is a dancer dancing well?[89] What makes a poor dancer/hand-clapper/singer/drummer? Around and around went these and other similar questions, repeated to many different people, of different genders, ages, and status. People found these questions hard to answer. Mostly they seemed to think that the questions were meaningless because the answers were obvious (although not to me).

Some of the responses (aesthetic criteria in italics) are as follows:

- Mbueni said (Clapping is good) "when the players clap *with intense actions* (okuhakerera). Clapping exactly together is not important. Okuteta (lackluster clapping) is not good." Following his own praise singing, he told me that a good singer "can sing for a very long time." When asked what this meant, he explained, "The [praise] singer who knows, he can continue to make up words to sing *for a long time*," meaning that he has good historical memory and is able to extemporize.
- Weidjaza said "To see a good dancer, look at the feet." ["What must I see in the feet?" I ask] "The *loud* [heavy] *stamps*, the *quickness*, the *dust* [kicked up] and the *ankle bracelets* [must shake]...."
- Tjikundisa, a mouthbow player, said "A bad player is otjitandaura (always the same), but to *change* right there in the song – that is the good player!" Changes

refer to variations as well as extemporized changes in rhythm and meter, and vocalizations. Unexpected changes are valued, implied by "right there" [suddenly in the song].

- Kandondi, speaking about ondjongo, says it is good "[w]hen there are many people who can *play hard*. When they can make *good praise*, and when they can *tease* good."

  "Yes, but what about good singing?" I ask.

  "Heh?" she mutters. "The clapping must be *strong,* so that people can *play hard*. It's good singing when people *know how*."[90]

- Petrus had other standards, explaining that good "concert songs" (chorus singing) involved "*looking good* with nice clothes, all the same [color], and moving nice *together*. When we go round [in a dancing line] then the *smart moves* come." "Smart moves" involve individual style while "together" forms the main cohesive part of the song performance. The singing is judged by how well it inspires the dance, and how the latter elicits response from the audience.

In these statements one notices emphasis on intensity, improvising skill, knowledge of form, and visual/sensory effects. In other regions I have found greater emphasis placed on subtlety of movement (especially shoulders), humility of performers, and unflagging energy of drummers.

One of the main problems in the discourse about aesthetic thinking is located in the type of language that is used. The language is usually heavily laden with symbols. Some are conventional symbols that are culturally created, while others are symbols that express inner senses and sensibilities. Sometimes the symbolic and metaphoric language used is not comprehensible to others. I think of Beethoven's "wonderful development of a musical idea" in his fifth symphony as an example. When development is not a strongly held value, and when continuity and repetitiveness in music serves a very specific purpose, Beethoven's kind of development as a symbol (of social and economic development) becomes aesthetically meaningless and therefore redundant. The "change" that Tjikundisa refers to in his music is also a kind of development in music, but in actual fact consists of "putting together" musical blocks of pre-existing cultural music patterns in interesting and innovative ways. The aim of this kind of change is communication, storytelling, and contextualized interaction with the listener, finding ways to amuse and intrigue. Tjikundisa does not conceptualize this as development. In fact, in some cultures the expression "a musical idea" would have a quite different interpretation to what is meant above.

It is nearly impossible to verbally express some of the almost intuitive standards of judgment that people apply to music even across diverse cultures. And why not? A fundamental understanding of the notion of aesthetics lies in the fact that what we perceive provides some form of pleasurable satisfaction, whether it be intellectual, emotional, or functional. Should individuals perceive different qualities in a performance that does not matter. For educational purposes, however, it is important that we consider or show sensitivity to the values we evoke when we apply aesthetic criteria.

Aesthetic Criteria

In arts education, values can be approached via aesthetic questions relating to responses to and experiences of music, judgments of music, and musical taste or preferences. Schonmann suggests the following as focus for aesthetic thought:

> the communicative ability of a work of art, its ability to arouse emotions, to impart a sense of meaningfulness, its complexity, its technical aspects, the relevance of the themes of the work of art, and its sources.[91]

Schonmann's criteria are useful and comprehensive, but focus mainly on the work of art itself. Music might be seen to have "powers" as a stimulus to evoke certain affective, physical, or cognitive behaviors, but in and of itself music cannot be abstracted from its context and use. Reference to meaningfulness and relevance can only be interpreted in social context. Barrett provides us with a discerning overview and discussion of aesthetics in music.[92] Yet surprisingly, the social values that underpin and form aesthetic systems are not interrogated. Because appreciation of music is firmly seated in values, the relationship between social and personal values, and between those values and aesthetic appreciation require closer scrutiny, else music education is doomed to superficial consumption of aesthetics as "beauty." If we seek to understand the aesthetic values of different musical worlds, it is essential to grasp the criteria and principles[93] on which the aesthetic is based – as perceived by the "inhabitants" of that musical world in its context, and relating to its own forms of art.

The normative aspect of aesthetics – the way performance is evaluated – effectively means that criteria or norms such as Schonmann's above[94] undergo distinctive refinement by a cultural group and are used to assess the *quality* and *appropriateness* of a performance. The quality has much to do with the skills and communicative abilities of the performers, while the appropriateness relates to the frame of rules and conventions of the musical world. Performers generally "obey" the artistic norms and values their society and audience expect in order to be aesthetically appreciated.

In most musical cultures, the performance form and style are familiar to people so that they are able to respond aesthetically. This implies that the music conforms at least partially to the mental template. It may veer off into new variations or improvisations. When aesthetic criteria, performance content, and style are familiar, most people would be able to agree on an evaluation – yes, it was a good performance (or not). Their evaluation relies on past experience, training, cultural and personal values, and biases (or taste). This knowledge and experience is more commonly gained through informal education than formal.

However, when the audience is culturally mixed, i.e., using different aesthetic norms, it becomes more difficult to reach consensus. Further, even within one cultural group, there may be a lack of consensus when the performance's content or style moves too far from the process and frame of the mental template for a performance. This happens when innovations are thought to have "gone too far." The stranger the content and style to the audience, the less predictable the aesthetic judgment thereof. Some might love it, others hate it.

A few examples can serve as illustrations. Adrienne Kaeppler proposes that

> aesthetic experiences in Tonga are realized when fundamental cultural principles are made
> specific in works of art (that is, when the deep structure is manifested in a cultural form
> resulting from creative processes that manipulate movement, sound, words, spaces, or
> materials) and are comprehended as such by individuals.[95]

Most cultures reveal structured systems through the terms they use to guide aesthetic judgment. This was evident in the aesthetic qualities sought in the Namibian performances that I described above. Kaeppler, for example, has identified several basic principles in Tongan dance–music–poetry that are applied as aesthetic criteria. They include *heliaki* (indirectness of approach); *māli* (a sense of well done) and *māfana* (noting the familiar in the new); and skillfulness in the oratorical element of the sung speech. Contrast this with the formalism of two important Islamic aesthetic principles elaborated by Al-Faruqi as "most basic to and ubiquitous in the Islamic arts" namely the abstract quality and "modular" form.[96]

In the Gambia it is aesthetically required of a *jali* (professional musician) to demonstrate intellectual ability in music to satisfy the people.[97] What this implies is knowledge of the repertoire of epics, and the ability to convey spiritual and philosophical ideas through his music. These aesthetic norms are familiar to his onlookers or audience. In other words, they develop a level of connoisseurship –"an acquired ability to judge quality" on the basis of having observed many performances over time, and having heard many comments on the quality of a performance.[98]

In Tiwi (Australia) aesthetics, dance, language, and fire "focus their attention on what it means to be Tiwi."[99] A good song composer will provide a text "that is both spare yet can conjure very complex images and emotions" through their love of "big" (agglutinated) words.[100] For Tiwi dancers, body movements have to be directly in time with the beat, and a good dancer will "punch the ground," while the voice of a good singer must have a clear quality of voice with good rhythm and clarity of calls. In a culture where dreaming presents a holistic worldview that binds together all things:

> Sound reverberates through space, linking dancers and sacred spaces, bringing an aural
> dimension, creating a sonic presence to a site... and adding to the poetic experience of the
> land [and]. . . the beauty of the song text... bring together a quality of wholeness present in
> the Dreaming.[101]

In many of the performance arts across the world, synchrony and precise togetherness is a very important aesthetic criterion. Picture the perfect thrum of the feet of Irish dancers in *Riverdance,* or the rhythms of carnival drummers in Bahia, military bands, and many more. But it is also important to note that there are performances where synchrony plays no role. Television and film have had a singular impact on aesthetic evaluations in especially the United States, where the aesthetic of representational realism has become of singular importance, cutting across different cultural groupings. People seek images and stories which fabricate the real and attempt to produce a reality effect in television and also in the scores for films.[102]

In highly formalized art music and dances, the aesthetic criteria have often been carefully codified, as it has been for European art music and Indian dance. In

Kuchipudi dance (Andhra Pradesh, India), for example, evaluation criteria include the dancer's ability to sustain energy levels, call forth a commanding presence, perform seamless transitions between movements, and display inner concentration and composure – all this while becoming immersed in the spirit and mood of the dance and its music.[103] In European classical ballet gracefulness that belies the underlying strength, lightness, expressiveness, speed balanced against the ability to sustain an attitude, and clear male–female expressions are some of the main aesthetic criteria. Although classical music is presented in the form of fixed compositions, as is choreographed classical ballet, connoisseurship, innovation, and personal interpretation remain inherent to the Euro-American performance aesthetic and are applied in combination with the standard fixed forms.[104] The latter can therefore be seen as forms or variations of cultural templates. Again it seems important to seek the familiar in the new – or seek the innovative in the familiar.

Aesthetic dimensions familiar to many African musical cultures emerge as a love for symbolism and metaphors in dance, song, and art. For example, the prevalence of circles which also symbolize the circularity of life are also found in thinking styles and conversation, in musical form, art, dance, architecture, and other aesthetic arenas. The respect for both youth and age provides another example, in the appreciation of energy, vibrancy, physical beauty, strength, and youthfulness expressed through innovation and sexuality, contrasted with composure, "coolness," and subtlety which relate to a respect for age. I recall a dance in northern Namibia where everyone takes turns to "play" the dance as others sing and clap. A man was down on all fours, with his hands and feet flat on the ground. His wife danced around him, kicking up a lot of dust and keeping her hand on his head, while he stamped his feet and kicked more dust backward. The little vignette drew shrieks of laughter and ululations from the singers. When asked about the meaning of that little show, I was told that first, only cattle owners were allowed to perform the dance as they actually danced their history, identity, and their cattle in this dance. Second, in this specific picture, the man symbolized the bull and virility. But the woman retained control by keeping him on all fours while she "ran rings around him." This kind of humor and social commentary safely ensconced in the symbolism of the dance ensures aesthetic appreciation of the highest level in Ovahimba culture.

More specific criteria for judging the quality of a performance in, e.g., Namibia normally include the following:

- Level of skill of the performer ("mastery"), based on the abilities expected at given age levels and by gender. Skill means that a performer needs to master the art of performance – singing, playing, dancing, narrating – and master body, mind, and emotions, allowing the performer to transcend the here and now and become part of the music. The skill or ability of a performer is judged by the correctness of the performance when compared to the mental template of "how it should sound" or look. Correctness is a basic, lower level aesthetic criterion, a minimum standard. A good performer needs to go beyond correct and add "sweet" and "tasty" elements that exhibit extraordinary musical/physical skill, insight, humor, tenacity, or communicative ability.

- The care to make (temporal and physical) space for others, by giving (and taking) individual[105] turns, supporting weaker performers by partnering, etc., as an expression of collectivism.
- The ability to portray a specific or characteristic cultural style(s) accurately, by demonstrating its characteristic tonal–spatial and temporal qualities; wider or narrower ranges (in tone as well as body); overt or restrained use of energy (in drumming or dance); identifiable use of lines, shapes, and forms; emphasis on improvisation, variation, and extemporization; and the expected interpretation or relation among musicians and between music and dance.
- The collective continuity of the performance that has no climax but maintains energy over an extended period of time, by having different individuals flow in and out of the performance arena. This flow also emphasizes the importance of good entrances and exits into the performance – noteworthy, providing tastiness without disturbing the flow and egality. Performance that loses energy or "goes flat," is a negative experience and usually brings about the end of the event.

Clearly, aesthetic thinking and evaluation is something that requires much attention and sensitivity from music education systems, as it does from teachers. It requires insight into the structures, functions, constraints, and meaning of musical worlds.

Meaning

The literature on meaning contains many contradictions and differences of opinion. On the following, however, there seems to be general agreement. From Saussure (1957), Peirce (1966), and Barthes (1977) we understand that on a primary level, music is a signifier of culturally based organization of sound. On a secondary, interpretivist level, it has connotations that link up with wide systems of meaning that introduce ideological issues of class, "orientalism," race, and gender among others.[106] For example, militaristic music might hold different meanings for ex-soldiers than it does for youth today. Freedom songs from South Africa have certain connotations of race, party, militants, those who stayed at home, or white supremacists. But meaning-making is more complex than this. Meanings in contemporary times also undergo reformulation and re-articulation. Meanings imply attachment of connotations by agents on the basis of perceived meaning. To look into meaning one therefore looks beyond the nature of primary signifiers into the nexus between music and society, into the connotations that music has for cultural insiders, and sometimes outsiders too.

One of the fundamental questions has been does meaning lie embedded within the structure of sounds? Or is it assigned in society? David Best (2004) insists that meaning and the feelings it generates are in the music itself – "the meaning is inseparable from *that particular piece* of music" (emphasis in text).[107] How then, one wonders, would Best explain the fact that the meaning is so divergently interpreted by individuals, and more, that it remains completely hidden from some who

emerge from different cultures. By contrast, DeNora[108] stresses that meaning is not an "inherent property of cultural materials." Instead she warns that one should look at the ways in which "people, things, and meanings come to be clustered within particular socially located scenes" because such an approach leaves room for ongoing negotiations and renegotiations of meanings.[109] Lucy Green[110] identifies "inherent" and "delineated" meanings in people's responses. Inherent meaning, she says, lies within the configurations of musical materials, such as tonal sequences, chords, harmonic series, or cadences, and their interrelationships, as experienced by the individual. On the other hand, the "delineated" meanings are defined by the associations that a culture ascribes to them wherever music is produced, distributed, or received. The processes related to music reception include places, the composer's and audience's social class, gender, or ethnicity. In our experiences with music, Green explains, we respond to the musical materials, but also assimilate them into a system of social meanings. These meanings are therefore mutually dependent and interactive, and the music style represents the union between the two types of meaning. In Green's view, we are more likely to have positive responses to inherent meanings when we have a high level of familiarity with, and understanding of, the musical syntax. By contrast, negative experiences of inherent meanings are a result of being unfamiliar with the musical syntax.[111] Simply put, if it is possible for a person to fail to appreciate a piece of music because they do not understand it, then it should logically be possible to influence this lack of appreciation and understanding through education. This calls to mind again the importance of knowing cultural musical templates and identifying with them.

It is also useful to note that Green acknowledges an "ambiguity" in responses to music, when one aspect of its meaning is liked or accepted, while another is not.[112] Especially in multicultural contexts, where a person might "like" a certain music without fully understanding it, this sense of ambiguity plays a role.

The process of interpretation of signs and meaning is unfortunately seldom simple. Steven Feld asks "how and why can an acoustically simple phenomenon only be understood through recourse to complex social facts?"[113] Playing a musical instrument might involve a symbolic system rich in "the particulars of its situated meaning," because musical instruments are infused with meaning. They also create an arena for "meanings to be actively performed and communally reconfirmed."[114] Feld therefore confirms that meaning "in a communicative sense is dependent on interpretive action, action which is the alignment of cultural knowledge and epistemology with the experience of sound."[115] Interpretation derives from prior social imposition. However, cultural inscription does not imply that meanings are stable, seeing that they always involve mediators who bring "a" meaning to our attention through performance. Bowman concurs. "[M]usical meanings are multiple, fluid and dynamic", not structurally determined or defined. "They arise and are sustained in cultural context, and are enmeshed in webs of interpretants. . . ."[116] It is the "human–music interaction," to borrow DeNora's term, which produces musical meaning as "a process of material construction within sign systems."[117] This processual character of continuous meaning-making also surfaces in Garnett's description of musical meaning as "products of cultural listening habits."[118]

Understanding meaning-giving and meaning-making as a process is important to educators because socio-cultural meaning is not an outer layer that can be removed to get to "the music itself."

> [W]hile musical meanings are entirely a function of the culture in which they are embedded, this does not therefore accord them the status of a surface, removable gloss which can be peeled away from "the music itself". Rather, "the music" is itself built by and within its parent culture. It can be transplanted from one culture to another, certainly, in terms of both distance and time, and that new culture will attribute different meanings to it as it is differently constituted by history and geography. There is, however, no extra-cultural locus from which to observe music, nor extra-cultural meaning to observe.[119]

Considering its layered complexities and processual qualities, meaning in music (and dance) can perhaps be pictured in terms of landscapes – moving and changing landscapes that are inscribed upon bodies and revealed in music and dance. A landscape contains considerable information and is a conceptualization of all the possibilities and values that reside in the surrounding world – created by self, family, community, and broader environment. Similar to painted landscapes, cultural landscapes contain signs for us to interpret. Every sign means something specific to an individual within a context. Musical sound, actions, movements, and procedures are important signifiers in a culture-based landscape of organized sound, where meanings are assigned to cultural and political practices, and interpreted by individuals interacting with other individuals. In the cultural sense, we can also speak of memory landscapes – individual, collective, and transitional landscapes. Music creates and anchors a sense of belonging to the landscape.[120] So meanings can be read in the way a musical performance asserts and projects identity, and reveals and maintains social structures and values concerning gender, age, and class levels; religious, moral, and interpersonal values; affect and intellectual content (knowledge); political significance and ideology; and the transmission of language and culture.

Against this backdrop of landscape, let us probe the manner in which meaning is constructed through musical sound and dance or movements associated with the music, as they visually carry meaningful gestures, expressions, dress, objects, or paraphernalia that assist interpretation.

Meaning is usually assigned to music within a specific time and space framework that includes the performers, the manner in which they are performing, a context for listening or socializing, and the people among whom one finds oneself. Meanings are often encoded and interpreted differently in different circumstances. Different contexts – different meanings. Sustained meaning depends on the congruence and consonance between the values of the society and the values exposed in the music system. The meanings assigned to music give it the power to convey and create feelings, thoughts, attitudes, and ideologies. For example, Allbright draws our attention to the epistemological status of the body. Dance, she says, foregrounds "the social markings of identity on the body, using movement and text to comment (often subvert) the cultural meanings of those bodily markers."[121] She refers to a "slippage" between the lived body and its cultural representation, between a somatic identity and a cultural one that renders meaning in society. In the dance, therefore, we can

read social meanings that have been formalized and relatively stabilized. But we can also read individual meanings (messages) brought by individual performers. From our own "slipping" between these possibly conflicting meanings, we draw our understandings.

Clearly, meanings in music are often highly symbolic, disguised in metaphors. The encoding of meaning and messages in music is, phylogenetically, a human activity originating in the need for survival and over time formalized in rituals.[122] It therefore seems likely that because music grows out of societal needs and fulfills purposes, it carries overt and covert meanings conveyed and confirmed in performance and listening. For example, the order in which people enter a performance arena and apply decisions about who may perform is an indication of societal structure. Texts of song may stress normative behavior in cultural metaphors. Performance modalities convey meanings in terms of space (lines and circles or historical inscriptions), concepts of time, control, gender, and so on. Referring back to the previous sections, there are clearly links between values, aesthetics, and meanings. Basically, music has meaning for us when we understand and accept the embedded values. Then it has the power to stimulate and convey feelings, thoughts, attitudes, and ideologies.

As I am only really familiar with meanings in some African contexts, I will use these as examples. Symbols are used abundantly to convey cultural meanings and values. In Namibia,[123] for example, cattle symbolize wealth, security, and fertility. The use of movements that symbolize cattle in the dances, the use of skins in accoutrements, and metaphors in the texts convey distinct messages about certain a person's virility, or wealth, or marital power in the home. Among Silozi-speaking people, a masked healer performs to the accompaniment of singers and drummers. The healer's movements convey physical as well as sexual power through demanding shoulder, leg, and pelvic movements that demonstrate his skill. According to Samende Mulaula[124] the meaning lies in the intricate choreographies (complexities of healing knowledge), prodigious leaps (energy, power), shudders (pain and illness), and rolling on the ground (destroying the sickness and revealing his communication with the spirits). The drums speak powerfully, calling for participants, increasing volume and intensity when dancers get tired in the night, always streaming energy into the dance and hence, the healing.

Further south, the Khoesan-speaking Ju/'hoansi,!Kung, and Kxoe people dance their communal healings almost fortnightly as a preventive measure in this, their most important music. The shivery movements of the shaman exhibit the experience of heat and pain caused by the rising and boiling of the *n/om*. For this reason (and the potential danger of the shamanic journey) healers are carefully observed by the singers and assisted where necessary, as they commonly suffer nose bleeds. The complex plurivocality of the accompanying singing has meaning not only in terms of social structure but also in preventing evil spirits from entering the healing arena. In the Ju'/hoan cosmology, the eland is imbued with spiritual meaning. The dance *djxàní tcxáí* (the eland dance) has exceptional meaning for this reason. Considering that many (although not all) Ju'/hoansi still practice hunting, it is not

surprising that their dances and musical repertoires are assigned animal names, with few exceptions. These are so meaningful to the people that repertoires may only be performed in certain combinations, some being forbidden in the same performance. Custom and the meanings assigned to certain repertoires prescribe which should be performed to ensure good hunting, or to celebrate a successful hunt.[125]

In the past, when Namibian men were conscripted into forced labor, they were separated from their families for extended periods of time. While traveling on foot or in buses, they often sang about their loneliness. In these songs they communicated their fears of hardship, worry about their partner's fidelity, money, and the dangers of travel (some were eaten by lions while traveling on foot or bicycle through the Etosha National Park). According to Andreas Shikulu[126] these meanings are located in both melody and tone (wailing, sliding, descending passages) and poetic texts.

Some songs evoke remembrance of pain, war, repression, and conflict. Among eastern Namibians, *outjina* songs recall the Herero genocide under German rule. Dina Kandovazu[127] sings in poignant metaphor the bravery of their cattle, hungry, and thirsty, facing the German troops without sound before being exterminated. Arms raised to symbolize cattle, her hand movements flutter, and arms fall sorrowfully before the singer raises her head and continues at a higher pitch, stronger tone, thumping her *otjipirangi* (foot plank) with determination.

As Wenger so succinctly puts it, interpreting meaning in music implies being able to experience the music (in its place in life) as meaningful.[128] These brief examples probably seem unfamiliar to most readers since cultural contexts around the world vary so greatly. In using them as examples, I am not trying to promote exoticism or other schisms. Rather, I am encouraging a deeper look into one's own and other musical cultures to find what is hidden there. What treasures of meaning and experience might we discover?

Perspectives on Musical Worlds Located in Complex Cultural–Political Settings

With the worldwide increase in urbanization and travel, families are increasingly split up and people detached from the safety of familiar normative environments. In culturally heterogeneous urban societies established musical worlds often cease to function effectively, especially in terms of applying aesthetic judgments. This might only be a temporary state of affairs, as individuals soon adjust to new situations and learn new things, including new musical practices. But the selection of what is to become part of one's new musical world might not be simple. There are multiple new influences, familiar forms of performance or creative environments might not be readily available, negative connotations are often attached to traditional practices in urban societies. The inevitable changes provoke interesting questions, e.g., how effectively do established cognitive musical structures function in altered environments? How do changes impact on aesthetic appreciation? When musical identities

are re-formed in culturally mixed societies, what are the value systems that underpin them? Are these known to the individual?

In many cases, entering an unfamiliar world or being unable to perceive structure in a new environment might cause a sense of dislocation. People search for "something" to fill spaces created by the lack of contact they experience with familiar practice. In most cases, youth will fill this with what is most readily available – global popular music. Contact with easy-access media invites the construction of a musical world that conforms to standards and rules that unite the youth on their own grounds, including the adoption of a new, youth-based value system. The latter might bear little or no resemblance to that of their parents or culture of origin, placing additional strain on family and cultural values. Several researchers[128] have pointed out that music to young people is one of the most important bearers of identity, and often determines social group, clothing, behavior, and so on, in temporary and more permanent ways. As Karaoke Bob tells us in his own words, ". . .whatever music we play, they tend to react as different individuals [i.e., through the adoption of different personae]."[130] Adorno went as far as proposing that music is formative of social organization and social consciousness.[131] Despite his apparent misguided allocation of power to music "itself," I choose to think he might have conceptualized "music" as a broad praxis; not only an outcome but a system of thinking and behaving musically so as to create and experience a (unique) form of society.

In southern Africa, because of its political past with typical colonial impositions of ideology and culture (unsuccessful in the long term), many tensions exist between notions of tradition and "modernity." Fraught as both these terms are with interpretational difficulties, we are concerned here with the musical traditions of the past which are mainly located in rural environments, and contemporary popular culture, mainly located in urban environments. I stress "mainly" because as development of rural infrastructure takes place, even the smallest villages are catching up with the Internet and mobile communication. Conversely, many "city people" are in a phase of "searching for their roots" and create a kind of resurgence or urban reinterpretation of their cultural traditions. More commonly though, tradition is equated with an acceptance of colonialism, a lack of development and a lack of education. The performance of ethnic music traditions in the city is commonly seen as an exotic, slightly pathetic exhumation of practices long dead, favored only by tourists and "colonials."

The attitudes described above are understandable, considering that the urban environment means loosening ties with a traditionalist rural culture and its values, and embracing fast paced, ever-shifting city frames and expectations.[132] Cities are increasingly multiethnic, multiracial, multicultural, and stratified by class. There are those who have always been urban people, and their musical worlds are based on the constructions of that particular environment. For many others, however, a move to a city follows a break with homeland as they seek a new life and employment, or flee from war, poverty, or famine. Such people bring with them traces of traditional musical worlds, but are often eager to find, explore, and assimilate new cultural worlds – thereby changing their musical identities and becoming a member of the new society. Others cling to their idealized vision of homeland ("heimat") and try to

create small ethnic or cultural enclaves where they might feel more at home living according to their known value systems, even if it involves a form of segregation from the rest of that society.

It has been my privilege to work with students over many years, observing changes and developments. In Namibia I found that over time young peoples' knowledge of ethnic dance and musical traditions has diminished, while at the same time, their enthusiasm for this knowledge has increased. Sadly, they do not know where to find it. The erosion of their traditional musical worlds is most clearly evident in their inability to name types of music and repertoires, and their lack of understanding of performance conventions and broad categories of performance. They are, however, well able to recognize the musical sounds and movements and tend to delineate this by ethnic group. The practical aspects of instrumental musical traditions, on the other hand, such as the playing of drums, bows, pluriarcs, lamellophones, and horns have all but died out in urban areas and is increasingly rare in rural areas where it tends to be the domain of older people (50 years plus). Younger people have completely assimilated instruments such as guitars, keyboards, brass and woodwinds, and drum sets. The implications of this paradigm shift are different instruments, which imply different musical concepts, songs, and dances; hence, different or new memory landscapes drawn by the music. Ethnic traditions are being replaced by continental (African) and global traditions that are increasingly foreign to their cultural elders. The young, however, are emphatic about the fact that they are in a process of creating new – although still ethnically defined – culture. They speak of Owambo shambo, Damara pantsi (punch), and so on. Success is varied. As Boli Mootseng, a local rapper explains "Since independence people [Namibians] have been in a position to produce (their own culture), but don't quite know how to go about it."[133] He goes on to refer to a more generalized music product common to the southern African region.

Some of the outcomes of these developments are becoming clear. Colonial education up to 1990, music education at schools (previously not available to the black population) after 1990, and the young but rapidly expanding music industry with its successful stars have all contributed to a value shift toward the idea that music is an endeavor for an elite group of talented artists. This has resulted in the rapid disintegration of a very successful informal learning system. The circularity of life which was symbolized in dance and musical form is being replaced by a linearity – physically in lines on stages facing a non-participative audience, mentally with definite musical beginnings and endings. Multicultural contexts preclude the use of traditional symbols and metaphors as they would not be fully understood. The frame of performance as a reflection of societal norms perforce adjusts to the demands of a global community.

Because ties with often distant rural pasts and agrarian practices have been severed, city inhabitants often categorize their musical worlds mainly in terms of *place* (music for theater; for clubs; for stadiums; for schools; for church) and *purpose* (political music, entertainment, religious). Each have their own rules, processes, and values. A substantive category such as entertainment music is sub-categorized by a combination of genre and place, for example, jazz and jazz club. This is

aside from the huge category of listening music which is, more and more, causing all ties with place and purpose to be relinquished for individual consumption. In urban landscapes musical performances are seldom open to all bystanders or onlookers.

In each of these cases and the many variations in between, identities are undergoing processes of change, adaptation, even fragmentation. The structures of musical worlds are becoming vague. While much of the literature views this as a simple process of acquiring new musical knowledge and experience, the process may have deeper implications. As stated in Chapter 2, musical cognition and the ability to decipher musical messages and meanings are developed from a very young age and soon become relatively stable. Along with the sound goes the musical and social behavior and this conduct is guided by social values as much as musical principles – in some cases even more. The absence of this scaffolding can toss (especially younger) people into a sea of insecurity and anxiety. A constant "fill" of recorded mp3s and mp4s via earplugs that shut out the rest of the world and do not intrude become a source of soothing escape. I have observed a young girl taking tearful and angry leave of her mother and siblings at the airport. Barely able to stumble through the boarding gate with tears still streaming down her face, she ended up next to me on the aircraft. Even before takeoff she had donned her earphones, set her ipod, and was soon nodding her head and feet. For 10 hours this constant feed of isolating music enabled her somehow to deal with her feelings, and she disembarked apparently a different person. Music was her means to bond with "a" group in absentia, likely a youth culture diluted by physical and temporal distance. Is this merely a soporific effect, or an ameliorization, helping her to deal with the strains imposed by contemporary life?

In order to provide a broader view on musical worlds in contemporary cultures in different geographical locations, I have requested several colleagues to provide their insights.

African Metropolitan Versus Rural Worlds by Meki Nzewi (South Africa and Nigeria)

Kofi Agawu gives a succinct historical synopsis of the colonial agenda that embattled the meaning and practice of indigenous African musical arts, and concludes, that "Colonialism has produced a complex musical society in Africa", and the pre-colonial practices of indigenous arts are currently expressed nostalgically.[i]

The premises for this contribution argue that there is an underpinning African generic musical arts philosophy, theory and aesthetic, which are not offered as systematic education in the classroom but which continue to benchmark oral creativity and practice in rural more than metropolitan sites. Metropolitan practices evidence

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[i]Agawu, K. (2002). *Representing African music – postcolonial notes, queries, positions* (p. 22). New York and London: Routledge.

greater inclusion of exogenous creative theory and performance practice as well as notions of the aesthetic that have been intuitively acquired as would be expected of the culture-mix normal in urban living. Thus the original cultural mind of the metropolitan African more than the rural African is already overwhelmed by the diverse world musical identities spewed by the public education sites – the electronic entertainment and marketing jingles, popular culture sites, lingering indigenous cultural observances, religious places, technological listening devices etc. These all promote flippant musicality for sheer materialistic and entertainment objectives. The distinction between the current African rural world and the African metropolitan world would then be discussed in terms of degree of altered worldview that alters creative imagination, self-imaging, cultural retention, and overall musical value.

The multiplying doctrinal dialects that now conflict foreign modern religions, Christianity as much as Islam, first attempted to erase the original cultural mind of the African convert. Now they strive in tandem with exogenous education visions and entertainment industry to reinvent African musical arts intellect. The combined efforts to undermine and thereby erase African cultural mentality have resulted in resolutely corrupting the sublime spirituality that marked the indigenous worldview and life systems. Indigenous Africa coerced respect for others' life and healthy communal psyche as cardinal qualities of being a human person in a community. And the musical arts[ii] was institutionalized as an Ombudspirit with the divine mandate to transact such psychical wellbeing of both the individual and the human collective, and thereby infuse basic morality and other/group consciousness in the conduct of all societal systems. The musical arts that discharged this commission was not envisioned as the marginal and flippant entertainment indulgence that marks contemporary music education, creativity, performance and public dissemination doctrines as well as practices. The indigenous philosophy and formulaic practices enabled the indigenous musical arts as an incorruptible functional agency that guaranteed common human goodness in the conduct of every other societal institution or practice – political, social, religious, economic and health (curative and preventive, for the individual and the public). And the specialist practitioners, who served as the conscience of the every autochthonous human collective, were respected as sacrosanct functionaries who discharged their specialist commissions and actions with integrity irrespective of gender, age or material status. This background sketch of the meaning and purpose of the musical arts in indigenous African worldview is important because informed understanding of African conceptualizations about music should inform reflections on the current education practice as well as the future that would reinstitute the musical arts as essential service to society.

Definitely the mental civilization that characterized autochthonous African societies was buttressed, processed and validated by the musical arts. The society placed high premium on the sustainable development of the minds of the individual as well as the collective: A sound conscience would ensure sustainable material

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[ii]Musical arts is discussed in singular term because it is a symbiosis of music, dance, drama, and motive material arts in indigenous African conceptualization.

development that has endearing human virtue. In indigenous African worldview achievement must be evaluated on the basis of its virtuous merits, normally monitored and validated by the musical arts. Criminality was an uncommon disposition or occurrence at high and low stations of society. The current global gospel of sustainable economic development is driven by materialistic and Ego priorities, and is as such fundamentally destitute of humane conscience. Its capitalist doctrine and methods have disorientated and diseased the life orientation of the African in both metropolitan and rural locations. The blatant rampant criminality that sustainable economy practices breeds – in high and low places, metropolitan as much as rural locations – scars the manifestations of modernism globally. Sanctioning and containing criminal dispositions was a critical mandate of indigenous musical arts content, education and practice in African societies. The capacity of the musical arts as an intangible force that curbs criminal tendencies, which I am arguing, is basic to its original design as a meta-science of attitude formation, and its subtle delivery method, artifice, as a humanizing play, pamwe (Mans, 2002). Purposefully designed music education curriculum and practice that derive from the epistemology of the indigenous paradigm could still instill sublime psychical disposition, from early education to adult sensitizations.

Modern classroom musical arts education logic and curriculum design in African countries have been crafted to enforce extraneous hegemonic models. The fact that a grid exists of philosophical, theoretical and functional rationalizations that foster healthy mind and societal systems frame indigenous musical arts conformation, has eluded the culture-ignorant experts (Nzewi, 2005), foreign and African, who have so far formulated modern classroom musical arts education. The design of a curriculum as well as evaluation objectives should be such that take into cognizance the peculiar needs of the human/culture mix in the multicultural metropolitan classroom and the more mono-cultural rural sites. Modern classroom musical arts education should essentially champion the restoration cum literacy advancement of the humanizing and mind-healing missions of the indigenous theoretical and methodological paradigms. This, as argued, will entail discerning, re-formulating and incorporating the fundamental meta-scientific knowledge that under grid indigenous creative manifestations. Learners and teachers will then be oriented to research and harness such culture specifics available in their local environments, rural or metropolitan, for illustrating and experiencing the common theoretical and philosophical templates.

There is paucity of authoritative literature and learning texts that explicate the indigenous theoretical, philosophical and psychological formulations of African musical arts. Authoritative texts for musical arts education in Africa must importantly recognize that music, dance, drama and motive material arts are siblings of a holistic creative worldview, and that contemporary African learners still retain the genetic knowledge integrity to a large extent. Evaluation criteria should provide standard templates that would accommodate different culture-peculiar and location-specific variables. In summation, what is essential for musical arts learning in Africa is how to adopt a literacy approach to the analytical culturing (knowing and doing) of the rich, unique and humanly valid knowledge heritage. The content of

classroom education that imposes remote European classical music philosophy and theory as the fundamental knowledge base violates the viable human-cultural experience and creative imagination of African learners. The policy continues to alienate and frustrate African learners, and frustration generates anti-social tendency. European classical music should, however, constitute a supernumerary inclusion, but not the core knowledge base that makes African learners disenchanted mental clones of exogenous knowledge lore.

Aesthetics: Africa boasts strong aesthetic discipline in musical arts practices. The African aesthetic is perceived and expressed in practically valuative as well as contemplatively evaluative dimensions. It thus incorporates the European classical contrivance of the meditative (quality of creative content and interpretation of an event of musical arts) but lays premium on the functional dimension (effectual benefits of event musical arts).[iii] Functional aesthetic, the hallmark of public approval, marks indigenous musical arts appreciation. Aesthetic expression in Africa is, therefore, commonly a practical gesture (group and personal) that is forthright, creative and sincere. This is especially so because participant-audience is the norm in indigenous Africa, and the reaction to a presentation is part of the creative-presentational process, and not normally the auto suggested and prescribed gesture of hegemonic aesthetic convention. There are indigenous terminologies, albeit often metaphorical, for discussing the contemplative dimension of aesthetic judgment.[iv]

The primarily functional orientation of indigenous musical arts warrants that education in aesthetic aspiration should continue to emphasize effectualness: The degree to which the structural conformations and performance experiencing of a type or piece have accomplished the humanistic/societal purpose that warrants its creation and public presentation. This immediately requires that creativity in education and public contexts should continue to envision entertainment as an artifice that innocuously enables discharging an edifying purpose, humanning or societal. In the African sense we, therefore, decry education in composition and performance that makes vacuous entertainment the primary goal. Education of the musical arts educators for Africa should then prioritize cognitive knowledge of the philosophical and theoretical principles that frame indigenous musical arts structures and form.

Composition and performance should be compulsory at all levels of education, and emphasize group composition as well as the knack for performance composition (spontaneous re-composition of a standard framework involving participants at varying degrees on every performance occasion). Composition exercises in the classroom should also inculcate the African indigenous compositional theory that structures the imperatives of communal spirit – building and bonding relationships. Contemporary compositions should also aspire to transact the indigenous human ideal of interacting performers and audience in the classroom as much as the concert hall. Cognizant knowledge of the indigenous theory of healing structures and

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[iii]See Nzewi, M. (1991) for indigenous perceptions of "music-event" and "event-music."

[iv]See Adedeji, O. 2006; Agawu, K. 2003; Nzewi, M., 2007.

environment must be a critical component of education in music therapy and music psychology. After all, indigenous musical arts was institutionalized as a healer of souls, emotions, and overall physiological wellness. These are discussed in African culture-sensitive books (Nzewi, 2007).[v]

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Multicultural Europe by Eva Fock (Denmark)

A European perspective on cultural diversity within music education is unavoidably a perspective in plural, as the variety of historical and political settings have provided different experiences and thus shaped our views upon cultural diversity differently. The cultural diversity in Europe is shaped through different histories that create different conditions and experiences. It is a little like a multifaceted crystal, where each facet provides a different world view, a new perspective.

To some countries diversity is life itself, a condition or even the key to the culture. To others it is a new and shocking experience, maybe even unwelcome. Whether originating from nation states including different ethnic groups, from nation states that have absorbed different populations from the region, from colonial powers that over the years have been confronted with new citizens that had civil rights, from migrant workers or from refugees, it has to be taken into account.

Understanding cultural diversity includes reflection on multiculturalism, national identity and general world view. We sometimes tend to forget that cultural diversity is inherently a part of any country, no matter how homogeneous it seems, as different cultural and social groups live together, share arenas and exchange or

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[v]Nzewi, M., 2007.

challenge values. The educational system is an important arena when it comes to the transfer of values and world view on to new generations. But what are the values related to cultural diversity, what kind of understanding and awareness dominates and do we act accordingly?

Episode 1: African world music

The two Ghanaian teachers, one dancer and one drummer were teaching the 25 children how to play and dance in one of the local schools in Arhus,[vi] Denmark. Their visit to this and other school classes was part of a larger world music project, where World Music Center (WMC), the local music school that has specialized in world music since 1997, collaborated with the municipal schools in the area.[vii]

Part of the time the children were sitting in a circle with djembe drums in front of them, playing. At other times they were taught how to dance all together. The energy level was high and the experienced teachers were good at involving the children. Yet, several times during the lesson you could find two boys with Pakistani background and one boy with Turkish background standing together looking uneasy. The African music and dance seemed to make them feel almost physically unpleasant.

Cultural hierarchies are found everywhere, also among immigrants. Not all "ethnic" music appeals to all "ethnic minorities" or is equally appreciated. To many people from the Middle East, African music has negative connotations. The same attitude toward African music dominated Europe in the early 20th century, and is still found in some circles. Especially the freedom of the body in the African music that is promoted in the West seems to offend some.

Rationale A: Socializing

To present African music in a Danish classroom is no longer unique, it is found all over the country. In fact, if world music or music of the world is on dominating repertoire in Denmark is African, especially West African djembe (combined with simple dance steps). Cultural diversity has become more or less synonymous with this kind of music, but why? According to music teachers, the African music is available on the market: CD's, teaching material, teacher training courses and guest teachers. And most importantly: The music is what we could call "efficient": It is

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[vi]Arhus is the second largest city in Denmark, with app. 250,000 inhabitants.

[vii]WMC is the only of its kind in Denmark. Other music schools might offer courses in some kind of world music, but their main focus is still on western music. WMC aims at (1) presenting world music to the pupils, (2) reaching the many children with minority background that do not normally attend music schools, and (3) making use of the many ignored artistic resources among the immigrant population. In their presentation they say "World Music Center (...) tries to create positive cultural interactions, using music and dance as cultural icebreakers. Music and dance offer an intuitive and physical approach towards the understanding of cultural differences by overriding normal barriers which often exist when one tries to speak about a culture's basic values and norms."

social, engaging, entertaining, physical and accessible. It works well with children and it works in larger groups, two central qualifications.

If we should try and fit it into some kind of pedagogical model relating to cultural political values,[viii] *we could talk about a rationale called "socializing", which dominated large parts of Scandinavian music education during the 1970s and 1980s.*[ix] *The keywords for this rationale would be things like creativity, collaboration skills, social competence, self-realization, mutual respect and support for the weak. Here, the process is more important than the product.*

In the Århus-case it was not about African or Ghanean music or culture as such and African diversity was not really an issue. The main purpose was this musical and social energy, the idea of presenting an alternative to the classical way of making music. The same rationale is found in other musical activities.

Rationale B: Empowering

Though African music over the years has been unrelated to ethnic minorities in a Danish context,[x] *it is no longer completely the case. African music has become a piece in a new game where music is used as a tool for addressing cultural challenges and solving different social problems in the post-modern urban context. If we return to the idea of a model of cultural political rationales in music education, this rationale could be called empowering. Here music education becomes a part of a larger cultural strategy in order to achieve social and political objectives. This kind of music activities allows people to give voice to their different cultural expressions and values in the context of greater society, working with keywords like: identity, inclusion, cohesion and diversity. Therefore the use of African music has been a natural part of an empowering strategy in especially the US and the UK for years, with the large African population. But what about Denmark, where you have only very few immigrants from African countries?*

The Arhus project wanted to present some of the best immigrant musicians in town, and they happened to be African. Furthermore the project wanted to give the minority societies a voice. But which minorities, and what voice? Immigrants in Denmark primarily originate from the Middle East, Eastern Europe and East Asia.[xi]

The preference for African music seems to be an example of either the so-called "one-spice-cooking" (where we only think of using one spice for our cooking, no

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[viii] A model for cultural political and rationales was presented by the Danish Cultural sociologist Dorte Skot-Hansen, entitled "Explaining Urban Cultural Policies" (Skot-Hansen, 2005). This model was later introduced in the discussion of music education (Fock, 2007:).

[ix] ix Nielsen, 2007, p. 275.

[x] Of course the situation is very different in other parts of Europe, where you find large post-colonial populations from different parts of Africa, or in the United States, where a large Afro-American population is settled.

[xi] Danmarks Statistik – statistikbanken.dk.

matter what we make) or unreflected transfer (where projects developed for social-
izing goals are used for empowering, without reflecting upon the actual content and
form). Many young hip-hoppers relate to Black American music, looking at them-
selves as the suppressed, the "blacks", of Denmark. But this is not the case with
more traditional African music.

Furthermore, what is worth noticing is that exactly these kinds of world music
initiatives have a tendency also to create or cement many of the stereotypes of
African music as we know them today. Through the images, the musical choices
and the context in which it was used (often as exotic amusement outside the real
music lessons), African music was looked upon as fascinating, but not important.
Something similar often happens, when e.g. Turkish or Pakistani music is brought
in the classroom, in order to either introduce the Danish pupils to "immigrant cul-
ture" or to teach the children from minority backgrounds about their "roots". The
preference for traditional folk music and the exotic character of the projects dis-
tance them from the pupils and stress an image of these pupils as old-fashioned
(traditional) and strange (exotic).

Rationale C: Enlightening

Rationales change as society and its values change. Before the African music
(together with Orff instruments and some popular music, that also make part out
of this socializing rationale) entered the classroom, classical Western music dom-
inated together with a more traditional national repertoire. This is what is often
called the "grand tradition".[xii] *The classical music here represents a third ratio-*
nale: Enlightening, where the cultural values are preserved and an understanding
for aesthetic beauty is formed through the focus on the "grand tradition". The rele-
vant keywords are: Insight, knowledge, education and reflection. This rationale has
to do with what we could call the cultural education or "self-formation", both on
an individual and a national level.

Now, even though new rationales have been introduced in the meanwhile, the
old ones do not disappear. Enlightening still carries a lot of status and it lies
underneath most of our music education (curricula and programs) securing qual-
ity. This is non-world-music-land, and if music of the world is presented, which
only seldom happens, it has been filtered through the interpretations of classical
composers.

So one of the challenges would be how we manage to find ways to introduce
musics of the world (both western and non-western) in future music education pro-
grams, on the same premises. How can we for example include musics of the world
as part of an enlightening rationale? How do we include different traditions on
equal terms?

[xii]Lundberg et al., 2003, p. 424.

Episode 2: Court music

The high-school students had a hard time in Frederiksberg.[xiii] *Instead of "just" analyzing western composers like Mozart and Haydn (as usual), they also had to try their strength on Japanese Gagaku, Central-Javanese Gamelan, Persian Radif and Andalusian Nouba: These five examples of court music traditions, fulfilled part of their hard core musical analysis obligation. No doubt, the students found it very difficult, sometimes barrier-breaking. They felt lost in-between, but at the same time their listening abilities grew, as the veil was lifted up for just a tiny corner of these huge musical traditions.*

The ideas behind this whole project of "Cross sections in music"[xiv] *had to do with cultural diversity and indirectly with ethnic minorities: How do we create a teaching environment that includes the world and its diversity without focusing on ethnic minorities (with all the political and cultural values and hierarchical thinking related), without making it "an ethnic project"? How do we include pupils with different cultural backgrounds, make space for their knowledge and experiences, without stigmatizing (negative empowering in a negative way) them? These questions formed and framed the project that included not only court music, but a variety of subjects like: "Ornaments in sound and image", "Physics in music – music in physics", "The wedding as ritual, narrative and aesthetic event", "Musical organization – how to make music together" and "The human voice".*

From Crystal to Globe

Instead of the crystal metaphor used earlier, we could look at cultural diversity as a pattern among patterns, best viewed and addressed from a distance. If we take a space-perspective on music we might ask: What defines music around the world? In the high-school project just described this was the main idea. Instead of focusing on genres, artists, historical periods and cultures, as we normally do in our music lessons, we looked at music as: (1) structured sound (including projects about the universal aspect of music, related to nature, natural science and body), (2) as organized by humans (the cultural bound music theory, including ways of making music and making it together, of organizing a piece, instruments, rhythms and tuning systems), and (3) as carrying a meaning (music as culture, related to function, symbol, and aesthetic, for example). In this way it becomes not only possible but also natural to include different musical traditions, expressions and understandings in the same programs, challenging diversity as different (incompatible) systems.

[xiii]The project was running on Frederiksberg Gymnasium by Copenhagen in 2006 and 2007 as a cooperation between the music teacher Peter Toft and ethnomusicologist Eva Fock. It was part of the development project "Cross sections in music."

[xiv]The project was financed by the Egmont Foundation. It was running in four different high schools around Copenhagen from 2005 to 2007.

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Modern and Traditional Asia by Koji Matsunobu (Japan)

Overcoming the West–East Dichotomy

In countries like Japan where importation and syncretism of cultures (including religions)[xv] *has been essential to its formation of culturalism and identity, defining what is the tradition is a complex task. Since the eighth century when Buddhism was introduced to Japan along with the writing system and music, the country has received a tremendous amount of influences from the continent. In fact, what is believed as constituting "Japanese culture" shows significant influences from other cultures. For instance, Japanese court music gagaku – originally came from the continent in the eighth century – yet is now considered to be uniquely Japanese (Wade, 2005). In the same way, many aspects of what are believed to be Japanese music, or hogaku, are, in fact, cultural artifacts that have been developed within the past 150 since the Meiji era when the country was extensively exposed to the West (Otsuki, 1987).*

Japan is one of the countries that have strongly sought after Western values and promoted industrialization. Since its inception in the late nineteenth century, Japanese school music education has chiefly focused on disseminating Western musical values while excluding Japanese music from its curriculum.[xvi] *The results of such attempts brought about the production of high quality musical instruments (Tanaka, 1998), the development of significant music teaching methods (e.g. the Suzuki violin or Yamaha method), and the pervasion of systematic school music education that has predominantly dealt with Western music until recently. Talented musicians and composers have produced great works of music in Western styles while forming unique musical cultures (Hebert, 2005). Creation of school music songs, called shoka, was one example of such creation of cultural hybrid.*[xvii] *What is unique about this hybrid genre of music (in Western styles with Japanese texts) is*

[xv] Asai, 1997

[xvi] E.g., Imada, 2000; Ogawa, 2000.

[xvii] Matsunobu, 2007; Okunaka, 2008

its continued popularity throughout Japan (Yasuda, 1993). Many people, including music educators, still feel the repertoire of shoka at heart and believe that it should serve as the common ground for school music education.

Although musical westernization in Japan has provided a fertile ground for new seeds of talent, sensitivity, and creativity, it was a form of self-colonization. Behind the creations of westernized music were traditional values excluded from the public education realm and almost forgotten in the mind of most people. A significant matter of fact is that not many people are aware that what constitutes hogaku music and its system are recent creations as a result of westernization and modernization. Westernized music quickly became Japanese own music.

This rapid acceptance and widespread popularity of western music in Japan allowed school music to be used by the Japanese government during the period of Japanese occupation as a means for controlling the Asian colonies by supplanting their native values with Japanese values.[xviii] Indeed, school music education played an important role in unifying the nation and establishing the Japanese nationalistic identity inside Japan.[xix] In a sense, this westernization of and through music, with its emphasis on the moral cultivation of students, is viewed as a means for (and a result of) the Meiji Restoration Government to strengthen the nation's wealth and its military against the great world powers of the time (Yamazumi, 1967).

Rather than celebrating its legend, more and more people lament over what has been lost: Revitalizing old values – values shared before the Westernization and modernization took place – is now appealing to many people. We come across sounds of Japanese music in everyday settings more often than before, for instance: Kids programs of NHK television now introduce not only Western music but also Japanese music. Its Japanese language program for children takes the style of a language game accompanied by Japanese music – something rarely observed years ago.

Japanese music educators are becoming more concerned with their unbalanced inclination toward Western music and hence instigating a reformation of their school music curriculum, pedagogy, and cultural identity (Imada, 2000). In fact, emphasis of the national curriculum of music has shifted from teaching Western music only to promoting more balanced curricula. Music educators are now required to teach examples of "Japanese music," "traditional music" (e.g. hogaku), and "local, community music." The national curriculum specifies that junior high school students must learn at least one kind of Japanese instruments and have opportunities to experience the Japanese singing style through minyo (folk tunes) or nagauta songs.

Researchers are expected to take the role of initiating the change and solving conflicts among different traditions and lineages, which is too much of a complicated task for school teachers to deal with. They have been trying to find ways to neutralize the feudalistic and hierarchical system of hogaku in order to incorporate

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[xviii]See Liou, 2005, for a Taiwanese case; Park, 1994, for a Korean case.

[xix]Nishijima, 1994; Okunaka, 2008.

Japanese music into the school curriculum. At the same time, they faced a fundamental problem: The entire faculty of teacher education programs is trained only in Western music. Although many programs now offer Japanese music lessons taught by part-time lecturers, students would not be accepted to any teacher education program or granted a teaching certificate if their musical training is predominantly in non-Western music.

Social Context of Music Education

Japan was once viewed as a mirror reflecting an ideal model of education when the legacy of Japanese students' higher academic achievement (and rapid growth of economy) was still a convincing reality to many people (Feinberg, 1993). Unlike the common view, Japanese education discourse is currently driven by neo-liberal and neo-conservative impulses, showing significant similarities between Japanese and Anglo-American education discourses (Takayama, 2007). Public concern with students' academic achievement was boosted by the reductive interpretation and selective appropriation of the results of PISA and TIMSS, allowing a growing criticism and a shift of the country's educational policy to occur. The integrated study program and five-day schooling week enforced in 2002 as a springboard for national curricular change will quickly be abandoned.

The test score is just one matter. Other problems of the society – perhaps much more serious than the decline of youth academic performance – include the recent stratification of social and economical class, the collapse of the social welfare system, an increasing number of crimes, suicide attempts (especially youth cases), school bullying, and looming environmental changes. Faced with rapid social changes and growing uncertainties, music education seems "leather and prunella" as it does not solve any of these urgent problems. Clearly, the current focus of education is math, English, technology, science, and subjects that are conducive to producing global elites. The number of units for music lesson – mandatory secured in the curriculum through the governmental control – can be reduced anytime soon.

From a different perspective, music teachers are implicitly expected to take a politically significant role. The responsibility to teach a controversial song, kimigayo, puts them in a double-bind situation. The song has been sung throughout the war time in order to uplift the war sentiment, affirm the militarism, and praise the emperor. Despites many dissent voices, the "flag and anthem" law passed through the Diet in 1999, and the song officially become the national anthem. Although the government pledged no legal obligation be enforced for singing kimigayo in schools, the law actually functions as the legal basis to enforce the song to be played and sung in schools. Conflicts are observed not only between the government and teachers (and teachers' unions) but also teachers and students from diverse backgrounds.[xx] The high pressure imposed on individual teachers caused some school principals to commit suicides. The extent of conflicts (and the pressure imposed

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[xx] A moment of the conflict is portrayed in David Hebert's ethnographic work on Japanese brass bands. See Hebert, 2005.

by the government) is greater in such cities as Tokyo, Okinawa, and Hiroshima than other areas because of people's war experiences and political control of teachers' unions. It is (beyond) music teachers' responsibility to deal with a series of complicated problems arising from teaching the song.

Music education policy making seems as if it has little to do with national politics. However, the inclusion of Japanese music in the school music curriculum is actually seen as a result of nationalists' ongoing efforts to edify people's nationalistic, patriotic sentiment. The reformation of the Education Law in 2006 – the first attempt of amendment since the enforcement of the law in 1947 – was aimed for promoting "patriotism," "traditionalism," and "nationalistic communalism" through public education. The Law now stipulates the need of cultivating students' attitude not only to "cherish Japanese traditions and cultures" but also to "love the country and home land," while also developing a sense of "respect for other countries and contribution to peace and progress of the international community." The political decision toward the reformation of the Education Law has been a source of disputes and battles between nationalists and liberalists, who want to see moral values, including those that led to the war and blind respect to the emperor, as celebratory and who want to release education from the power and control of the authority. Although nationalists' major concern was to reform Japanese history textbooks and enforce moral education, they also supported teaching traditional Japanese music in schools.

Illusory Multiculturalism

There is a shared (but misled) cultural belief that Japanese society is culturally homogeneous. This naive myth constructed by nationalists is negated by simply listing the existence of several minority groups such as Ainu of Hokkaido, Ryukyuans of Okinawa, Korean descendants, Japanese descendants and new comers from outside of Japan. The number of these people exceeds over two millions. Other culturally suppressed, domestic minorities include burakumin who are descendants of outcast communities in Japan and have been segregated because of their ancestors' occupations. Despite the existence of visible diversity, educational policy making that has been strongly controlled by the centralized government and the LDP regimes in the last half century is insensitive about admitting human rights of minority groups. A recent political move to the right is not making the situation any better.

Arudou Debito, formally David Christopher born in the United States, currently a professor in Hokkaido with a Japanese citizenship, points out that Japanese tend to hold three assumptions in mind: (1) Japan is distinctively unique, and Japanese are clearly different from non-Japanese; (2) Japanese language is too difficult for non-Japanese to master (so it's best to avoid any communication with foreigners); and (3) "foreigners" should be distinctively different in appearance.

Such assumptions about Japaneseness also appear in academic discourses. Nihonjin-ron, or theories of Japanese uniqueness, is a cultural discourse that discusses the peculiarities and distinctiveness of Japan and Japanese from all perspectives (Befu, 1993). The discussions are driven, in part, by the desire of the

*Japanese to identify their national "Self" in relation to the essentialized and ide-
ologized image of the West. Books on nihonjin-ron and those celebrating unique
characteristics of "anything Japanese" (including physical traits of the Japanese)
tend to sell well in Japan, satisfying the expectation of general public who want
to believe that their culture is unique, unlike other nations, with its unique lan-
guage (Haga, 2004), aesthetics (Takashina, 1986), philosophy, sensitivity (Minami,
1980), and even ways of brain functioning (Tsunoda, 1978). It almost seems as if
Japanese are naturally born with special qualities of thinking, dexterity, sensitivity,
and aesthetics (Sakai, 2005).*

*The essentialist attitude epitomized in the nihonjin-ron discourse perpetuates the
reductionist assumption of authenticity, purity, and traditionalism that often shapes
an external gaze upon other cultures. In contrast, discussion of cultural diversity
and multiculturalism has been relatively scarce. Although the decreasing birth rate
and the scarcity of work force have urged the society to celebrate immigrants from
other countries, the force is caused by economical and practical needs rather than
intentional efforts emerging from within the society.*

*The nihonjin-ron type of discussion suggests that Japanese are very unique so
much so that only Japanese can understand and talk about the culture. On the
level of epistemology, two value systems seem significantly different and ultimately
incompatible (Hashimoto, 2003; Imada, 2003). In reality, however, we find many
cases of cultural hybrid. In fact, we have seen a long list of great musical works
composed by Japanese musicians who incorporated elements of Japanese music into
Western compositions. Cultural hybrids include not only musical products but also
cultural artifacts, such as the Suzuki violin method that embodies the theory of kata,
a Japanese folk pedagogy of music (Matsunobu, 2007c; Murao, 2003; Peak, 1998).
Despite these facts, many music teachers are reluctant to embrace cultural hybrid
genres that have a relatively short history for fear that in doing so they need to
question their simplified and idealized assumption of traditionalism and authentic-
ity. The essentialist assumption that posits the existence of absolute authentic form
of cultural expression, regardless of its social and political context, is problematic.*

*It takes more time for Japanese music educators to overcome what Edward Said
saw as a colonized mindset that views the world only in light of the West (A case in
point is my narrative). In such a postcolonial situation, identifying what constitutes
the "tradition" is a complicated task. For many music educators, it is as difficult
as understanding music from other cultures. In fact, within the context of Japanese
music education, "world music" and "Japanese music" are lumped together in the
same category and discussed as a new field of teaching.[xxi] The alternative given
to Japanese music educators is neither multiculturalism or ethnocentrism, liberal
or conservative, global or local, progressivism or traditionalism, or any equiva-
lent polarity that is often shaped and contested in other countries, for instance: in
the debates over multicultural education and "cultural literacy" education in the
United States (Hirsch, 1987), each represents the stance of the Left and the Right*

[xxi]E.g., Shimazaki & Kato, 1999

(Apple, 2001). Japanese music educators are now faced with the two poles at the same time. Both genres serve as expanding cultural diversity of Japanese music education.

Future

A list of tasks that music educators need to explore seems endless: We need to explore ways to teach a variety of music from different cultures, including cherished Western music, modern and traditional Japanese music, and world musics, in ways that promote students' personal identity formation in and through music. Regardless of the political pressure to form a national identity and collective patriotism, music educators need to search holistic and democratic values that bear significant educational potentials.

For instance, as part of joso-kyoiku (cultivation of aesthetic, moral, spiritual sentiments), Japanese school music education traditionally emphasized the importance of the amalgamation of aesthetic, spiritual, moral disciplines (Ogawa, 2000), showing much similarity with Japanese artistry transmission in which moral values are equally important as musical values (Kikkawa, 1979). One's moral growth is believed to mature along with musical development. These include values on community. Sato (2004) observed that four C's (community, connectedness, commitment, and caring) are often cherished over the traditional three R's in Japanese schools and considered to be basic to the development of human beings. Holistic values shared in music classrooms include the importance of friendship and cooperation, often manifested through popular school songs such as "sutekina tomodachi" (wonderful friends) and "believe." In fact, Japanese pedagogy of music traditionally includes the holistic value of one's being, namely kokoro, often translated as heart. The kokoro concretizes the center of one's entire being and thus embodies the inseparable combination of mental, physical, emotional, aesthetic, and spiritual capacities (Sato, 2004).

Joso kyouiku was once used and promoted, during the war time, as the most effective tool to produce authority-worshipping citizens. However, its holistic value needs to be understood as distinguished from its political context. Education for the cultivation of kokoro bears educational potentials, for instance: It may strengthen the equal positioning of the arts and other subjects in school, as both are considered to serve the development of kokoro. The intersection between the aims of music and aims of schooling is easily identified. In other words, within the science-driven paradigm of education that divides human knowledge into pieces of fragmented information, music cannot fulfill its significant role.

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A South American Melting Pot by Alda Oliveira (Brazil)

Personal Background

My musical background as a Brazilian shows a mixture of European music culture of the artistic and classical tradition, plus different types of traditional and popular music from different local contexts and nations. As a result of this mixture of an adorable black father (Antonio) with a pure white mother (Maria Augusta) I grew up listening many records, watching several movies and performing (songs and dances) a quite large number of children's musical games and playing piano. Especially my father's family was very fond of music. Since I was a child I have been sharing cultural experiences, both with singing, playing instruments and dancing, with individuals of different social economic levels, including those from disadvantaged and multicultural populations. Although I have had the chance to have an early age study of piano, I did not have much musical instruction at school, since music education provided at that time was very unstable all over Brazil. My personal experience in music comes from piano lessons, participating in street plays, music festivities, quadrilhas de S.João and listening to candomblé religious music performed in the neighborhood.

These musical experiences were personally meaningful and I feel it has facilitated my own cognitive, emotional and psychomotor development. Later, professionally, I have dedicated myself mostly to a culture-oriented process of music education for different levels, including teacher education and education of professional musicians.

Brazilian Socio-Educational–Cultural Scenario

Brazil is the largest country in the South American continent. It was colonized by the Portuguese and has a lot of different and diversified cultural influences. Brazil is a large mixed cultural cauldron. It has received people from all over the world. But this mixture has some roots that may be delineated. I live in the northeastern region, which had a lot of African immigration in the past. It has received thousands of blacks which came as slaves during the colonial period (XVIth century, onwards). The state of Bahia has one of the largest population of afro-descendents. The northeastern region concentrates most of the African cultural influences. Its characteristics are the use of percussion instruments, nasal vocal sounds, strong and sensual rhythmic patterns, use of body movements. In the southern and southeastern regions, there are many European descendents (Germans, Italians, etc.), consequently they display more European musical influences, such as marches, tonal harmonies, and the use of melodic instruments. In the north and the center one can notice the influence of the culture of the Brazilian Indians, mixed with the mulattos, which results are shown in the countryś cultural traditions.

The Brazilian flexibility for racial mixture has provided a positive environment for the ability to articulate with cultural diversity. Although only recently Brazilians are discussing racial problems and providing laws to protect the population against social discriminations, one can see that the Brazilian way to deal with racial and cultural differences have been mild, supportive and effective in the long run. A sign of this reality is the survival and development of several cultural manifestations during these five centuries of development, even though it shows many signs of cultural change. It seems that several folk manifestations have disappeared or changed over time. But I feel that this cultural dynamic of change is getting more active than before, since this region of the world is being influenced by the rapid changes of the technological and multicultural contemporary world.

Brazilian society may be characterized by differences: racial, social, economic, and cultural. Although there is still some prejudice against the Indians, the blacks, the mulattos, the differences in socialization have been more guided by educational and economic levels displayed by the individuals than by their color of the skin, place of origin or type of social groups that they belong. Brazil has a political past of slavery and religious (catholic) influences. Because of this profile with typical colonial impositions, some tensions do exist between tradition and the modern cultural tendencies. But these tensions do not prevent many and diversified types of positive connections among different people and contexts. Although the individuals disagree or dislike certain styles, types of people or cultural manifestations, they show a high amount of tolerance and flexibility. Consequently, there is an easy-going social and cultural mixture happening frequently in Brazilian society as a whole.

As examples of this rapid process of acculturation and acceptance, I mention the music styles of Axé music, samba de umbigada and lambada. One may notice that the Axé pop music has been created by the urban Afro-Brazilians. After a period of many critics, it is now performed and listened around the whole country, in spite of these initial severe critics by the academic world, the educational pedagogues and

the society in general. The same has happened in the past with the samba-de-roda com umbigada, which was considered immoral, but with time, it became accepted and performed as a typical Brazilian style. The Lambada from the northern region is also popular around the country. As soon as the rhythms, the performers and the sonorities of the musical instruments become familiar through the media and the staged public performances, the population applauds that novelty and the process of acceptance begins to happen. The musical and social identities show a rapid process of acceptance among Brazilians. Recently, the process of change and adaptation seems to be happening more rapidly not only among the youngsters, but also among more mature individuals. Certain weddings of very rich people are recently having artistic music at the beginning of the ceremonies, pop music in the middle part and a more afro-traditional-pop music style groups at the ending activities of the party.

These changes of preferences across time are turning the structures of some musical worlds vague, mixed and sometimes totally uncharacterized. I agree with Mans, that this process may have deeper implications and deserves further longitudinal investigations. Since the main Brazilian cities are increasingly becoming multiethnic, multiracial, multicultural and stratified by class, music educators needs to be aware of the problems that surround the development of musical cognition, the ability to decipher musical messages, the musical preferences across the different ages, and the ability to interpret the meanings in the different cultural contexts. Some of these variables are developed from a very young age and soon become relatively stable. Researchers are pointing that along with the sound goes the musical and social behavior. In Brazil, many youngsters show these behaviours in different periods of the year, depending on what is in fashion. They have a high tendency to follow the general values provided by the commercial world of music, dress, design and artistic leadership of singers, dancers and all the art producers. Consequently, music teachers need to work on observing, analyzing and understanding this process of acculturation in order to work with education effectively. The acceptance of the music teacher depends on the type of relationship he or she develops. This educational process has certain phases and need to be worked with care and respect, cultivating each groups' cultural manifestations, since this conduct may guide more appropriate planning tied to the social values as much as musical principles, aiming to preserve the cultural diversity.

While traditional musical worlds are becoming less known by the youngsters, Brazilian pop music is recently giving a sign of simplification (harmonic and formal), differently of the Brazilian pop music from the 1960–1990s (Caetano Velloso, Gilberto Gil, Chico Buarque de Hollanda, etc.). Even though several of the composers from this period are still being listened, the general public prefers more simple music styles such as sertanejo music style, axé music, lambada, pagode, festivities' marches (S.João, Carnaval, Micareta). Musical preferences among the general Brazilian population seems to focus on the musical styles that provide opportunity for body expressions, body movements and specific choreographies or the ones that bring about some kind of sexual appeal or humorous texts. These preferences may illustrate Mans' thesis that "The absence of this scaffolding can toss (especially younger) people into a sea of insecurity and anxiety". Although many

Brazilians still value and listen to more complex pop music (such as what is called MPB – Brazilian Popular Music- which includes marcha-rancho, bossa-nova or samba-canção) most of the population is now listening more rock, rap, raggue, axé music, lambada, pagode, carnaval music, and other recently launched rhythms.

Salvador (Bahia,Brazil), the city where I was born and I live until today, is considered a really musical place. Successful Bahian pop and classical composers have appeared over the years. There is a folkloric affirmation that says: "a Bahian does not born: he debuts". In Bahia, music is part of many festivities such as Carnaval, São João, São Pedro. Traditional cultural manifestations abound, such as Capoeira and Ternos de Reis. In general, all Brazilian cities display a large amount of cultural manifestations in which music play a very important part. But these traditions are changing their scaffolds and specific musical styles. For example, some sambas-enredo performed by the Samba Schools during the Carnaval festivities, especially in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, are being performed so fast that a good observer may listen as if it were a fast march. One of the reasons why it is turning out to be performed so fast is the amount of time given to each Samba School to parade on the avenues during the competitions organized by the city administrators and producers.

The Brazilian socio-cultural scene is changing rapidly. With the advent of the new technologies and the access to the new systems of transportation, the traditional division between the population that come from the cities and the rural geographic places is decreasing. The families are increasingly split up and the citizens are beginning to experience less security. People that come from the rural zones are bombarded with new information that comes from the contacts with the urban life styles, especially in the more populous Brazilian cities such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In general, the urban populations attach negative connotations to the traditional musical practices, especially in relation to the acoustic versus amplified versions of performances.

I am observing that right now on TV the news about the constant "fill" of recorded mp3's and mp4's via earplugs that is increasing amongst the youngsters and also among workers on public transportations such as buses, trains and metro. These people say that they need to shut themselves out from the rest of the world. But the problem is that they are getting hearing loss. They are also escaping from socialization and dealing with the quotidian problems of an isolated life. In general they listen to loud music. I agree with Mans' point of view that music may help "to bond with "a" group in absentia, likely a youth culture diluted by physical and temporal distance."

Technological advances used in the area of music commerce and in the pop music productions are becoming one of the most influential variables for cultural transformations. Even in schools, any public presentation today needs amplification to be heard and to be regarded seriously by the school administrative and pedagogical body. Even though the music teacher is conscious about the need for silence or for listening acoustically performed music, the expectations of the general public and the school personnel is towards a "better quality" projected musical performance. Since the populations are growing in most of the cases, the spaces are also larger.

Infra-structures are not always projected adequately for these public presentations. The use of recorded mp3's and mp4's via earplugs around the general population is increasing constantly in different contexts such as schools, public transportations and homes. This use of sound technology in higher levels of frequencies is frequently causing damage to the ears, especially among children. I have been to several public performances of school children in Brazil, recently. In general, the sound is recorded and projected very loud, the children sing very little and there is a predominance of choreographed body movements for the songs. Although the children listen and sing these songs at home and other contexts, they are not being conducted to using appropriate aesthetic judgments or to a better use of their voices and ears.

This is a special area of concern for music educators, since in August 15th, 2008, the Brazilian government approved the project of the Law 11.769/2008, already published in the Brazilian Official Union Diary, which requires obliged music contents for all regular schools curricula. From now on, all music educators need to be aware of the serious implications that come from the special characteristics of the school students that result from the worldwide increase in urbanization and travel, the separation of parents, the mixture of culturally heterogeneous urban populations, the growth of violence, drugs and sound pollution. I agree that "this might only be a temporary state of affairs, as individuals soon adjust to new situations and learn new things, including new musical practices"[xxii] *but it will not be simple for the music educator to cope with the selection of what is to become part of school and one's new musical world.*

Research Applied to Contemporary Music Education

I have been developing and testing systematically the PONTES approach during these seven years (2001–2008), which consists of a way to customize music education praxis (theory and practice). It offers a theoretical and practical music education foundation to guide the education of music teachers, making them feel prepared to deal with cultural, developmental, social and cognitive differences, and also their preferences and learning styles.

There are in Brazil multiple new cultural influences, traditional familiar forms of performance and creative environments that might not be readily available for the contemporary populations, especially in schools, that need to be experienced by the society in general. Brazilian artistic manifestations such as Capoeira, Terno de Reis, Boi Bumbá, Chegança, Reisado, Marujada, the traditional songs for play, work, religion and dance (siriri, frevo, samba, xaxado, São Gonçalo and Santa Cruz dance, Indian dances, etc.), including the more elaborated musical art works are less and less performed and appreciated among the youngsters.

Music education professionals recently have high expectations for change in the music education scene in Brazil, since there is a new Law requiring music contents in the curriculum and a new recommendation to incorporate Capoeira tradition in

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[xxii]Mans, in this volume

all schools at the Basic Level (Elementary and Secondary). But there are still several questions around this subject to be worked by the specialists in order to contemplate a more balanced music selection at schools and community institutions.

Recent studies have been developed about the music class in Brazilian school curriculum and about the masters of musical traditions from Bahia [xxiii] *They show that music is done at school for different purposes including among others, recreation and cultural events. But its use as an educational/cultural activity is less frequent. Teachers and schools do not have enough tools to facilitate the use of different musics in the school context and they have not been prepared to work towards a multicultural perspective for teaching music to children and youngsters. This a complex task for the music teacher and for the school, mainly if the music class includes music appreciation and performance practices.*

The approach I am studying is the PONTES Approach.[xxiv] *The word pontes (a Portuguese word which means bridges) was chosen as a metaphor to explain the educational work of approximation between formal and informal music education practices, between the knowledge and the student and other relevant variables present in the educational realities. The use of this metaphor – pontes or bridges – was chosen to inspire the teacher to develop and build paths of thoughts and specific knowledge transitions that may facilitate or motivate the development of the student. It intends to help music teachers to articulate the different aspects that surround the teaching/learning process, especially those related to cultural interfaces, such as: the student's personal characteristics, the elements and essence of the socio-cultural context, student's knowledge and previous musical experiences, and the new knowledge to be acquired.*

The PONTES Approach highlights the following characteristics for the music teacher:

- ***P**. **P**ositive approach, perseverance, articulation power, and ability to sustain student's motivation, believing in student's potential for learning and development.*
- ***O**. **O**bservation capacity: carefully observe the student, the context, the daily situations, repertoires, representations;*
- ***N**. **N**aturalness, simplicity in the relationships with the student, the curricular and life contents, with the institutions, the context and the actors; trying to understand what the student is expressing, wants to know and learn;*
- ***T**. **T**echniques fit for each didactic situation; ability to design, develop and create new adequate teaching/learning structures of different dimensions;*
- ***E**. **E**xpression: creativity, hope and faith towards the development, the expressiveness and learning ability of the student;*
- ***S**. **S**ensibleness to the several different musics, to the artistic languages in general, to nature and the environment, to the needs of the students and the different contexts.*

[xxiii] A. Oliveira et al.

[xxiv] Alda Oliveira, 2001–2008.

This pedagogical perspective for music education intends to develop the music teachers with information and abilities (theory and practice) to approach the student, the context and their actors, the chosen teaching methods, the curriculum, the school, the music repertoire and its performance in order to develop appropriate educational teaching/learning structures and articulations. Several difficulties interfere with the quality of the Brazilian music education programs developed for regular schools: the short duration of the music lessons; the lack of adequate infrastructure for music lessons; the tendency to organize the school calendar around festivities, the quality and availability of music teachers, interference of educational trips or other social events, the high level of truancy, lack of teachers' competence to teach the whole diversity of musics that abound in the region, lack of articulation between formal and informal music and artistic activities. Even with so many problems, one can pinpoint examples of good music teaching and the presence of several famous and competent pop and classical professional Brazilian musicians. In some of Brazilian geographical regions music is even the center of the social life of the community. Capoeira groups and Candomblé religious communities in Bahia, for example, use music as one the most important support for their lives. Brazil has a large number of non-governmental organizations of the third sector using the artistic languages, especially music, as the main support for curricular development with social, cultural and professional benefits for the participants.

Teaching music nowadays means that the music teacher should be prepared to deal with difficult choices about the musics to be taught, the contexts, the tradition, problems of authenticity and special features of the teaching methods. A contemporary approach for music education must consider time-honored values as well creativity and innovation. Consequently the music teacher needs to be prepared to deal with people who is part of living traditions and should know how to adapt to new circumstances in order to survive as a professional and keep the music teaching alive and vital.

The assumption for the PONTES Approach is that each didactic situation may be similar to another but they are never the same, they are unique. The pedagogic moment always involves certain types of new elements that are difficult to repeat. In order to deal with educational situations, music teachers need to learn and practice the design of several or teaching/learning structures and different bridges (pontes) to fit each didactic situation and develop a natural flexibility. This approach is being systematically studied by the following graduate students: Rejane Harder, Zuraida Abud Bastião, Angelita Vander Broock, Mara Menezes, Harue Tanaka, Amelia Dias and Vilma Fogaça.

An article by A. Oliveira and Harder (2008) was published recently analyzing results of two different research studies. Harder presents data from three university professors of musical instruments (piano, flute and guitar) and I present data collected from several masters of traditional music from different Bahian cultural settings. Both data dealt with teachers' music pedagogical experience (theoretical and practical) without previous information about the PONTES Approach. Data showed that most of the characteristics of the PONTES Approach were confirmed. Zuraida Bastião (2008) presents data from two undergraduate student teachers,

which also confirm the benefits of this approach to their performance as music teachers in the two different school settings. Angelita Vander Broock (2008), a master graduate student, presents longitudinal video data from a two year old child, who got an impressive change of behavior and musical development. Broock is testing the PONTES approach in musicalization classes for 0–6 year olds. In general, this approach may be one among various possibilities for solving problems related to the music education of contemporary musical worlds located in complex cultural-political settings, since the above approach presents some useful points for customized music teaching.

Questions asked by Mans are appropriate to the contemporary Brazilian scenario and deserve to be investigated. Especially in the music education field, professionals need to know how effectively do established cognitive musical structures function in altered environments (especially in the larger Brazilian cities such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Recife), how do changes impact on aesthetic appreciation, when and how musical identities are re-formed in culturally mixed societies and what are the value systems that underpin them. South America is a very diversified region of the globe. As the Brazilian context, many other South-American countries (such as Argentina, Chile, Uruguai, Colombia, Peru, Venezuela etc.) need to reflect upon their specific problems and analyze the different perspectives about the contemporary musical world which may be generating appropriate solutions for these complex cultural-political settings.

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Socio-cultural Contexts of Music Education: One North American Perspective by Kari Veblen (Canada)

In this section, I offer one North American perspective of socio-cultural contexts of music education. Since I am an American now living in Ontario, Canada, I will address my brief remarks to the networks and ecosystems of Canada.

Multiple aboriginal and immigrant groups call Canada home. Officially bilingual, French and English are taught in schools, and mandated to appear on all signage, documents, cereal boxes and so on.[xxv] Diasporic groups have often rooted geographically – for example, many Asians have made their home in British Columbia, Saskatchewan's fertile wheat fields have attracted Ukrainians, Scots and Irish settled in the eastern most provinces of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.

Although Canada is a cultural plurality, the government does not address arts education in an overarching or prescriptive manner.[xxvi] Some critics feel that the government skirts this issue because mandating universal music and arts education would necessitate providing resources. Likewise, by ignoring the issue, the persistent hegemony of dominant culture remains unquestioned.

As far as music education in schools goes, each of the 10 provinces or three territories handles music and arts curricula differently. Differences are based on local needs, ethnic makeup and negotiation of stakeholders. How does local control play out in music education? To understand the complexity of the issue, the following paragraphs cite specific instances from Nova Scotia, one eastern province. For a more comprehensive overview of Canadian music education as well as more

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[xxv] In fact, Canada is trilingual since Inuktitut, language of Inuit peoples, is a mandated official language in Nunavut and the Northwest Territories.

[xxvi] In 1971, Canada became the first country in the world to adopt an official Multicultural Policy, designed to promote full participation in Canadian society of all people. Multiculturalism rather than cultural assimilation shapes public policy, although the ideals of this have not been fully realized as yet.

specifics, please consult the free access e-book From sea to sea: Perspectives on music education in Canada.[xxvii]

Many indicators suggest that arts and musics are thriving in Nova Scotia schools. There are music and arts teachers hired in schools as well as consultants. Several documents on the web dating from 2004 spell out expected outcomes for music curriculum, mandated by the NS Department of Education. There are many resources on-line, some for instruments such as the ukulele.

The Primary K-6 arts curriculum (2002)[xxviii] *states*:

> *The arts are central to every world culture. The music of a culture, like the other arts, clearly identifies beliefs and values that exist within that culture. The artistic expression of a society is not a stand-alone enterprise but one that is integrated into all aspects of the culture. Music Primary–6 recognizes the universality of the arts and affirms music as an expression of humankind that is integral to all societies. (p. 3)*

The Nova Scotia music curriculum offers an admirable model for multicultural music studies. This comprehensive integrated document stresses "the need for all students to have sequential, in-depth learning experiences in music (p. 1)." There is consistency throughout from philosophical underpinnings, to multi-layered objectives, examples of age appropriate activities and sources. Of the 66 Resources suggested in the P-6 guide, 16 are devoted to world music or Canadian traditions while others such as textbook series and songbooks may also contain useful materials.

Although Nova Scotia's heritage includes settlers from the British Isles as the name "New Scotland" might suggest, this province contains people of many ethnicities. Nova Scotia was one of two destinations of the Underground Railroad; the other was Ontario.[xxix] *Like Newfoundland, Nova Scotia is proud of its maritime heritage. Ethnomusicologists Edith Fowke and Helen Creighton collected and published collections of traditional songs from Nova Scotia, some of which are used in the schools.*

These commendable initiatives have come about through hard work on the part of many dedicated individuals over a long period of time. Yet, for all this, not everyone feels included in arts education in Nova Scotia.

[xxvii]*From sea to sea: Perspectives on music education in Canada* may be accessed through the Canadian Coalition for Music Education website at: http://coalitionformusiced.ca/html/sec4-advocacy/ebook/. The work of many hands, this 2007 on-going project, is edited by K. K. Veblen and C. A. Beynon with help from S. Horsley, S., A. Heywood, & A. De Alwis.

[xxviii]The Nova Scotia Primary K-6 arts curriculum may be accessed at (www.ednet.ns.ca/pdfdocs/curriculum/music-p-6.pdf).

[xxix]Canada was the site of salvation for runaway slaves in the days before the US Civil War (1861–1865). From 1600 to 1800 perhaps 15 million West Africans were brought in chains to the United States, South and Central America, and the Caribbean Islands. http://www. slavery-inamerica.org/geography/overview.htm Slavery for life was legal within the boundaries of what is now the United States from 1654 until 1865. Resistance to slavery was mounted through the Underground Railroad, a network of individuals who helped fugitive slaves escape to Canada and free parts of the United States, moving hundreds of slaves northward each year. For a chronicle of slavery in the Americas, see http://innercity.org/holt/slavechron.html

In May 2008, I spoke with Lindsay Marshall of the Mi'kmaq[xxx] peoples in Nova Scotia. Although Mi'kmaw have lived in Eastern Canada for over untold years, Mr. Marshal notes that there are not provisions for Mi'kmaq musics and arts in local schools – or indeed any music education in schools in his area that he is aware of. From his point of view, Canadians are polite but entangled in systematic racism. A chief/CEO of the Mi'kmaq as well as Associate Dean of the Mi'kmaq College at Cape Breton University, he works to establish a separate schooling system ranging from primary through secondary levels through the university systems and including the healing professions. Lindsay Marshall believes that the present approach to merging aboriginal and dominant cultures doesn't work out as it always supplants the Mi'kmaq ways of knowing and learning.

Clearly, there is a disjunction in perceptions and realities between different communities in this part of Canada. I suggest that these disconnects may be common, as diverse groups negotiate and strive to maintain their cultural identities against the backdrop of official knowledge.

Acknowledging official knowledge [xxxi] is also to recognize the persistent relationship between power and curriculum. Official knowledge emphasizes topics, content, and information considered to be legitimate or worth knowing. In the case of Canadian arts curricular documents, the Western European canon is accorded higher status than other musics. The status is ensured when educational agencies grant legitimacy through standards for instruction and instructors. Thus, the whole system of higher education in faculties of music and of education favors the voice of the majority.

To some extent, this imbalance may be redressed through the broad networks and organizations of community music throughout Canada. As elsewhere in the world, music education is not limited to public schooling.[xxxii]

Yet, in both school and community contexts, some arts programs are available for all, some only admit those who can pay for them. Some promote local musics, others support broad views of the world, while others adhere to colonized sensibilities.

The challenges to music and arts education in Canada, as elsewhere are all about power, consciousness and access.

The perspectives above provide us with an insight into just a few of the diversities, issues, and potential solutions for music education in different musical worlds. Some of these suggestions and ideas will be picked up again in Chapter 6.

[xxx]There are several communities of Mi'kma'ki culture spread geographically through Atlantic Canada, Quebec, and parts of New England.

[xxxi]I use the term official knowledge as coined by Apple (1993). See Michael Apple (1993, 2000). *Official knowledge: Democratic education in a conservative age.* London: Routledge Press.

[xxxii]Many individuals and groups promote musical experiences of all kinds for multiple recipients. Funding is limited, often spearheaded by non-profit organizations or affiliated with educational, heritage, or religious groups. Federal and provincial governments provide minimal provisional support for the arts through grants and awards.

Notes

1. Tajfel & Turner, 1986.
2. Ruud, 2004.
3. Erikson, 1956, p. 91.
4. Wenger, 1998.
5. Ani, 1994.
6. She purposely uses the term "European culture" to point out comparatively how meaningless the over-used term African culture is.
7. Ibid., p. 14.
8. Ibid., p. 15.
9. Barber, 1997, p. 6.
10. Nzewi, 1997. In personal communications Nzewi has strongly made the point that the Saharan regions of Africa are not, by definition, African. Obviously this stance is arguable, but seen in the context of Ani's interpretation, quite fitting.
11. Kellner, 1992, p. 141.
12. Bhabha, 1994, p. 1.
13. Andersen, 1997, p. 37.
14. Kealhofer, 1999; Head, 2000.
15. See various points of view in, e.g., Magowan (2005), Akrofi et al. (2007), Ani (1994), O'Hagin & Harnish (2006), Stokes (1994), Yoshiko (2001).
16. Ruud, 2004.
17. I respectfully acknowledge these ideas as emanating from Even Ruud's thinking map drawn up during discussions on these issues in a Swedish–South African Research Network meeting in Mthatha in April 2006.
18. Spivak, 1996, p. 198.
19. Mans, 2003.
20. Bowman, 2003, p. 5.
21. Trevarthen, 2002.
22. See, e.g., Trevarthen, 2002; Dissanayake, 2007; Chen-Hafteck, 1998; Standley, 1998.
23. Chen-Hafteck, 1998, p. 17.
24. Eerola et al., 2006.
25. Hammond, 2004, p. 109.
26. Hargreaves et al., p. 12.
27. Feld, 1986, p. 157.
28. Stamou, 2002, p. 79.
29. Ibid., 2002.
30. This is discussed as some length in Hammond, 2004.
31. Davis, 2005, p. 60.
32. Ruud, 2004.
33. Ibid., 2004, p. 1.
34. Groesbeck, 2003.
35. O'Hagin & Harnish, 2006.
36. Bhabha, 1994.
37. I respectfully acknowledge these ideas as emanating from Even Ruud's thinking map drawn up during discussions on these issues in a Swedish-South African Research Network meeting in Mthatha in April 2006.
38. Barber, 1997, p. 6.
39. Rice, 2002, p. 26.
40. DeNora, 2000, p. 40.
41. Hargreaves et al., 2002, p. 6.
42. Krumhansl et al., 2000, p. 5.
43. See Magowan (2005) for an extensive discussion of the concepts alienable and inalienable.

44. Feld, 1986.
45. Impey, 2002, p. 15.
46. Weiner, 1985, p. 210, is quoted by Magowan, 2005, p. 84.
47. A specific group of Yolngu people from the Northern Territory (Arnhem Land) of Australia.
48. Toner, 2003.
49. Aguilar, 2001, p. 68.
50. Magowan, 2005, p. 85.
51. Hargreaves et al., 2002, p. 11.
52. Tarrant et al., 2002.
53. Yoshiko, 2001, p. 72.
54. Ruud, 2004.
55. Halstead & Taylor, 1996.
56. British news regularly features the problems of youth binge drinkers, bullying and petty crime committed by youths. American news features gun problems and student slayings. In southern African countries, child abuse, particularly sexual abuse has been on the increase for the past four decades. In west and central African countries, the problem of child soldiers and forced prostitution has been widely reported. Drug abuse seems common in developed countries. In all these cases, mention is made of the "loss of values."
57. Takahagi, 1994, p. 205.
58. See Halstead's discussion of the literature in Halstead & Taylor, 1996, pp. 4–6.
59. Ibid., 1996, p. 5.
60. Pring, in Halstead & Taylor, 1996, p. 113.
61. Quoted narratively in Boden, 2007, p. 85.
62. Tracey, n. d. p. 2. This article was given to me in personal communication by the author and might have been published at a later date.
63. Ani, 1994, terms discussed in earlier paragraphs.
64. Refer to work by Schellenberg (1996), Krumhansl (1990), and others.
65. Krumhansl et al., 2000, p. 5.
66. Tracey, n. d.
67. Ibid., p. 15.
68. Kunio Komparu quoted by Palmer, 1994, p. 38.
69. Small, 1984, p. 7.
70. See reference to metaphors further on in discussion of meanings.
71. Hebert, 2005.
72. Hansen, 1994, p. 3.
73. See, for example, Agawu (2003); Oehrle & Emeka (2003); Tracey & Uzoigwe (2003); Mans, (2005).
74. Mans, 2003.
75. Stokes, 1994.
76. Schonmann, 2006.
77. Lomax, 1967.
78. Asante, 1985, p. 72.
79. See the earlier work of Bennett Reimer, for example, regarding "aesthetic education," and the response to that by David Elliott in much of his work.
80. In the Kantian sense of aesthetics.
81. DeNora, 2000, p. 109.
82. Thornton, 2000, p. 25.
83. Asante, 1985, p. 72.
84. Hanna, 2003, p. 1.
85. Grau, 2003.
86. Eerola et al., 2006.
87. Ibid., p. 338.
88. Ibid., p. 363.

89. This was a poorly phrased question as it was interpreted in terms of time, like "late at night," or "when he is feeling very happy." However, these answers provided a different insight into what makes "good," see further on.
90. These statements all happen to be from members of one cultural group – Ovahimba. I selected the comments this way to provide a sense of similar values *in this group*.
91. Schonmann, 2007, p. 591.
92. Barrett, 2006.
93. To avoid the terminological confusion one finds in this field of studies, I shall refer to criteria when talking about aesthetic evaluations. Such criteria are, of course, based on principles that emerge from broader values.
94. Schonmann, 2007.
95. Kaeppler, 2003, p. 161.
96. Al Faruqi is cited by Kaeppler, 2003, p. 155.
97. Saether, 2003, p. 80.
98. Hanna, 2003, p. 33.
99. Grau, 2003a, b, p. 175.
100. Ibid., p. 176.
101. Ibid., p. 177.
102. Kellner, 2000.
103. Hanna, 2003.
104. Giurchesco, 2003, Hanna 2003, Keppler, 2003 and Grau, 2003 all provide insight into the understanding of societies' aesthetic evaluations and criteria.
105. Although these dancers and "lead" singers perform singly or in duos, they do not see it as a solo – a star turn – but as one member of the group taking a (democratic) turn.
106. Atkinson, 2002.
107. Best, 2004, p. 28.
108. DeNora, 2000. Tia DeNora's work is a "must-read" for contemplation on meaning in music.
109. Ibid., p. 38
110. Green, 1988.
111. Green, 2006.
112. Ibid., p. 103.
113. Feld, 1986, p. 148.
114. Ibid., p. 154.
115. Ibid., p. 157.
116. Bowman, 1998, p. 201.
117. Atkinson, 2002, p. 28.
118. Garnett, 1998, p. 1.
119. Ibid., p. 5.
120. Mans, 2003; Stokes, 1994; Seeger, 1987.
121. Allbright, 1997, p. 7.
122. See Dissanayake (2007) for an extended discussion on the roots of arts in infant–mother relations.
123. Namibia is a large, arid, and lightly populated country. It has seen German, British, and later South African occupiers. It has experienced internecine tribal wars and a long-armed liberation struggle. It remains a country of diverse cultural expression. The arid physical landscape means that drums are not ubiquitous. With an economy rooted in agriculture, animal farming is the main activity. Because music and dance have traditionally revolved around these circumstances, they are observable in performance.
124. Personal communications in Rundu, Kavango Region, 1993. Mulaula is a registered traditional healer.
125. See Olivier, 1997.
126. Personal communications in Windhoek, 2003.
127. Field recordings in Epukiro, Pos 3, 2005. Texts were translated by her niece Viki.

128. Wenger, 1998.
129. See, for example, Andersen, 1997; DeNora, 2000; O'Hagin & Harnish, 2006; Ruud, 2004; Stålhammar, 2000; and the many studies available on pop music, rock music and the effects on identity, social relations, and expectations of young people.
130. DeNora, 2000, p. 17.
131. Adorno, 1941.
132. See discussion of this effect on female embodiment in Mans, 2004b.
133. Mootseng, 2002, p. 2.

Chapter 5
Educating in Living Musical Worlds

In the preceding chapters I have argued that we live in worlds of music that are socially constructed, but which we adapt and configure also in individual ways. I also emphasized the importance of values for the development of musical understanding and appreciation. This chapter now aims to investigate the planes of intersection between schools (formal education) and musical worlds (largely informal education). My intention is to explore potentials of an educational approach that takes the structural and normative aspects of musical worlds into consideration and utilizes this knowledge to best effect. Again, as in other chapters, I have invited critique from respected educators to stimulate discourse.

Some of the educational issues that will be addressed in this chapter are musical development and the different modes of engaging with music in formal and informal education, such as listening, understanding, giving meaning, performing, and creating–composing. Because music as social practice implies values education, it is worth looking at ways in which this implicates formal education, curricula, and assessment. Each of these issues or fields is worthy of complete books in their own right. Unfortunately, it is possible only to touch upon implications and possibilities in the hope that they will stimulate further study and research in different disciplines and world cultures. My contribution is to create provocative theoretical possibilities that in better enabled environments can be tested empirically.

The sad fact is that, despite our best intentions across the world, music education in schools does not often achieve what we hope for, namely developing transferable and lasting musical skills and understandings while instilling a deep love for (the kind of) music (we teach). Large numbers of school-age students do not perceive the music education typically practiced in schools as relevant to their needs and interests.[1] Myers conjectures that this is because schools fail to "energize" what he calls the "fundamental drives for musical expression and musical understanding."[2] Conversely, several studies[3] on the use of popular music in schools and/or informal learning have pointed out that positive results are obtained in informal, peer-directed learning of music that interests the learners and speaks to their values. However, musical content or type is not the only concern.

Formal education systems are not necessarily concerned with cultural issues or concerns about identity, or even the enjoyment of music. More often, education is concerned with the general development of the population in accordance with

national ideals, i.e., to serve the nation, to develop the skills necessary for its economy to thrive, and so on. The arts is seen as a necessary although adjunct vehicle with which to achieve these goals. Seldom is the potentially negative impact of formal education on indigenous cultures and cultural industry (art, crafts, music) balanced against its potential for social development. Bresler[4] cites Sarason who argued 25 years ago that (a) schools are generally uninteresting, even intellectually boring places for students and teachers; (b) development in the mass media in the United States has contributed to a wide, unbridgeable, experienced gulf between the world of the classroom and school, and the real world; and (c) the consequence of the encapsulation of schools is trying against the odds to stimulate interest, challenge, and curiosity, while simultaneously making the acquisition of knowledge and cognitive skills personally important and meaningful. Music educators face the challenges emanating from these factors on a daily basis, and they are not limited to the United States. Despite this, most music educators remain convinced that arts programs are vital in providing a medium for the expression of ideas and feelings, solving creative challenges, imagining different vantage points on an idea or challenge, and focusing on the perception of experiences. In some cases, it is precisely because of the socio-cultural experience that music has the power to move,[5] to open up diverse means of communication among humans and also between humans and the supra-human. In the end, this socialization process is the underlying goal of all education. Myers puts it like this:

> Were it not for the lifelong human need for music, there would be little reason for the school-based professional enterprise known today as music education. The vital, frequently passionate engagement between humans and music – in community and in communities; indelibly situated at the core of life's most poignant passages; firmly ensconced within our patriotic, spiritual, religious, entertainment, and recreational lives; expressing the otherwise inexpressible; challenging us into continual judgments about the interplay between social-cultural context and new, sometimes even offensive, auditory experiences; ubiquitously present in our mass media; and even blessedly alleviating the urge to kill that arises amidst the maddening cacophony of ringing cell phones and useless conversations with which we are all assaulted – all of these give rise to the imperative of thinking deliberately about music and music education across the lifespan.[6]

Considering then that music is a fundamental part of our "humanizing" and that we, as educators, need to find means of improving on the current situation of music education to cope with present and future demands, how can we approach the problem holistically?

An implication for education that was raised in Chapter 4 concerns musical identities that are relative and trans-cultural, with little attachment to the values inherent to a particular musical world. Education programs generally aim to improve contact and the fostering of understanding between cultures. This, in my opinion, can only be done properly if the understanding includes reference to values and the divergences in aesthetic evaluations. Obviously, values and aesthetics are expected to involve the passing on of musical skills and understandings and vice versa.

One might assume that school programs in the arts already take up most of the questions and issues that I have touched upon in previous chapters. My experience

in discussing these matters with music educators from various regions of the world[7] negates this assumption. It seems common that classroom music education is often experienced negatively by students and that even successful teachers are uncertain how to deal with culture and difference. Moreover, they are faced with administrative and public views that do not value the arts in schools. Elliot Eisner points out that

> [t]he educational functions of music, like the educational functions of the other arts, are not well understood by parents or by those who shape educational policy. The general public does not think of music as the product of complex forms of thinking. In terms of educational priorities music is regarded as nice, but not necessary. It occupies a place at the rim of education, not at its core.[8]

Teachers also express views that indicate they wished they were in closer contact with the musical culture(s) of their learners. They wish they understood what it is the learners relate to in their own musical choices. They have difficulties in interpreting musical performances in the same way learners do and seek a plane on which they can communicate.[9] Without realizing it, many teachers refer to value misunderstandings when expressing their frustrations. "They are not interested in good music," one might say. Or, "Even though some of the hiphop they listen to is quite nice, it represents gangster culture and violence. I try to wean them off it." In her work on popular music in schools, Lucy Green describes classrooms as "a notorious site for the entanglement of musical meanings, values and experiences."[10] At the core of most of these concerns lies values, and this is especially prevalent in very divergent multicultural schools, as was expressed by commentaries in Chapter 4.

The Relation of Arts Education to Cultural Musical Worlds

Arts education in schools involves formal curricula under state, regional, or national control, formal teacher education, identifiable methodologies and teaching strategies, assessments of learning outcomes, and distinct (identifiable) content that usually represents a (dominant) culture or a blend of "multiculture." Music education in formal situations (schools) can generally be divided into those programs that favor instrumental or choral performance for selected students, and those that create opportunities for all learners to become acquainted with music, play simple instruments, develop basic musical understandings, and develop listening (analytical and appreciative) skills. These musical experiences are formalized in policies, and outcomes are generally assessed regularly, albeit informally. Curriculum contents are selected to convey certain cultural preferences, and across the world in the past, formal education tended to treat the heritage of Euro-American art music preferentially as "of great value," as part of the hidden curriculum.[11]

By contrast, the largely informal learning that takes place in and through a musical world (of which school culture is also a part) has no verbalized curriculum, although it also has a stable curriculum that is sequenced, for example, in stages or age groups. There is little formal outcomes control except that learning is guided

by different forms of societal control (rules). While formal teacher–learner relationships in the learning of cultural musics have their own strict methodologies and repertoire, the major portion of a musical culture is informally encultured in practice and by immersion.[12]

For children the focus is almost always on being physically as well as mentally and emotionally involved with music in some way. The content of each musical encounter is clearly identified by category and repertoire. Specific musical forms are circumscribed, although a certain amount of variation and innovation might be rewarded. Assessments of performances and creativity form part and parcel of musical worlds. Performances that do not "fit in" or do not enhance the societal circumstances are discouraged, redirected, removed, reprimanded, or (re)educated.[13] Even in very informal circumstances, musical and extra-musical outcomes are assessed in divergent manners, determined by the structure and qualities valued by the community. A successful outcome might be a good performance (one-off), or becoming known as a good musician, for example, at social occasions (medium term). But success might also mean becoming a full or valued member of the community, developing valued character traits, or proving that you belong, as a long-term outcome.

Among themselves children also develop a community of musical practice which has its own categories, repertoires, rules, and values, but which derive musically mainly from the sound world or musical landscape that surrounds them. Learning songs from siblings and peers, these expressive practices carry their own values – not watered down versions of adult music – and are maintained by the children according to qualities that they find valuable.[14]

The question therefore arises, what are the similarities and differences, or the strengths and weaknesses of both these music education systems?

An essential connection between learning and environment is emphasized in the theory of situated learning that is an "integral part of generative social practice,"[15] where learning is a fundamentally social phenomenon, and where context determines the structure, content, and coherence of knowledge.[16] This book argues that musical worlds clearly reveal structure, content, and coherence of knowledge, in addition to what is normally construed as cultural music. A major difference between a cultural musical world and formal education is that formal music education evolves out of national and political needs and policies. It is a system fundamentally embedded in the prevailing political system of that place and time. Musical worlds, on the other hand, have grown organically out of societal needs and practices, which may or may not be congruent with prevailing political practices, and conform in very basic ways to traditions. That is, like a river flowing over a rocky bed, musical worlds are made up of a swirl and flow of constantly changing practices layered over stable and slow-to-change customs and values in specific contexts.

Formal education has difficulty in connecting learning with the environment. For example, addressing customs, attitudes and values on a broad scale is problematic because of the many political implications of decisions in this sphere. Ibarretxe[17] points out that unarticulated incorporation of ethnographic procedures, qualitative

techniques, and methods into schools without the scaffolding of the theoretical framework which informed them can be criticized. Where traditional "tunes" are used in schools (in Spain) "they represent mere training tools, totally disconnected from the purpose and meaning of their original contexts."[18] As Green shows us so compellingly, musical abilities and interests often develop with more ease in less-structured, self-directed environments.[19] Musical practices in communities can and do flourish in the absence of formal education. Huib Schippers points out that

> The "perfectionism" of my idea – to locate *kawina*-teaching in my institution – which seemed so logical to me (based on my Western and Indian backgrounds), did not match the aims and values of these musicians. They had meetings that were musical, creative, and enjoyable; there was no need for a formal music education.[20]

As an existing generative social practice, a musical world with its mainly informal, community-based learning has much to offer in the sense of musical development, learning, motivation, creativity, and enjoyment. Music is taught by peers and socially identified experts. The learning and performing contexts tend to be social and recreational. In many cases, the performers themselves decide when and with which contents they elect to engage and their engagement is active rather than passive. However, because a musical world is a largely[21] invisible construct with permeable boundaries, it is open to many different individual and group interpretations. Its existence, aims, and rules are seldom verbalized.

By contrast, formal education is characterized by clearly verbalized goals, boundaries, aims, sequence, and methodologies. Its main concern is with knowledge of high generalizability.[22] A huge amount of time and effort is usually spent on the development of curricula by specialists, who ensure that they conform to preferred pedagogical principles, such as being learner centered, relevant. Curriculum outcomes are expressed in predictable and measurable terms. Once a syllabus appears in a printed form, everything seems clear. If, however, the practice does not seem to bear the sought fruit, or if teacher education is less than satisfactory, learner motivation and interest are poor, classrooms are ill-equipped,[23] content is perceived as irrelevant,[24] and music in schools is one of the least liked subjects,[25] should we not look to the education in musical worlds for lessons?

A strong critique against this theory of worlds of music is that urban worlds (where most writers and educationists live) are too culturally mixed to sustain such a configuration. True, the musical world described in Chapter 3 has most clarity within a mono-cultural context where most individuals subscribe to the predominant culture, and where this predominant culture brings to them a profound sense of belonging and identity. Further, it is understood that the world in which most children attend school these days is multicultural at many different levels – in terms of domains of age, ethnicity, gender, religion, and divergent musical subcultures. Nevertheless, my hypothesis is that even these ever-shifting worlds are structured by societal cognition, informed by cultural values. Adapting Bereiter and Scardamalia's[26] connectionist standpoint to learning in and through a musical world, one could expect that the result of sustained exposure would be very general

kinds of pattern learning or cultural templates, which would manifest in ways such as the following:

- familiarity, a feeling of being at home in and in harmony with the attitudes, objects of interest, and ways of thinking that pervade the existing music in that world
- the fashioning of the way we see the world, and the "metaphors we live by"
- the shaping of our intuitive standards of moral and aesthetic judgment that result in attributes such as wisdom, imagination, and character.

If one is concerned about building knowledge in individuals and building healthy and constructive social environments, then here is something to learn from. An understanding of the basic structure of such a world, colored by its unique character, could be of assistance in musical education *and* education for extra-musical purposes.

I therefore hypothesize that teachers can draw directly from the meanings, the purposes, and especially the values that underlie musical systems, to give meaning and value to learning processes. It therefore remains to investigate how this might be done and what lessons we may learn from musical worlds.

Already many educators are in agreement that music education should be informed by the socially based, constructivist theory involving "communities of practice"[27] or "knowledge-building communities."[28] Consistent with this idea, the strength of learning in musical worlds lies in its social character. The musical qualities, thinking, methodologies, aesthetics, and meanings have developed over a length of time, providing a sense of stability. Vygotsky centered his thinking on the principle that learning and development is a social, collaborative activity.[29] Moreover, social factors, parental support, teacher's personality, and peer interactions play an important role in achieving high levels of performance.[30] To relate these theoretical standpoints to the mainly informal learning environment of a musical world is not far-fetched. Teaching–learning in a musical world is almost always constructive. These theoretical insights replicate what used to happen in traditional societies, and what still appears to happen in today's informal learning situations for pop music.[31]

Insight into the way musical worlds are made and function could assist a constructivist teacher in creating a context and community for learning where learners can become fully engaged in interesting activities that encourage, generate, and facilitate learning. Take an example from real life, where a *griot*, priest, or community musician facilitates learning by guiding learners as they approach problems, suggesting ways of seeking solutions, encouraging them to work in groups where they can think about and discuss issues and questions. This kind of teacher supports them with encouragement and advice as they tackle challenges that are rooted in real-life situations. Cognitive growth, confidence building, and learning are facilitated. In musical worlds where achievement is measured in praxis, assessment and evaluation take place (more or less informally) during performances and in learning situations. This is done by peers and other members of the learner's community,

using cultural aesthetic criteria which ensure that learning undergoes quality control and standards are upheld. For a more formal approach in music education, many new ideas might be taken from collaborative education proponents.[32] Collaborative learning involves learners in identifying problems and gaps in their learning, and seeking solutions through discussion and experimentation.

Because formal systems such as schools tend to be guided by national or regional policies and practices, they relegate much of the responsibility for learning enablement of symbolic actions, evaluative thinking, beliefs, values, and attitudes to informal systems. This is supported by a survey of international curricula[33] which shows that formal music education generally focuses on the micro- and meso-levels of musical cultures, i.e., knowledge and theory of musical (sonic) structures, performance, and an acquaintance with "appropriate" repertoires. Except in the broadest sense (of generalizability), little or no attention is paid to the purposes of music, broad categories, aesthetic values and their backgrounds, and societal conventions of musical practice. Because schooling takes place away from the social–familial situations where values are normally enculturated, and because family musicing is rare nowadays, the values that underpin musical practice are neglected.

It is true that values might be better addressed in communities of practice. Creating small communities of practice within a classroom is useful, but considered in a broader sense where a musical practice infers shared historical and social resources, frameworks and perspectives,[34] the situation seems to move beyond the scope of teachers.

Knowledge building is another recent strategy that focuses on a community of learners collectively creating and recording knowledge. According to a Canadian Council of Learning report

> Knowledge building teaches students how to develop a repertoire of skills that allow them to become experts in the art of learning, a skill that, once developed, can be used across their academic and working lives. In a knowledge-building environment, students, rather than teachers, are invested with the individual and collective responsibility to identify holes in their knowledge, develop plans to close them, and assess progress in attaining their goals. Learning needs, rather than structured assignments, determine the activities students perform in order to master a specific subject.[35]

Interestingly, this is exactly what happens in musical worlds. Those who want to become the musical experts of their community invest more time and energy to developing plans to become so. Others who merely want to participate from time to time address their learning, social and emotional needs through casual participation, but nevertheless retain much musical information in the form of archetypes and templates. In formal education, however, we seem to be unwilling to accommodate such a broad range of outcomes.

Moreover, many contemporary schools worldwide are faced with multicultural circumstances that have become the norm in cities. Too often, their strategies take the form of "lip service" or a tip of the hat toward the music of immigrant or minority cultures. As Eva Fock points out (in this volume), African music is commonly used for this purpose in Scandinavian countries, as it is seen to conform to many educational principles for its practical, pattern-based, participative, energetic, and

enjoyable qualities. The dangers of tokenism and superficial contact that eliminate deep and meaningful values from the musical experience remain imminent in multicultural music education. Teachers are seldom experts, or even knowledgeable, about all the musical cultures in their environment. Bringing experts to the classroom is rarely practical, and indeed in poorer countries, impossible. Therefore, communities of practice in multicultural classrooms or schools are not the entire solution.

We know that learning which occurs in a meaningful context, not separated from the forms of learning and knowledge that are developed in the "real world", has a greater impact and more lasting results than learning that does not meet these requirements.[36] By implication then, school experiences of music should be related to out-of-school experiences, or broad cultural experiences that include youth culture, popular culture, and family or community culture. Socio-cultural constructivist thinking locates the mind in the individual in social action, so that learning is primarily a process of enculturation into a community of practice. Group learning "through taking part in the collective actions of the group"[37] is one of the foundations of what can also be referred to as learning by immersion or enculturation.[38] Whereas immersion and enculturation seem to imply a largely unconscious process, group learning implies some form of taking part, being active. In Africa, as in many other cultures, group learning is practiced from a very early age and continues throughout life. Africans in Africa have a system of musical education that functions specifically to produce humans responsive to music and to one another. This kind of learning functions well in informal learning situations and in cultural practices. What kinds of methodological lessons can one glean from these and other musical worlds?

Green's (2006, 2008) latest work addresses the methodologies involved in informal group learning and addresses methodologies by investigating the results of learning methods used by popular musicians in schools. Perhaps such research is required to investigate potential learning communities outside of schools, not as an additional source of learning, but as a replacement. More on this further on.

Musical Development in Classrooms

The study of musical development in formal education indicates certain common trends. In the first place, musical development is approached as an educational problem to be solved. The child, who is seen as a kind of musical *tabula rasa*, needs to be inducted into or learn formally prescribed content, along with the skills to demonstrate this musical knowledge at a pre-determined standard or level, within a given time frame. Certain activities are prescribed in order to attain the required level of musical skills and knowledge. How to reach these goals is a problem that curriculum designers and methodologists try to solve.

But, as Bruner points out in his more recent work, education cannot or should not be reduced to mere information processing. Education aims to help learners

construct meanings, not simply to manage information, and this requires an understanding of the ways of one's culture.[39] This includes the transmission of the tools and skills, including symbolic skills, of a culture. Musical education then, seen in this sense, needs to take cognizance of cultural ways of thinking, metaphoric thinking, symbolic thinking. But is this realistic in contemporary schools?

Given Vygotsky's theory that higher order functions of human development emerge out of social interaction, and Bandura's view that people are more likely to adopt and retain a modeled behavior if it results in outcomes they value,[40] formal classrooms really do not seem to be the best places to really learn music. First, human interaction in classrooms is controlled and guided by teachers rather than by more valued peer interaction, except on a small scale. Second, the outcomes that learners value most in music and which they prefer to model are not those promoted by teachers, but by pop stars, community musicians, peers, and global celebrities. No surprise, therefore, if the outcomes we as educators desire most – a love for "good" music and joy in performing – are so seldom attained. My love for music certainly did not come from formal classroom education!

In the second place, music education tends to be based on notions of musical development as an ongoing, linear process in which children learn increasingly complex and skillful musical behaviors as they progress. While partially true, Bamberger contests the uni-directionality and, following Bruner's educational theory, suggests that

> rather than being a unidirectional process, musical development is a spiraling, endlessly recursive process in which multiple organizing constraints are concurrently present, creating an essential, generative tension as they play a transformational dance with one another.[41]

In less formal learning environments, this spiraling process is clearly visible, as music is learnt through observation, play, imitation, and self-entertainment as and when circumstances arise. Children go back and learn again what they haven't mastered previously, and by teaching and learning from peers in play they internalize musical processes firmly in mind and body. The common focal points in musical learning – starting with musical sound, building up a repertoire developed through praxis (singing, playing, dancing, creating, appreciating, reflecting) – are understood both in formal music education and informal. As Green points out, even when learners are given almost total freedom to select their own music and instruments to learn popular music, they begin to learn in what at first appears to be a chaotic way, experimenting with sounds and instruments. They then negotiate roles, they develop a sonic image of what they are aiming for, and work – quite hard – at achieving it. Green also explains that teachers do not find it easy to "let go" the more normal control of classroom learning processes and outcomes, even when they know that outcomes are less than satisfactory.[42]

From Green's study then, it seems that what is missing in formal education is not a lack of understanding about how music is learnt, but a lack of understanding about the importance of learners' making their own choices in music and in method, and taking responsibility for the outcomes. They – the learners – need to value the music and the ability to "get it right" in order to commit themselves to

this learning process. This is supported by constructivist theory. It is also similar to what happens in musical communities, where the learning process seems to be haphazard (although it seldom is), but where "getting it right" secures the person a place, a kind of status, in the community. Understanding what the music is about, and why it is important to society (in those circumstances) often makes all the difference to commitment as well as enjoyment. "Getting it right" brings with it its own enjoyment, a deep satisfaction or "flow," to use Csikszentmihalyi's now mainstream term.

In order to engage learners and facilitate musical development, we need to involve learners more centrally in the process and content selection, we need to consider levels of social interaction at greater depth, and we need to relate more closely to the learners' cultural, metaphorical, and symbolic ways of thinking. The question, of course, is how? While I do not profess to have the answers, some pointers might serve to guide further thinking.

Cultural Intersections or Collisions?

A spiraling, holistic, praxial, and socialized form of musical learning sounds impossibly complicated, yet has been achieved across the world's cultures in their constructions of musical worlds. The issue is how we can take these systems into modern multicultural classrooms? How can we ensure that learners' experiences include meaningful and transferable performing, listening, appraising, and creating opportunities? At which level of cultural integration can classroom education function most effectively and meaningfully – by assimilation, creating musical hybrids, encouraging intercultural interactions, or isolationism?

In relatively uniform groups a shared musical world promotes a sense of belonging and cohesion. But what happens when children from different musical worlds meet in the classroom, for example, a person accustomed to the questioning way of European life and its musical interpretations, and one similarly accustomed to the obligations and musical conformities of Islam? Can we assume that there are enough human commonalities to provide a basis for arts education?

Harris (2006) points out that although all teaching should be holistic and ethical, this becomes even more important when teaching Muslim learners, because there is no distinction between religious and secular life in Islam. Thus values held and transmitted in the classroom become even more important. Musical performance is, as we know, based on internalized sound memories built up throughout childhood and onward and generally form an important part of music education programs. For Muslim learners[43], however, not only would performance activities where boys and girls are mixed create difficulties but more importantly, the value of musical performing is low in Islam and therefore not aspired to. Most arts curricula, however, value performance highly. This creates a tension between expectations and value systems.

Teachers are aware of the fact that they need some kind of strategy to deal with cultural differences in the classroom. This, of course, goes much deeper than the music that is taught. Differences of culture invoke emotions, beliefs, and value systems. All of which might feel like a powder keg waiting to explode. In some cases, official policy has recommended the assimilation of foreigners into "home" cultures. As two prominent African music educators argue very positively,

> the classroom is a unifying institution; it brings together children from different ethnic groups...[and] races. It is therefore in the classroom that the diversity of learners can be assimilated into a multi-ethnic or multicultural school programme.[44]

Unfortunately, this statement over-simplifies the situation. "Assimilation" of different cultures into a school society or program is seldom deep or lasting, if it happens at all. This applies particularly when cultural value systems differ. The closer the basic value system, the more readily assimilation might occur. Moreover, assimilation might infer the absorption of a weaker group(s) into a dominant group. In Basque areas of Spain, Ibarretxe found that diversity of musical cultures in schools is not only unevenly spread but also heavily influenced by dominant cultures and lacks connection to musical preferences of learners.[45] The reality in truly multicultural settings is therefore more complex than merely learning to appreciate divergent cultural notions and practices, although this surely is a start. When stressed in classrooms, especially at the secondary level, we can find that rather than integration, cultural "otherness" actually becomes over-emphasized in individual minds partly as a result of the stresses and changes of adolescence and identity development. This is counterproductive and learners can even turn against "others" with grave outcomes.[46] The promotion or negation of otherness remains sensitive and is directly related to community culture, media, and political perspectives.

Rather than focusing on differences, one could alternatively approach music by locating a common ground, a curriculum based upon cultural similarities that also encourages deeper understanding of the subject matter. Ernest Boyer[47] characterized this common ground as "The Human Commonalities," eight universal cultural concepts shared by people throughout the world, and suggests that they provide a structure for meeting the challenges of diversity. These commonalities are that all of us experience cycles of life; develop symbols; respond to the aesthetic; have the capacity to recall the past and anticipate the future; develop forms of social bonding; are connected to the ecology of the planet; produce and consume; and seek meaning and purpose. Relating music education to a musical world or worlds can bring education closer to understanding these commonalities.

In culturally mixed societies where social and familial interactions have crossed cultural boundaries, hybridity seems to offer another solution. Musical hybridity implies a creative blend of styles, cultures, or times, although there seems little evidence yet that postmodern hybridities have eliminated racial barriers.[48] A different way of asking questions about hybridity would really be to consider whether different musical worlds stand in opposition to one another or whether there are facets where they may comfortably, logically, and aesthetically intersect? Comfortable intersections allow for hybridity, whereas oppositional facets such as oppositional

values and conventions make hybrid musical growth unlikely. It therefore makes sense that these factors be examined and compared. Then decisions might be taken on whether cultural musical practices need to be separated to avoid "collisions" or can intersect in a way that allows for growth and development. The efforts made by, for example, Swedish musicians and others to create musical hybrids in South Africa[49] provide insights into these processes and outcomes.

Cultural contexts provide shared bases of understanding as a result of common life experiences, something that city dwellers also seek. Thus, even in cities there is a tendency to mix socially mostly with others of similar cultural and class backgrounds. Promoting intercultural understanding through education has become a popular call from many educators. It is true that isolating cultures for their "purity" is impossible and undesirable. To mix everything up into one global porridge is equally undesirable. Intercultural understanding is a politically motivated concept and will ostensibly help bring about world peace if it should ever succeed. But to develop intercultural understanding one cannot remain attached to own self-evident patterns of identity expression or their supporting value systems. Nor can dominant patterns of identity expression inundate others. There needs to be a willingness to understand, a readiness to accept change, to acquire intercultural competencies, and to learn more about each other. While I find little evidence of research that authoritatively provides guidelines for intercultural success, the assumption is normally that openness and acceptance of "otherness" are basic attitudes. Most likely, intercultural understanding is best achieved from a position of identity clarity and firm values, not confusion. But, in a typical Catch 22, such an identity clarity is not likely to emerge from the truly multicultural classroom.

It appears, therefore, that assimilation, hybridity, and intercultural understandings are notions that demand a certain attitude of acceptance and accommodation. They do not necessarily demand becoming proficient in the musical practices of other cultures. However, understanding of other cultures (and own) that includes reference to beliefs, values, and the related aesthetics could go a long way to bridging the gaps of understanding. Learning about "other" music can be related more to culture and values, and followed by an attempt at performance according to those values.

Creativity and Issues of Continuity and Change

In the field of ethnomusicology, the inherent tensions between continuity and change have long been the subject of discourse (to the point of boredom). Yet in music education, this issue is rarely discussed. Briefly, continuity in this sense refers to the stable, familiar, and relatively unchanging factors in musical cultures, while change invokes all the flux and instability, the new, the contact with outside factors, and continuous change that all cultures experience. Continuity and change are also fundamental aspects of identity. We all undergo continuous growth, development, and change, but still retain a firm handle on and sense of who we are. It is

only in situations of stress, uncertainty, addiction, and general mental instability that these factors become clouded and uncertain. The same applies to societies and to dissipating cultures.

Many years ago, Carl Rogers[50] identified inner and outer conditions for creative thinking. This behaviorist approach described inner conditions as being open to experience rather than only accepting convention; being flexible, self-trusting, tolerant of ambiguity, and avoid rigid categorical thinking; "locus of evaluations," being trusting of own evaluations rather than those of "the expert" and being able to toy exploratively or spontaneously with elements and concepts. The external conditions included a positive and secure climate or environment as well as freedom for exploring. Rogers also saw creativity as resulting in some kind of product which is the product of the relationship between the individual and his materials.[51] Very individualistically conceived, Rogers' notion of creativity did not entertain the idea of collective or collaborative creativity. However, contemporary constructive thinking still places emphasis on the creation of a classroom atmosphere in which a learner has freedom to think and explore within certain boundaries of behavior. This is not different to traditional "village" situations in which templates and societal rules formed the boundaries within which there was great freedom and security within which to explore through variation, improvisation, and extemporization around the more fixed convention of a template.

In a musical culture, composition is the activity that most involves decisions about continuity and change. All music that is newly created or composed is derived from earlier musical knowledge and experience, even when the composer tries to break away from what is predictable. Csikszentmihalyi[52] suggests that creativity is as much a cultural and social construct as a psychological one that functions at several different levels, which include the domain or field of creativity; the person involved in the act, and the field or context in which this takes place. He refers to the importance of societal judgments of creative actions, implying aesthetic evaluations located within a framework of rules and conventions. He emphasizes that whether an idea or product is considered creative does not depend on its own qualities, but on the effect it has on those exposed to it.[53]

Social systems judge whether something is innovative and creative or not. Creativity, therefore, occurs when a change is made in the "domain" (culture), but it is the gatekeepers of the "field" in the society who determine whether the idea or product results in change and acceptance over time or not. It does not seem to matter how big or small the creative action is – whether an entire opera has been composed or whether a sweet variation has been added to a jazz template or a traditional music template. What does matter is that it is seen to involve a change in a symbolic system that affects the thoughts and feelings of members of the culture. Nor is it clear how the level of originality or innovation is measured by society. However, as Hanna[54] points out, if the innovation moves too far away from known cultural templates, it will initially be seen as unacceptable. Whether this influences how it is perceived in terms of creativity is not apparent.

In Chapter 3 I suggested that composers select their preferences from sound combinations that align broadly with their internally memorized musical templates.

From this sonic cognition they create musical combinations, sequences, and patterns that are seen as original (new) within the broad framework of their cultural conventions. Thus there is always a sense of cultural continuity in new compositions, variations, and improvisations. But the fact that it is a new composition brings the element of change to the fore.

Generally, a balance is required between these two points on a continuum, so that music remains recognizable within the cultural framework (the general cultural musical template), yet brings in something new and fresh for listeners and performers who eventually tire of "the same." Too much new and the music will not be generally accepted. Too little new and it sounds derivative. This holds clear implications for education in composition: how many teachers make use of clear templates in early introductions to composition? Which templates do they use? My early composing tuition, for example, was firmly located within classical and baroque harmony and counterpoint – music that was somewhat distant from my own identity. Do composition experiences mostly involve diatonic scales? "Regular" meters? How much attention is given to divergent cultural templates within composition exercises and experiences?

Moreover, one could question the issue of individual creativity and composer freedom in relation to cultural templates. How much change should one aspire to? Is the amount of change a cultural issue in itself, where rapid change is valued alongside development and competitive values in only some societies?

Composition, like any creative process, requires and utilizes various styles of thinking – lateral, logical, and collective, for example. Edward De Bono coined the term lateral thinking and defines it as those methods of thinking that are not obtainable using only step-by-step logic, but more concerned with changing concepts and perception, creating new ideas.[55] While some composition processes work almost exclusively with lateral processes, others use a very logical step-by-step method. Collective composition, on the other hand, usually functions only in community and involves the sharing of ideas, hitting one idea off that of another person, or working in praxis by adding on musical material in layers to a beginning idea. In collective compositions there is normally no identified composer as the work is collaborative.

Musical composition is a process where aspects of "knowledge building" are applied as a form of creative thinking.[56] This involves a focus on improving an idea or solving a (musical) problem, using the full range of available strategies and resources; developing something that is of value to the community. The notion of creativity itself applies both to the thinking activity that leads to new ideas and the quality of particular outcomes.[57] Creative thinking is normally explained as thinking that produces something novel, interesting, valuable, or an imaginative recombination of known elements into something new. But to be creative, the ideas also need to be appropriate or relevant in terms of an intended purpose, and this is culturally delineated. In other words, for a thought of product to be considered creative, it must be judged by people, according to their criteria and values.

Musical creativity is therefore also an activity that is embedded in a socio-cultural context. Campbell's captivating study of children's music[58] reveals that the creative

activities of children take place as they live and interact with the various influences of family, community, and society, all influencing their ideas, values, and behaviors.[59] Within their interactive social spheres of family and friends, children learn and share music that is already within the cultural repertoire, but at the same time their play – with its improvising and changing – is a creative activity. Pamela Burnard agrees, saying that children's creative development emerges from

> membership within various social and cultural units such as the influence of parents and carers within the nuclear culture of the family, or at the interface of social contexts with friends and peers in out-of-school communities or as members of multiple cultures.[60]

She too emphasizes the importance of established norms and practices "that identify and distinguish between ways of understanding creativity, in terms of societal judgements and values."[61]

These views reveal creative thinking as a social process that in itself reveals the tugs of continuity and change. Therefore, if one sees continuity and change as opposite ends of a continuum of ordinary thinking, then creative thinking is really a position on that scale (of ordinary thinking) that probably leans more toward the change extreme than the continuity extreme.

All the above implies that teachers need to know what a given musical template is (representing stable continuity in the learners' musical environment) with its framework of cultural rules and conventions, so that a position can be taken in terms of creativity, bringing about changes. A reflective teacher and a reflective group of learners can enhance this process.

However, questions need to be asked about the relation between values and composition. For example, how much value is placed on innovation as opposed to retaining what is important in a specific society or culture? Who (in a culture) are the persons allowed or encouraged to bring about changes? In certain cultures this may be closely linked to gender or age, and abrupt changes create difficulties. How ought innovations and changes to be brought about or brought to the attention of others? In certain cultural groups, innovation may have to find its way through a circuitous route. In some societies the identity of a composer means nothing, in others compositions are rigidly copyrighted and individually owned.

Through these questions I do not wish to suggest that creativity ought to be bound and limited by traditional (as in outdated) thinking and rules. But the teacher who is insensitive to cultural norms might not understand the limits that learners place on themselves.

Counterpoint and Interlock by Boh Wah Leung

The issue of continuity and changes raised by Minette Mans is an extremely important concept in musical creativity. Creativity cannot be separated from the cultural development of a society, a community, or a country.

Creativity has been widely understood and accepted as a spectrum that lies between uniqueness and appropriateness of a product, a creative process or even an idea. The level of creativity of a musical composition relies on how it balances

between the two poles on the spectrum. When a piece is written with much reference to the existing musical styles, it might be easy for the audience to accept and understand, yet it might also be regarded as another ordinary piece in the genre which would be easily forgotten. On the other hand, if a composer tries to explore the uniqueness on a composition without addressing the existing musical culture, the piece might be rejected by the audience and it may take a long period of time for the society to digest.

As the discussion is related to the cultural ecology of music, I hereby refer to the Cantonese opera, which I am familiar with. Cantonese opera is one of the 350 kinds of regional Chinese operas in China. It has been well spread in the Guangdong Province, including Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and Macau.

The Cantonese opera started to develop during the mid-Qing Dynasty (1644–1911). At that time the Cantonese opera was regarded as an oblation of worships of different gods and people's ancestors, or an entertainment to celebrate different festivals. This was also almost the only formal entertainment of the people living in the rural areas in China. Therefore performances could only be held in some special time of the year (such as the festival time and the birthday of those "gods"). Under such circumstance, Cantonese opera troupes had to travel to different towns and cities to perform by a pair of "red boats" along the South China Sea.

Cantonese opera displays a number of characteristics of that should be understood. Since the audience was the people who were illiterate, the use of language was rather rude. There were no written scripts for most of the performances. This was due to the lack of intellectuals who could provide quality scripts for the troupes. Instead, the troupes employed some Chinese traditional stories, which were well known in the Chinese society, and the performers had to "improvise" their singing and dialogues on stage with a musical and a literal framework. In addition, since the troupes had to go to different towns for performing, they had to simplify their stage setting, for example, by only providing a big painting for the background (see Plate 5.1), and a table and two chairs to represent all kinds of environment such as an office of a government official. Based on the simplicity of the stage setting, the actors and actresses had to employ different mimetic movements to show the time and environment. For instances, it would be common to see a general who holds a horsewhip and takes some riding motion to represent that he is riding on a horse, and to find an actor looking up with mimetic actions to show to the audience that he is walking upward on a staircase.

The Cantonese opera has been changing gradually from Qing Dynasty to the modern time. After World War II and the establishment of the new China in 1949, the Cantonese opera developed mainly in Hong Kong as most of the renowned troupes stayed in Hong Kong for a more stable environment. During the 1950s and 1960s, one of the most important actresses, Ms. Pak Suet Sin (see Plate 5.2), tried to change the traditional practice of the Cantonese opera. First, she thought that improvisation on the stage without a formal script was not a good practice, and thus advocated that Chinese literature should be used as the major source of the scripts as it would elevate the artistry of Cantonese opera. Thus she hired Mr. Tong Dik Sang (see Plate 5.3), who was a famous script writer, to work extensively on

Plate 5.1   A Cantonese opera stage with a big painting as the background

adapting traditional Chinese novels and scripts in her performances. Second, she tried to avoid any improvisation on stage and requested every performer to follow the written scripts strictly. Third, she started to bring concrete stage setting on the stage. For instance, she had a staircase built on the stage so that the performers didn't need to employ some actions to mime the action of walking on a staircase. According to her explanation in a TV interview, Ms. Pak thought that the

Plate 5.2   Pak Suet Sin (born 1928)

Plate 5.3 Tong Dik Sang (1917–1959)

Cantonese opera is like a human being who is growing and living. The genre needs to be developed with the changes of the time and contexts. According to her view, the education level of the audience is continuously improving. The Cantonese opera should be kept improving by absorbing good practices from the Western drama and opera.

From the practice of Cantonese opera illustrated above, we can see that ethnic music, such as the Cantonese opera, has been facing continuous changes of the contexts, which may include physical environment and socio-cultural changes. The physical environment of performing Cantonese opera has been moved from the rural area to the urban area during the 1950s in south China. Performances were moved from small towns to big cities. In such circumstance the performing venues were moved from rough temporary theaters (built with bamboos and wooden materials) to modern theaters. The audiences changed from mainly grass-root class to the middle and high class of the society. The latter had a higher level of education and would expect a higher level of artistry exposed by the Cantonese opera. Improvisation was regarded as a raw and crude performance practice which should be avoided. In addition, the social function of Cantonese opera has gradually changed from a ritual one to be an artistic and entertaining one. Cantonese opera has been regarded as one of the arts which are supported by the Hong Kong Arts Development Council of the Hong Kong government.

The evolution of Cantonese opera can be viewed as a desire for creativity and innovation in the genre. However, this desire is addressing practical issues and problems raised from the society. Some of the experienced practitioners might find the traditional practice does not suit the evolving contexts. The traditional practice might reflect an old fashion appearance with low artistic value which may lead to great decline of audience. In order to keep the Cantonese opera survive, the changes

seem to be necessary. Therefore the changes are addressing the socio-cultural needs generated from the changing society.

In such a perspective, music education can be viewed as cultural education. When teaching music in all levels, teachers should analyze the historical, socio-economic, and cultural contexts of specific societies, communities, and countries so that students can understand more thoroughly. In addition, it is commonly found that the adolescents may reject traditional ethnic music in the education system. Thus the context of traditional ethnic music is a key to open the door for the young-ster so that they would understand the background of music. Music should also be linked to other disciplines so that students would perceive the world with a more holistic perspective and understanding.

Music as Social Practice and Normative Education Through Music

During an extended stint working in Eritrea, tasked with the development of the arts curriculum and teaching–learning materials for elementary and middle school levels within their national curriculum, I was once again struck by the manner in which different musical worlds inform perceptions and experiences. This is a country with nine distinct and celebrated ethnic groupings. Politically they are well integrated, know a lot about each other, and show respect for differences, knowing that they all strived together for independence.[62] Religious affiliations differ but this deeply religious population of Christians and Muslims show great respect and toleration for each other. National television and celebrations (there are many) always allow time for every ethnic culture to showcase its music and dance. However, in my capacity-building work, I found that people were immediately able to recognize the staged dances of different ethnic groups, but did not know when and why people themselves (not performing troupes) made music or danced. They were unfamiliar with talking about characteristics of the different musics. There was disagreement over the names of instruments. And except for one dance and its music, nobody seemed able to tell me what the aesthetic criteria for evaluation would be.

I asked, "How does one know when a musician, for example, a kirar player and singer, is really good?" The best answer was to look around and see whether others thought so. Good and well, I thought. That is a valid answer, although I had expected something more theoretical from the lecturers at the Music School and musicians in various bands. So I pressed on.

"Yes, but what if I am the only one there, say, listening to a recording?" Again, the group was nonplussed.

"Read the sleeve notes?" one suggested tentatively.

"Should I look at technique, and what would that be?" I asked. "Or is it more important to listen to the words, or to look at expressivity. Does it maybe have something to do with the relation between singing and playing, for example?" I was hoping to give them some potential criteria to think about. After several similar

questions and answers that seemed to lead nowhere, I used dance examples. Here the answers came closer to what I sought. In the Tigrinya dance kuda which is mainly for women, the smiling face looking out is very important, although an outsider would notice the (also important) shoulder shrugs first. Creating a contrast between the first, slower section and the second "hotter" section is important, and here the criterium is the hotter the better, with eye communication over the shoulder to the next dancer. This led to deeper musical discussion of guaila – the music for kuda. Again, to an outsider used to African dance, they appear decidedly calm and contained in their dance. So then I asked about this. "What about hip and pelvic movements like shakes, wiggles, and thrusts?" A silence descended because the idea was clearly a bit offensive, although young Eritrean pop singers do perform such movements. I asked why they did not do these movements, and the answers were surprisingly divergent. In some of the ethnic groups such sensual movements with sexual innuendo is quite acceptable, but this is circumscribed by convention. The conventions differed. An argument broke out – not common among these polite people.

"Only when women are alone and they know nobody is looking, they might do this."

"Only amongst the southern ethnic groups in the south west and south east can you find this," said another with slight disdain.

"It is okay for people to do, but then it must be only certain occasions, like late at night at a wedding, or at the bridegroom's house before the wedding," was a third response.

"All the young people do it, and especially after the fighters in the struggle, they changed the dance to become hotter. So we like it. It shows you are a fighter or you are young."

There were other conditions as well. But some people felt that such movements were blasphemous and disrespectful and should be punished.

Clearly, one could not bring just any dance movements into a classroom here because the framework of rules from different cultural worlds differed widely. The normative framework of a society plays a defining role not only in the structuring of musical worlds but also in education.

Music educators often pronounce value judgments about music – good music, poor music, well played, excellent composer, and so on. As mentioned earlier, such judgments use criteria from a specific set of aesthetic values, which in turn arise out of the socio-cultural values. In a reflective teaching practice where one encourages aesthetic development, it is important to know and express the aesthetic criteria that will be employed in the classroom. But it is also important to know whose aesthetic values are being used, and whose are being ignored. As Even Ruud wrote in his counterpoint in Chapter 4, "How far will music educators be able to go within a national curriculum program where the historical canon of one dominant group often sets the premises for the daily work in the classroom?" (this volume). This question is even more poignant when the historical canon remains that of previous colonial occupiers rather than local cultures, for example, in Hong Kong, Japan, Ghana, Australia, Philippines, several South American and African countries, and others besides. When, in Namibia writers and activists speak of de-colonizing the

mind, this is exactly what they mean. When the norms and values of a different culture remain part of a hidden curriculum, indigenous cultures will never be valued.

Whose values may or should a teacher address, and which values are the most relevant? More fundamentally, one should probably ask whether teachers want to address value issues. As Stake and colleagues point out, there is often a discrepancy between teacher beliefs and their practice.[63] Their research showed that teachers provide little guidance toward aesthetic choices beyond the superficial. Much of this has to do with a lack of criteria that teachers feel they can apply. This is where knowledge of a musical world, with its framework of conventions that include aesthetic criteria, can provide guidance. This does not mean that such criteria need to be accepted as the only valid references, but since they relate to a framework or environment of cultural practice, they can assist in evaluation and comparison.

What would qualify as aesthetic criteria? This is not a question that can be answered universally. However, the values that were discussed in Chapter 4 might provide some guidance.

If a culture celebrates individuality, then one might look for qualities such as originality, a unique identity, and virtuosity in a performance. If a culture celebrates continuity and fertility, then one might look for qualities of continuity, stability, sensuousness, maybe a greater range of ages in performance. In addition to such broad and often subvert qualities, specific musical qualities at the micro-level can be investigated.

How important is clarity of tone?

How important is dynamic range?

Is it "good" to have improvisation and/or development of a theme, or does this merely distort the familiarity and clarity of the musical theme?

What does a sharp, high female vocal tone say about the woman's role and place in society, as opposed to a deep, "dirty" tone?

Is head tone "better" than throat tone? If so, why, and why is it not more prevalent?

Are more notes better than few notes? Or similarly, is a thick, full texture better than a thin texture?

Perhaps an important social question could also be, should music – good music, that is – be left only to "the talented" or professionals?

These, and a myriad other possible value-based questions, pose many practical, analytical, and emotional questions for learners and teachers. But they go deeper than taste only. We are not talking about what this one likes, or that one. Questions might therefore draw unexpected, and unexpectedly loaded, responses. However, research[64] and experience have shown that in many cases, it is learners' investigation and understanding of extrinsic factors that lead to deeper enjoyment of the music and intense satisfaction in the learning process. This applies not only to one's own familiar musical world but also to discovering music outside one's culture. It is only by understanding values within a musical culture that true appreciation begins to develop. Moreover, if values in different societies are uncovered, learners can

experience the challenge of finding the "familiar in the strange" and the "strange in the familiar."[65]

Most cultures reward the excellent performer, but often, there are many other ways or levels at which to engage with musical activities. In traditional cultures this may involve participating, dancing, creating the psychological atmosphere, or even providing the necessary food and drink. In urban, technological societies this might involve development of support software, organization of shows, sales management, and so on. We know that the desire for recognition and respect is a strong motivating force.[66] Educators need to find ways to engage in significant activities, which might involve the use of popular music or different methodologies in the classroom, or might involve developing greater understanding of musical meaning and purpose.

It is important to know that music exists for reasons deeper and wider than entertainment only. Appreciation and understanding of music are influenced by experiences with music. Appreciation involves interpretative reasoning skills and opinion forming skills. Interpretative reasoning gives an understanding of both the historical and social context of the work. It can be a fascinating study to examine the diversity of rules and values that cultures develop, relating to time, context, and place of musical performance, among other things (as discussed in Chapter 3).

Consider addressing questions about music's relationship to the socio-cultural framework of *time*. This could include questions about its history, heritage, and the passage of time. It could also address questions about the aesthetic differences between what is called "late-nite" music, music that one likes in the morning or that you play at the start of a party. Second, the *context* of music may be investigated in terms of its purpose (e.g., celebration), mode (solo, group), its exclusions (which people may not take part), environment (commercial, religious, royal, political), material traits associated with music, power relations (who leads, dominant culture), and behaviors associated with it (e.g., formality, clapping, shouting). Clearly these contexts can provide topics of great interest to learners and contribute toward understanding the meaning of the music. A third aspect of the framework of music is its rules of *place*. These include geo-physical rules (where it takes place), character (theater, pub, church, hut), organization (seating), formality, and special qualities (sacred sites, memory sites, personal or public space).

Most of the musical learning of the majority of contemporary youth is informal, whether in traditional communities or in the city. They learn through television, radio and recordings, and the Internet. It is no longer possible for village elders to instruct the youth on what is good or not. They absorb and interpret aesthetics, not from the older generation, but from peers and the stars they emulate. Much has been written[67] about why teachers often avoid this entire arena of music, preferring to continue with music that children find increasingly foreign to their own culture. The time has come, however, for teachers to move out of their comfort zone and address the many different musical arenas that surround most school environments, such as community music-making. This makes sense even, or especially, in multicultural environments. Community music may function at diverse levels such as community music schools; community performance organizations; ethnic/preservation groups; religious groups; associative organizations within schools; outreach initiatives of

universities and colleges; and informal, affinity groups.[68] Contact with community music organizations is often a good idea because they are usually based on the awareness of a societal need. In trying to satisfy that need, such organizations are of the few musical environments where values are emphasized. It remains the teacher's responsibility, of course, to ensure that the values espoused are not in contradiction to the values of the school or society at large.

Further, value considerations can be built into curricula in terms of pedagogy and the selection of musical content. It might draw more attention to social issues, such as the manner in which music determines performance procedures, or the manner in which societies determine musical procedures. Learners themselves might have a greater input into the selection and order of learning materials. Focus on aesthetic evaluation and criteria could draw attention to musical structures at several levels. In addition it is likely to draw an awareness of other arts.

The central issue remains that the major portion of the music learners experience has only entertainment as its objective and value. Is this an indication of the music of the future, or merely of neglect?[69]

Suggestions for Enhancing Musical Learning Processes Within Musical Worlds

In the development of many music curricula in different countries the emphasis is on content and pedagogical principles aimed at developing musical skills or musicianship. Curricula are also political documents in the sense that they are the outcome of a general policy of state or governmental bodies to standardize the products of education and to develop the kinds of citizens desired. Where education systems in the past aimed mainly at developing academic knowledge and understanding alongside some basic skills, it was assumed that the necessary attitudes for being a useful member of society and a good citizen would be an automatic outcome of good, strict, teacher-directed teaching. Over time, pedagogical thinking evolved, influenced theoretically by behaviorism, functionalism, Marxism, post-structuralism, constructivism, and in the case of music, strongly influenced by learning theories, sociology, cultural studies, popular psychology, and stronger emphases on political and democratic rights across the world. Gordon Cox[70] points out in a historical survey of arts education that certain curriculum issues remain unsolved, for example, the conflict between subject-centered and learner-centered approaches to learning; the pressures of adapting effective arts education to utilitarian education philosophies; and the problematic status of arts education in formal settings. Conflicting values employed by the system that stresses music education, and the social system that values performers more highly, continue to muddle the attitudinal outcomes. But we know that attitudes are a vital component of the education process. This paragraph will not go into all the convolutions of curriculum development, styles, and philosophies, but will concentrate only on the intersection of formal curricula with a musical world, in the sense of content underwritten by values. As Richard Colwell reminds us, music does not need the discipline of music education – "music was

taught successfully for centuries and continues to be well taught by individuals not trained in music education."[71] A full, humanizing, and socializing education, on the other hand, needs the inclusion of music as part of a "thoughtful curriculum." Many music curricula remain, however, rooted in a behaviorist approach where certain musical skills are highlighted, while individual response and socialization remain resolutely underplayed.

Moreover, the reality of music curricula as a socializing medium in many places takes the form of a tip of the hat toward the surrounding musical culture, collecting exemplary forms and examples of popular music or vernacular or traditional music.[72] Seldom is focus overtly placed on the effect on learners' responses to music in the social sense – how they feel this benefits them as human beings, how this makes them "better" in the sense of better educated, better able to get along with others, better able to appreciate their own strengths and weaknesses, and understand where and how they fit into society. In Chapter 3 I suggested that musical worlds help each new generation form musical identities, aesthetic responses and judgments, musical tastes or preferences, and musical patterns of cognition (including memory, recognition, and creativity), because the musical culture and world have been formed by situated collective thinking and musical decision making. Perhaps the development of a musical culture is not the task of the music educator and curriculum, but it is, or was, the task of a music education in a musical world. Can this be attempted in formal education?

In my experience, several countries have in recent years brought about changes to their arts curricula to become (a) learner centered, (b) outcomes based, and (c) integrate the different forms of arts. A reading of recent music education literature shows that educationists have been taking the many problems faced by this subject very seriously. Excellent projects have seen the light and many teachers are willing to put in extra time and effort to succeed in this task.[73]

A significant shift has been from content delivery to capacity building via more learner-friendly pedagogical strategies. Many curricula now call for a learner-centered approach based on interactive pedagogy. This means that the teacher is not seen as an all-knowing instructor for "empty vessel" learners into whom they pour knowledge. The teacher is not always expected to be the specialist in the subject, therefore the teacher does not have to be "an artist" or "a musician." Rather, the teacher is expected to act as a facilitator who unlocks the potential that the learner has, by providing an environment in which the learner is free to explore, discover new things, express ideas, and create. The teacher is a collaborator in problem solving, rather than someone who has all the answers. The teacher's role in the interaction is to guide learners through the steps; translate the information and skills to be learnt into a format appropriate to the learner's current state of understanding; engage learners in discussions *while they are working;* suggest ideas that might solve problems or challenges; allow learners several tries at solving problems; de-emphasize the final product, because finishing a product is not the only reason for engaging in art activities; ensure students do not feel they have "failed" if their solutions do not work; and emphasize the problem-solving aspects of an activity.

Consider, for example, playing in an instrumental ensemble in class. There might be one learner who continues to have difficulty in keeping up, or distracts the others with jokes. Rather than just tell them to "do it again," the teacher and learners together should try to find ways to make things work. There are several options the group can explore – the one with difficulties needs more time to rehearse. Or, find a different player. Or, find out what his problem is and try to correct it, e.g., with foot movements, or some other playing technique. Or, give him a buddy with whom to rehearse and team up, and so on. What is important in interactive pedagogy is that both teacher and learners work as a kind of guided team to investigate different potential solutions and then try them out, until one works.

Outcomes-based education (OBE) is a fairly recent development in formal schooling. It is a system that can be criticized on many levels, but at core, it is a pragmatic approach to education that focuses on the development of core basic skills, where teachers need solid, measurable competencies as learning outcomes to assess. The purposes of outcomes-based education include helping curriculum developers and textbook writers to be highly selective about content so as to develop specific understanding and skills; helping teachers to focus on exactly what the learner should achieve, and thus plan the teaching–learning processes accordingly; and assisting in assessment and evaluation that is based on the learner's achievement of previously described competencies.[74]

One of the main concerns of arts educators is the complexity of describing many of the most valued results of arts education in terms of *competencies.* How do you "measure" attitudes in school classrooms? How do you judge whether responses to music are positive, or even honest? How do you measure the values that are being inculcated? How do you measure creativity? Even aesthetic values provide teachers with problems in the classroom.

Research has shown that even though teachers want to teach learners how to evaluate their own and other work aesthetically, they do not provide their learners with useful aesthetic criteria.[75] In order to do this, there needs to be a coordinated identification and recognition of the distinguishing features of the musical categories and repertoires of the surrounding musical world(s). Such categories have in most cases already been "tested" against the values of the society. This can then be followed by a age-level sensitive comparison of the music under discussion at a given moment against this framework. In this way the teacher contributes to the development of aesthetic evaluation.

The sorts of questions a teacher can ask to stimulate a deeper (less taste-based) evaluation include the following:

> What does that (music, instrument, voice, rhythm) sound like to you?
> Does it have special name?
> Why does it (a type of music, instrument, voice, rhythm, melody) have a special name?
> What does it mean?
> Do you think it was meant to sound like that?

What would you do to improve it?
How do you know when it's really good?

This last question is really the crucial one as its answer contains the basic aesthetic criteria for that music or musical aspect. Once these have been articulated somehow, it becomes easy to apply the answers to that music, other music, and own performance. Aesthetic criteria need to draw the attention very clearly to aesthetic values and not only to superficial characteristics or fleeting issues of taste. This seems almost impossible to do without getting deeper into social values. For example, if a learner says in answer to one of the questions above that the musicians aren't listening to one another, that provides one with a clue to the group communication as something important. If, on the other hand, the class is extremely impressed by the technique and virtuosity of a performance, one could ask questions about the importance of hard work, brilliance, artistry, and so on.

In actual fact, the music that is dealt with in classrooms across the world is so varied that it is impossible to make suggestions about aesthetic questions in any detail. It is important, however, to veer away from "do you like it" questions and move toward "what makes it good" and "why is it bad/awful/boring" and "how would you change it" and "what would you change" questions.

Because of the difficulties of working aesthetically and meaningfully in multicultural environments, teachers need to be aware of questions about whose values to address and how. One wants to avoid a situation where we expect teachers and learners in multicultural environments to become chameleons who can change their cultural "coat" to suit every performance. There is nothing wrong with standing outside of a culture and enjoying their music as an outsider, as long as the same questions are addressed to all the different musical practices, so as to understand and appreciate them more fully – even from outside. As a practical solution to learning about different aesthetic values practiced in diverse cultural environments, it might be useful to make provision for musical experiences[76] where learners might see generations mix. Community musicians have ways in which to carry across messages about the value and meaning of music in their community. The environment, usually more informal than a classroom, sometimes also allows for direct engagement with musicians and other community members, to ask questions about why musicians do certain things, whether that is good, what is not allowed in the music, and so on.

Counterpoint and Interlock by Roger Avenstrup

Curricula are usually explicit about identity, culture and values at an individual and national level. The fundamental issue is whose values and culture formal education builds on and/or lends itself to. Music, as one of the more acceptable arts forms used by dominant classes/cultures, including the military, tends to have strong classification in curricular terms. Exactly what is promoted, permitted or prohibited will vary according to the dominant ideology. The British Royal (sic) Schools/Academies of Music, Ballet, etc. formalized musical and dramatic training in a behaviourist mode which not only permeated schools in Britain but was spread throughout the British

empire. In American education, the idea of formal standards in music education was taken over, although of course de-linked from the Royal Schools. In Scandinavia, the dominance of pietism superceded by romantic nationalism led to music very largely being anchored in singing, with a repertoire of hymns to which were added traditional folk songs and neo-romanticist lyrical songs. Folk dance was not allowed for a long time, and at first only ring dances, then also pair dances. Drama and theatre were frowned upon. It was the rise of life-affirming Christianity, the folk high school movement, and progressivism that led to changes of paradigm in Scandinavia without the hard battles that had to be fought in the Anglo-American(-ised) culture against establishment art forms.

In many African cultures, learning in what Europeans would call the arts can be methodologically quite formal in what Europeans call a non-formal setting. Learning to play a musical instrument or certain forms of singing or traditional dances is a master-apprentice relationship, where there is a given scope and sequence, and where there are parameters of right and wrong. It presupposes an acceptance of authority and tradition by the learner, which modernisation is counter to. Yet there is room for spontaneity missing in West European informal arts.[i] Ironically enough, arts education in schools in Africa, such as it has been, adopted the formalized arts education – both content and method – of the colonial powers.

Let me briefly highlight differences in a behaviourist mode as opposed to a constructivist mode. Where there are strong elements of a behaviourist approach in musical education (formal or informal) as mentioned above, the system only becomes constructive when you reach master-class level and can interpret, revitalize or change the conventions. Whereas in a constructivist-based mode of education, interpretation of convention and re-construction of conventions starts much earlier. This is also dependent on what style or genre of music being learnt. Jazz improvisation by its nature opens for a constructivist approach at a much earlier stage than classical music. Drama in education has been fortunate in being able to access a constructivist approach much more directly, since using the body and voice do not have to be learnt formally, as do learning to play an instrument or learning to sing.

Further, in the conventional behaviourist mode the teacher has to be the master musician whom the learners imitate to learn to perform music. In a constructivist mode the teacher can be more of a facilitator to help learners learn about and appreciate music and facilitate music activities. Removing, or at least weakening, the boundaries between school and society in music education is very much in keeping with the growing recognition that the knowledge schools can contain, and formal education, is increasingly inadequate in the information society.

This brings me to aesthetic issues in formal education. The assessment of aesthetics has to rise above the banal level of "like" and "dislike" and "right" and wrong" into assessing the ability to appreciate and reflect on arts processes and

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[i]Cf. Bjørkvold, R. (1992). *The muse within* (Translation Al. L. Lloyd). New York: Harper Collins; Mans, M. E. (1997). *Namibian music and dance as ngoma in arts education*. Unpublished D.Phil. Dissertation, Music Department, University of Natal, South Africa.

products through art forms themselves and/or through oral or written verbalization. The assessment can be only authentic or partly authentic (re. Wiggins) when the art product is assessed on the basis of the criteria for the work set by the learner(s), not by the teacher. Does the art product express what was intended, like it or not? How well does it communicate?

The dilemma here is that reflecting and verbalizing in this way is not art itself, but a structured form of art criticism which again reflects certain class or group interests ultimately derived from or related to the value of arts products in terms of acceptability and marketability. This applies as much to pop culture as to the exclusive art gallery. The art criticism/assessment has to be modified by assessing the art work on the basis of its own background, genre and the (sub-) culture it speaks to. This means that the teacher, as in a humanistic approach to values education, has to be procedurally neutral in that the art product does not have to conform to the norm of only one group or taste (as if culture were homogenous, classless and non-gendered!) but relates to the norms of its own culture. The implication is that the teacher is sufficiently knowledgeable about the cultures and sub-cultures the learners draw on, according to ethnicity, religion, class, age, gender etc. It also means that the teacher, with his/her own values known by the learners, is competent enough to develop appreciation and assessment on inter-cultural terms.

There is a cross-over with values education, although the assessment of values will be relative to the system one is in. In some countries with very strong nationalism, such as Turkey, Israel or Eritrea, or in strong religious contexts, it is very important to ensure that learners have inculcated the national or religious values as the case may be, and can explain them in the appropriate terms when required to do so. The teaching of values will tend more towards a deductive rather than inductive approach and there will be some more or less right and more or less wrong answers. It is assumed that the learners' behaviour is in accordance with the explicit values and in some cases might be assessed in school using positive/negative sanctions, but is usually not assessed outside school. However, where the learner is a member of a political youth group or active in the same religious persuasion outside school, it is likely that s/he will do better in the values subject in the school. A parallel could be drawn to some musical forms being acceptable and others not, and assessing correctness in playing or singing. Where the learner plays or sings the same sort of instrumental or song repertoire outside school, s/he is more likely to do well in music in school.

In more pluralist but still collective-influenced systems, such as Scandinavia, it is important to be able to give a rational and fair account of one's own and others' values and to be able to explain what one stands for and why. The shift is to being well-informed of different value systems, and from more or less right or wrong answers to assessing the ability to reflect on value stances and explain one's own. This parallels assessing knowledge and understanding of the variety of musical cultures, being able to communicate adequately through chosen musical forms, and being able to reflect on the process and product.

There are three very complex core issues in both areas. The first is the genuineness of the learner when expressing or showing values, or producing and

performing/showing an art product. To what extent is it genuinely and person-
ally meant, and to what extent is the learner doing or saying something to fulfil
the demands of the teacher and the system? If art is to be true art, it cannot be
timetabled, but created as and when the artist (learner) wants and needs to do so.
What sort of genuineness is possible with arts in schools? When arts are assessed,
what is valued more: genuineness or conformity? Can genuineness be assessed at
all?

Secondly, acceptability. There are limits in values education. Despite pockets of
schools and some sub-systems promoting intolerance, tolerance is the very founda-
tion of values education in the world today. In the words of ex-UN Secretary-General
Kofi Annan on receiving the Nobel Peace prize, "We must learn to love what we are,
without hating what we are not." Racist, tribalist, sexist, and religiously intolerant
values are unacceptable in humane education. They could not be acceptable as cul-
tural expressions in education either, yet their cultural expressions exist in societies.
How would one assess an art product which promotes religious intolerance, racism,
tribalism, or sexism? How does one make sure that it does not happen in the first
place?

Schools are conservative institutions and certain Types of aesthetic expression
are not usually acceptable for other than ideological reasons. The dances which
customarily belong to courtship in African societies would only be danced at the
appropriate time, in the appropriate context in the village and would be just as
improper in the school setting as erotically suggestive disco dance (including the
dressing up, or down!) in a classroom in Europe or an African city. Also, the arts
can be, and sometimes have to be, intentionally provocative. How far are learners
allowed to be enfants terribles in their arts expressions? If those forms of expres-
sion are not acceptable, how honest are we being towards the learners about the
functions of art and freedom of expression?[ii]Is it primarily a question of maturity,
something which belongs to an adult phase of life, and mastery of arts expressions?
Or is it more to do with conflict avoidance and having pedagogical comfort zones,
i.e., the enculturation of formal education?

Thirdly, and related to the above, are there parameters of aesthetic acceptability
in arts education anyway? One of the extreme offshoots of progressivist education in
the arts was the free expression movement. According to this school of thought, any-
thing the learner did under the aegis of the arts was not to be criticised or assessed.
Whatever they did with crayons and paint, with sound, with bodily movement and
voice, was a creation and therefore art. It was a reaction against the highly formal-
ized teaching of the arts which defeated and alienated many learners at an early age.
It did provoke debate about originality and the nature of arts in education. However,
if arts are to be arts and not just anything, I would argue that aesthetic parameters
are recognized as framing the field, and would suggest that there has to be a com-
municative intention, a deliberate use of aesthetic elements, and a product in an art
form for a selected audience. The process and the product can be appreciated and

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[ii]Cf. Articles 12, 13, 14, 29 in the *Convention on the Rights of the Child.*

assessed. Questions about whose are the aesthetic elements, which forms are chosen, for what audience, and how successful the result was, will have to be answered contextually in each instance. It is not cultural relativism leading to value-nihilism, but interculturally affirmative.

   In practical terms, this means that the outcomes of arts education in formal education would need to include:

– *knowledge and understanding of the varieties of art expressions in different cultures and their value-base*
– *receptive experience of arts*
– *communicative skills in using arts forms (aesthetic intention, aesthetic choices, aesthetic form, effective communication to an audience)*
– *reflective skills of participating in an own arts process*
– *skills of appreciation of own and others' arts products*
– *communicative skills about arts experiences.*

   Criteria for assessment in arts would then describe the range of arts forms and cultures that is reasonable to expect; levels of understanding of cultural settings; the range of receptive and performative experiences to be included; the levels of reflection on participation in arts processes; the levels of appreciation; and the skills of communicating about arts.

   Assessment situations would thus include an authentic situation of showing or performing; learner reflection on their process of producing the art product; and learner appreciation of art products. This covers the arts process of being aware of an aesthetic intention, aesthetic forming, and aesthetic response, within the scope a wider cultural understanding.

   The implications in terms of content and methodology are clear, and would include direct and/or virtual contact with a variety of cultures and arts expressions. The full potential of virtual learning platforms has yet to be realised in the arts. As discussed earlier, formal education will have to be de-formalised, and new means are at our disposal.

Assessment Issues in Complex Musical Worlds

In informal or community music-making, assessment is a natural process in which a musical performance is evaluated by applying socio-cultural criteria. Sheila Woodward argues that it is "probably impossible to provide musical controls that are not culturally based."[77] I say, why would one want to? Cultures have developed assessment strategies that work for them. Note that Woodward does not say "biased" which would have been even more accurate, for bias it is indeed. As discussed at length in preceding sections, it is the cultural bias that determines aesthetic value, and aesthetic values are employed in assessment strategies. In cultural circumstances it is often not only the performance that is evaluated but also the general

behavior of the performer within and even outside of the performance situation, the relations among performers, and the effect of the performance on the observers or audience. By now it must be clear that we are not educating, studying, or reflecting about musical sounds removed from their contextual environments. How then, is one to judge a child's musical aptitude, development, and learning without knowing and understanding the cultural values?

While the terms evaluation and assessment are often used interchangeably, I use the term assessment as the work a teacher does to find out what the current situation is in terms of the learning that has taken place. This is normally followed by an evaluation (establishing the value of) – does the situation or competency measure up to the required benchmark standards? Then action is taken to correct that which needs correcting (re-teaching, support, therapy, etc.) or continuing with new work.

The problems of assessment arise in formal contexts, schools, where national values possibly override different cultural values (see Avenstrup above), and where these are entrenched in policies. Most formal education policies require some form of continuous and/or formal assessment. This is demanded in order to ascertain that learning has actually taken place and formal assessment has often been used in formal education as a selection tool. Murphy and Espeland point out that educators grapple with assessment questions as they are integral "in the refinement and reflection of arts practices."[78] However, because values are centrally implicated, and partly because the non-verbal nature of arts performances is difficult to capture in fixed measurable standards there are certain difficulties and challenges in assessing and evaluating aesthetic experience. Teachers also report difficulties in time management, student numbers in classes, and valid tools.[79] Perhaps certain difficulties also arise because we almost always assess learners' performance, progress, understandings, and demonstrated appreciation by adult standards. We very rarely indeed, leave formal education to peers. Yet, if peer culture plays an important role in development, as so many researchers tell us,[80] is it not time to factor peer assessments into formal assessment as a matter of normal procedure?

The basic questions in assessment relate to *what* one is going to assess, *whose* standards will be used as measurement, and *how* will they be used. As I have pointed out previously, if the aesthetic values of teacher and learners differ, somebody would be required to adjust. This is not a problem in informal contexts within one musical world. As Patricia Campbell affirms,

> The psychic structure of a societal group is passed from one generation to the next through a cultural immersion process, so that a child develops an implicit understanding of the knowledge and values of a repertoire by nature of his membership and participation in that society.[81]

By absorbing the cultural values, the child becomes socialized, and assessment and evaluation therefore occur by employing social and musical standards.

The question of what we assess is easier to address than how we do so. Assessment in music programs usually relate to the three basic components within a musical process, namely performance, appreciation, and composition or creating.

Most music educators feel themselves capable of assessing aspects of musical performance, but are less comfortable with children's compositions. Performances can be judged by fairly general musical standards, and progress can be measured in relatively concrete terms of musical skills acquired and musical repertoire studied and played (knowing the templates). But children's compositions are rarely well finished or discrete works, nor would one expect them to be. So when can they be considered good, and for which age level? What might be considered conventionally good is not necessarily creative or original. Some cultural practices might feel that children need to know templates and how variations can be added or small changes made, but that would be adequate. Other, more individualized cultures might demand a high level of originality or freedom of expression. So weighing up originality and innovation against convention becomes another issue – as pointed out in the paragraph on continuity and change above. If we then add the assessment of appreciation on top of the other two, demanding a progressive deepening and broadening of musical appreciation and response to a variety of musical genres and cultures, it may, as Murphy suggests, just be too tall an order.[82]

Assessing appreciation involves thinking about personal responses to music as well as attitudes toward music and learning in general. While values-based education normally refers to values and attitudes, they are extremely difficult to assess or even describe. An attitude might be grouped as a certain positive affective outlook or mind-set, and one often finds attitudes described by varying degrees, such as willingness, eagerness, and desire, to tasks and other people. For example, one might seek a willingness to work together with others, or a willingness to help, or respect others. One might also want to see an eagerness to learn or to make music. The desire to learn would be a strong level of expressing an attitude toward learning. These attitudes only become observable when they are demonstrated through action of some kind – expressed verbally, through contacts with others, or by engaging with the learning materials. Therefore, we can only assess attitudes indirectly. On the other hand, one could question the demand for a given attitude toward (certain) music – is it ethical or even feasible?

If, however, we consider situating the learning experience within a musical world that has meaning and value for a learner, we would be approaching assessment as emergent from an authentic musical context. Assessing knowledge and skills demanded by a musical world is likely to differ somewhat from a concept based, or a thematic assessment and syllabus. In some musical worlds, children's music forms a repertoire of its own. In other cultures, there is little evidence of any child music separate from adult music.[83] Clearly, in each there would be different benchmarks concerning progress. Within musical worlds, where the cultural framework informs performance standards in musical as well as social terms, the criteria might be more visible to cultural insiders than to outsiders. But there are always specialists, knowledgeable people who could provide guidelines and aesthetic and attitudinal criteria. In addition, self-assessment and self-monitoring, peer assessment with fellow learners as assessors, and the use of a learning community are valuable tools,[84] especially where teachers cannot know all the demands of a specific musical world. The learning community (and the wider community) can also provide feedback,

which is more often associated with composition, but can be of vital importance in performance as well.

Counterpoint and Interlock by Regina Murphy

Assessing Values and Valuing Assessment in the Best of all Possible Worlds

A major theme in Mans' work is the challenge of getting to the heart of values in the worlds of education and culture. These worlds are contested terrains and finding the values within them is a process of excavation over time. In turn, our understanding of these values affects our understanding of assessment (Rogoff, 1990). Is the musical practice that takes place within school or outside of school of greater value? Which transformative practice zone (Bresler, 2002) can lay claim to more authentic musical experiences? The values within a culture are sometimes so deeply buried and unarticulated that it is almost impossible to fathom their role, and the iceberg metaphor is used quite widely as a way of describing these subconscious depths.

The concept of values and being valuable can connote a measurable quality in monetary terms (Smart & Dixon, 2002) or otherwise. Yet, often the most valuable objects in our possession are those that cannot be calculated in any financial sense, but contain a more elusive quality. Consider a child's toy or wedding ring passed on from generation to generation – its weight in gold minimal compared to its sentimental value. Other objects can carry enormous value due to their uniqueness – such as an ordinary book that has been personally signed by the author, or a rare family photograph from a time past. Still other items of value can seemingly never be measured nor weighed in monetary or sentimental value terms: the outstretched arms of a gleeful child waiting to be picked up by a loving parent, a shared understanding between old friends, the feel of a favourite spot to sit and read, the way the light streams in a certain window. Add a cultural component to each of these and their value becomes even more unmeasurable.

> *Music and music-making is replete with moments of value, some of them deliberate, overt and obviously performed, others more accidental, subsumed and modest. In music making, there are a similar range of tangible and intangible qualities that can be observed, weighed and measured, or more often, remain sitting in the unconscious in the realm of tacit knowledge (Polanyi, 1967).*

My brother Colm tries to describe his latest musical collaboration – a fusion of traditional Irish music and bluegrass. Did you hear the way I got the fiddle part to fit in with the piano just there? He enthuses. Sure, I say. I can hear the key changes, chord progressions, alternating rhythms…. But it is hard to capture the pure essence of his musical world other than through an analytic listening to the whole and an observation of his expression as he plays. Sometimes there is a bigger story to be told that goes beyond harmonies and counterpoints.

In the classroom, it is not just the major successes that count as achievement, but the littlest things in the way a child manages to do something in any one day. The question of value then is inextricably linked with assessment and evaluation,

seeing past our teaching endeavours to the notion of what is of real worth (Murphy & Espeland, 2007).

Marion, my colleague, is ecstatic after a class with her choral conducting students. For teaching and assessment purposes, each student has been video-recorded, each little gesture observed, each choral response analysed. Nothing is missed. But the value is not in the parts, more in the whole. Both teacher and students are having an optimal experience of music making and are likely to be achieving their goals. They are in "flow" (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988, 1992). Later, Marion is lost for words in trying to describe the experience. Eventually she summarises it by saying, "I was born to do this".

The question for assessment is – is it measurable, and if so how to measure it? If it is not measurable, is it worth measuring at all, or indeed does anything happen?

I think that debates on assessment in music education inevitably fall into the same dilemmas that afflict other areas of education: that is, assessment as trial, hurdle, or something to be done "to" the student. Alternatives to this viewpoint argue that assessment should be done "with" the student. I posit that assessment is not simply about choosing between either of these two prepositions (even if there are huge conceptual differences between them), but it is essentially a shared conversation of reciprocal valuing of the other's position (Murphy, 2007).

The Dialogue of the Individual and the Group

Mans rightly identifies the reciprocal dimension that is present between the individual and the group in music making, and that context is also a major player, influencing the values, identities, beliefs and dynamics of the group. This element reciprocity that is present between the individual and the group is also a key feature in the assessment of music. Traditionally, assessment has focused on the performance of individuals (Johnson & Johnson, 2004) and this is widely experienced in music through grade and state examinations etc. Even where there are group contexts, the contribution of individuals is typically assessed on an individual level within such groups. Johnson and Johnson argue that power of groups for assessment has been relatively ignored to date. They go on to say that students form groups despite how learning is structured as forming groups is an essential part of human nature. From an assessment perspective, the authors identify several strengths to assessment in groups which include the provision of a framework for involving students in the assessment process the enabling of the teacher to conduct more frequent assessment of a wider variety of outcomes, the use of more modalities in assessing students' work, the use of more sources of information in making assessments, the reduction of biases in assessment, and the creation of support systems.

Validity is also a critical compon ent of any assessment process (Messick, 1989). Yet, as Eleanor Hargreaves (2007) and others (e.g., Smart & Dixon, 2002) observe, the validity of the assessment in groups is contingent upon the extent to which it assesses the collaborative process itself. Hargreaves (2007) argues that different forms of assessment encourage different forms of learning, whether the assessment

is formative or summative. She believes that if learners are participating in collaborative learning on a regular basis, but if the assessment is not collaborative in nature, then the assessment is unlikely to sample its construct effectively. Given that assessment has an impact on the learning that happens in the classroom, Hargreaves emphasises that if the focus on assessment is on learning, for learning, then it is imperative that the consequences of any assessments are positive and that their form and content encourage the knowledge, skills, understanding and attitudes that are valued.[iii]

Hence, if we are to capture the musical worlds of students or other music makers, working in groups, we must recognise not just the assessment potential that arises from the group music making, but also the very process of working collaboratively. . .and the music making that occurs as dialogic processes between the individual and group, between the music and the music makers.

Returning to Colm and Marion then – Colm's music can never be fully assessed just by listening to the audio recording; nor can all the individual video clips from Marion's classes comprise a summative assessment picture without reference to a host of other interactions. Although these are two authentic but different contexts, what is common is that the musical knowledge that is generated is one that is socially constructed through collaborative music making. To establish an assessment process that has strong validity in an area of collaborative activity, it is essential that "the form and content of the assessment needs both to reflect and to encourage collaborative learning processes and outcomes".[iv]*This might also mean that what we may be looking for in such musical environments may not just be artistic musical experiences, but how the players find meaning in these experiences, and how they construct knowledge of participating and contributing socially in diverse contexts.*[v]

This raises a new dilemma for music educators when it comes to assessment: to what extent should one move away from the traditional notions of skill acquisition to the more challenging and perhaps contemporary ideas related to social interaction? The answer to this is that if our assessment is to have validity within its musical domain, then we cannot ignore one world in favour of another. The ideal balance may be to seek and encapsulate the best of both worlds – and so much is possible – when we recognise that these worlds are unique, evolving and of our own human making.

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Regina Murphy's provocative questions above, and the breadth of concerns raised by values education and consideration of individual–group questions, bring me to the importance of teacher education.

Teacher Education

At this point I shall not go into details of the vast field of teacher education theory, merely suggest some implications that emerge from the preceding paragraphs. These include knowledge and skills development among teachers in educational theory and methodology of contemporary arts education practice, musical skills development, as well as attitudinal and personal traits.

The effect of educational thinking away from (only) skills development and commensurate knowledge will clearly demand a rethinking of curriculum development as well as teacher education in terms of methodological education as well as assessment. On the one hand, music education might seek greater emphasis on developing teacher abilities in dealing with groups and their interactions and negotiations, as well as the outcomes of their group work. On the other hand, demands for clear outcomes following a teacher's intervention process have increased. They have to "show" what learners have learnt.

Moreover, many national curricula have in the past two decades opted for a combined form of arts education rather than separate music, drama, visual art, and dance programs. On the positive side, the proposed holistic and natural approaches to arts as mentally and bodily interconnected experience has for too long been ignored. Moreover dance, which was seriously marginalized, has now become an equal partner in the arts, as have drama and/or theater arts. On the negative side, time allocations which were previously quite generous for music and for visual arts have

now been contracted into a single time allocation – an allocation that never seems to allow time for any depth of study or real skills development. In addition, teachers already in practice have in most cases only been fully educated in one of these art forms and experience debilitating difficulties with the current situation. This leads to feelings of inadequacy, especially in terms of professional identity.

On top of this, a socio-cultural approach to music education (seen within the arts education) now requires the teacher to be sensitive and knowledgeable in terms of all the cultures within the classroom. Thus, they have to be sensitive toward all the cultures and identities and toward all the arts! The final blow might be an insistence that teachers ought to be informed about the musical worlds that learners and communities occupy, taking cognizance of the values that inform these worlds. If this is not enough to send most teachers running, what is?

The situation and circumstances, however, make these demands of arts teachers. How may their education programs prepare and assist them to cope? Ria Smit (2007) suggests that teachers who feel inadequate in coping with the demands of complex curricula find on an informal basis that teamwork, sharing of problems, ideas and suggestions, and self-reflexive activities play a supportive role. But for their formal education, she argues that knowledge and praxial skills in music (and presumably the other arts) along with critical skills are imperative, as important as reflexive practice and motivation. To this one could add the ability to predict outcomes of specific teaching–learning activities, and the ability to see and understand how knowledge, skills, and self-monitoring abilities are layered in ever-increasing but linked spirals. The latter implies that teachers need to know *how* to build upon existing knowledge and skills and how to relate these to life. They therefore have to be able to assess what the existing situation within a classroom is and build on it. As Alda Oliveira suggested (this volume) one seeks to "help music teachers to articulate the different aspects that surround the teaching/learning process, especially those related to cultural interfaces." Included among the determining factors for success in teacher education would be the teacher as person with his/her existing knowledge and previous musical experience, the elements and essence of the socio-cultural context within which the teaching–learning experience is to take place, and the new knowledge to be acquired.

Approached from the basis of interactive pedagogy, teacher education can be directed toward a more balanced responsibility-sharing for educational outcomes. Seen as a problem-framing and problem-solving dialogue between teacher and learner, the teacher

> recognizes, understands and values students' roles in an interactive relationship and offers insight only as required, and through using feedback, knows when to encourage autonomy and independence, and when to monitor and supervise work more systematically.[85]

This means that there are certain attitudes required from teacher as well as learner. Teacher attitudes include being encouraging about the work learners produce, flexible when aesthetic differences occur, willing to accept differences as interesting phenomena that all can benefit by, and a desire to broaden her/his own

musical outlook. Probably one of the most important teaching abilities is being creative and flexible in the classroom, adjusting to circumstances and needs, finding solutions to problems as they crop up, and being able to encourage a similar creative willingness among learners. In addition, good arts pedagogy calls for a teacher who is inspiring, responsible, accountable, and able to convey the values of the school society, if not the community. For this reason Meki Nzewi (this volume) demands that knowledge of the philosophical and theoretical principles that frame indigenous African musical arts structures be a fundamental part of African teacher and learner education. Similarly, one could assert that the same applies to non-African contexts.

Eva Fock (in this volume) suggests that instead of focusing on genres, artists, historical periods, and cultures, as is often done in classrooms, more attention could be paid to structured and meaningful sound as organized by humans. This then implies an adjustment to the content of what teachers learn.

Placed against the background of a musical world, the impact of understanding its configurations for teacher education become clear. It can be seen above that Nzewi emphasizes the importance of the framework of rules and conventions. Fock emphasizes the micro-structure and related musical meanings within their social environments. These are clearly of significance. But in return to my basic thesis, music education might be improved if teacher education could reinforce an understanding of (a) the basic social purposes and environments of music, (b) investigate the different types of music, usually organized into repertoires, that result from those purposes, (c) develop performing skills and theoretical knowledge in the micro-structure of the music, and (d) against the backdrop of the framework of societal and aesthetic values and meanings.

In multicultural environments even an understanding only of how and where differences are placed could help a teacher to elicit meaningful questions and answers from the group of learners. The entire structure can serve as a cognitive framework to guide teacher thinking and educational practice, and it is my belief that it can apply in any musical culture. What we need is a reflexive or self-aware multiculturalism that would allow us to focus on developing models for learning culture that can promote real transformation in the way we conceptualize and practice education in plural societies.[86]

The adoption of a socio-cultural approach to arts education is useful in monocultural and multicultural situations. A socio-cultural approach is enhanced by understanding and using collaborative learning, especially among younger learners, researchers have found that peer discussion, problem-solving, and working in friendship pairs or groups yield positive results.[87] This appears to be particularly pertinent to musical creativity, but also influences performance. Whereas teachers might think of avoiding having friends work together in the music class, because they talk too much, MacDonald and Mielle's research shows that the talk tends to be topic related and problem solving, and can therefore be very useful in the learning process.

While inalienable musical qualities hint loudly at very specific cultural contexts, these qualities (vocal, timbral, instrumental, tonal, and rhythmic) could provide fascinating focii for creative work in a classroom or out. Contemporary musicians,

especially those in the "world music" scene, are well aware of the musical potential that resides in these sound patterns and qualities. There are, of course, ethical concerns around the use of both alienable and inalienable objects and qualities in hybridizing processes. Many hybridized musical ventures[88] have generated severe criticism for their appropriation of inalienables. Nevertheless, discovering the "own" might be less interesting to young people than discovering the "other" and understanding why. This does not only apply to ethnic musical cultures. It can readily be applied to sub-cultures and musical types, for example, discovering the inalienable qualities of rock versus R'n B. Therefore, it is important to consider the status of musical codes of meaning. Such meaning might be inherent and unavoidable, or products of cultural listening habits shaped by ideologically informed critical meta-languages. Alternatively, in light of global tendencies to even out differences, it would be of importance to at least build value considerations into curricula and syllabi.

Finally, in order to "save" or improve music education, it might become necessary to investigate new sites for teaching and learning. Music or arts education might, in fact, be served most positively by moving it outside of schools to community centers where approaches, purposes, values, and philosophy more closely approximate those of the society.

A Musician's Narrative by Eva Sæther

> Listen to the godji (violin) and let its cries penetrate you. Then you will know the voice of the spirits, they would tell me. Feel the sound of the drum and know the power of our past.[vi]

In the winter of 1983 I moved from my home town in Sweden to Oslo, Norway, with my dear fiddle in the luggage. The original plan was to deepen my knowledge of MY tradition, the Nordic fiddle tradition. Little did I know about the surprises waiting along the road; three years later I was dancing in the little village Didago in Ivory Coast, seduced by the drum. And fifteen years later I was "dancing" the questions of my doctoral thesis, doing field work for my research study in music education.

Thinking back, it was in fact not that surprising. The fiddle is (or rather was) what the drum is (or was) to Africans – a symbol for common roots. My meeting with African immigrant musicians in Oslo became a meeting with myself. To me, there was a striking point in common between the Nordic and African traditional music. In the Seventies the "Folk Music Wave" swept over Europe. A few decades later the "Djembe Wave" followed. To me these were movements of the same family. When studying African music, I am often reminded that it is in fact myself as a musician I am studying, but through refreshing distance.

The Need to Go Back

Consequently, at Easter 1986, I traveled to the Ivory Coast, a country that probably always has been richer in music than ivory. In the tropical heat I made my first tentative field work in ethnomusicology. I returned with video cassettes, sound cassettes, dysentery and a rucksack full of humbleness. The results were never published, but I wrote an essay at Oslo University, Department of Musicology. The final section talks about how things seldom turn out the way they were planned. This is particularly true if you try to plan an "efficient" research trip to a foreign culture. I found myself in many comical, difficult and conflict filled situations. Some offered learning, other frustration. A process was started, questions were posed, and that gave rise to new approaches. I was also given a strong experience of how rewarding it can be to leave the secure surroundings at home, and exceed boundaries. To study music in a culture literally built on music gave possibilities that were difficult to find within a Western academic institution. The final sentence of the essay from 1986 serves well as an introduction to this narrative: "But what I feel just now, above all, is that it is a disaster not to be a poet. And that I have to go back".[vii]

I went back, many times, both in real and imagined time, as a student, musician and professor. So many times that most of my life seems to be spent going between here and there, home and home, constantly migrating through a number of

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[vi]Stoller, 1989, p. 101.
[vii]Sæther, 1986, p. 23, my translation.

social and musical worlds. In other words, I am a typical example of what Welsch (1999) describes as the transcultural people. I have a Swedish passport, but do I carry a Swedish identity? Well, partly, but my identity, like that of so many others, is constantly shaped by different crossovers of different components. The Norwegian culture from my father's family met the Swedish culture from my mother's family and got a British flavor from my first four years of life in London. Through my development of courses for Swedish music teachers in Gambia I met my husband, and therefore I now have four mothers-in-law in Guinea Conakry. This hybridity was expressed by my youngest daughter, who at the age of 5 wondered if she had to choose between being African or Swedish. Now, at 9 she seems more at ease, having realized that it is possible to be both, and more than that.

Maybe because of my early years in London with a mixture of Swedish, Norwegian and English as "first" language, I have always had a strong feeling of belonging to a multiplicity, a globe rather than a nation or a culture. My mother's father, the rebellious shoemaker, seems to have impregnated our veins with a craving for solidarity and social justice. My father's father, the musical peasant, filled his home with music, but I did not know that until I started asking questions about the fiddle, hanging on the wall, over the piano in my parents' home.

Classical Enculturation and Prompting Grooves

As a young girl I started playing the piano, at "uncle Håkansson's" private music school. He was one of those teachers I use to think of when asking myself about role models for my own teaching. Why do I always feel joy when thinking about him, the cozy flat where he lived and gave his lessons, the yearly concerts for proud parents and friends? I think it was because he took children's love for music seriously. I always had a feeling that he chose perfectly the pieces that suited me, and that he understood exactly why I sometimes had played something completely different than the homework. "Uncle" Håkansson's serious respect for children was combined with an understanding for the importance of play in learning processes. He was one of the first to start a music school for pre-school children, where musical games in lively groups became the door opener to musical understanding and a key to intrinsic motivation for those who wanted to continue with private piano lessons. I was never in the pre-school class, but my younger brother was there and I think his passion for the saxophone started right there, in uncle Håkansson's playful school.

Playing what the score says, classical music, was how I started. It was also how I continued, with the classical guitar in my early teenage years. At that time I had no idea that what I was playing from another perspective could be described as "North West Asian Court Music".[viii] My perspective had not been challenged yet . . .

[viii]Drummond, 2008.

The ear-opening and transforming event that created the first rift in my understanding of music making came completely unexpectedly. I was 19 years old, determined to work for a better world, and therefore at a one year course for future development aid workers which included study trips to Ethiopia and Zambia. The course leaders were amateur musicians and involved in the "folk music wave" in Sweden. At one of the dance parties there was a young fiddler, Pelle Björnlert . . . He had such a special sound in the fiddle, and dancing was a must to his groovy tunes.

I went home to my parents, took the fiddle from the wall, and returned to the course, but from now on there was very little time to read economical history or political science. I was searching for that special sound. This time I had no teacher, just the sound in my ears and the fiddle and bow in my hands. The oral tradition of my geographical homeland Sweden had, up to that period of my life, been completely absent, except for some ridiculous attempts to force all of us in school to dance an "authentic" schottis dance in the gym lessons. There was an aura of unhealthy chauvinism and nationalism around our national heritage that had not attracted me. Now I was captured, both by the sound, and the ideological shift in the folk music movement. "Folk" now became loaded with new content, it was not we, the Swedish folk trying to keep pure, but we, the Swedish folk playing our identity in solidarity and harmony with other forgotten small, often oral, traditions.

After a few years, totally immersed in the art of playing polska (a dance in $\frac{3}{4}$ beat) a major part of my identity was "the fiddler", but a fiddler living not only in the deep Swedish forests. The experiences from Zambia and Ethiopia told me that there was no better way I could contribute to a more reasonable division of resources on our globe, than staying at home and concentrate on our own ways of living. Next step in my identity formation was my first professional career, as a journalist. Working night shifts at the newsroom gave the opportunity to play fiddle tunes at long breakfasts with my fiddling friends.

After the move to Oslo, there were more fissures in my musical world. I had thought that moving from Sweden to Norway was no big deal, since my father was Norwegian, I thought I knew the culture. But I was classified as an immigrant, I was even living in the immigrant areas together with Turks, Arabs and Africans. It took some time before I found a Norwegian fiddler who wanted to pass over his tradition to me, meanwhile I discovered the Center for African Culture, led by Barth Niava from Ivory Coast, and started to dance and play djembe drums. Moving between string sessions with Pål Skogum from Gudbrandsdalen, a small Norwegian valley, and drum sessions led by Kossa Diomande from Ivory Coast, an embodied hybrid musical identity evolved. As described by Welsch: "It is a matter of readjusting our inner compass. Away from the concentration on the polarity of the own and foreign to an attentiveness for what might be common and connective wherever we encounter things foreign."[ix]

[ix]Welsch, 1999, p. 6.

Anthropology in Music Education

Parallel with musical adventures, I discovered anthropology as a scientific field where theories resonated with my praxis and gave the tools to understand music, and the role of music in society. Norwegian anthropologist Odd Are Berkaak made me nod:

> I just want to remind that music is art, and therefore it cannot be the behavior or the institutional context that forms the beginning and the end of our analyses. Neither can it be the technical dissection of form, sound and harmony. It is the experience that forms the core and thereby the point of departure for socio-musical behavior and sound. . .[x]

My excursion to Norway ended in 1987, when my first daughter was born, and I moved back to Lund. I suspected that a combination of the roles "mother" and "musician" needed the backup from grand parents. (It was a good guess.) In 1988 I was employed at Malmö Academy of Music, as a teacher in Music and Society. At that time Swedish folk music had not yet been accepted within the higher musical institutions, and with my musical background I was expected to change the situation. My mission had support from both national policy and the dean. 1990 was proclaimed as the National Year of Folk Music in Sweden, and at Malmö Academy of Music we celebrated with a full week of World Music workshops and concerts.

Students started to ask questions: "Why was this just a project week? It should have been included in the curriculum!" And we, the staff, asked ourselves questions: "Do we prepare future music teachers for the multicultural class rooms they will meet after the education?" "What kinds of competences are needed in these multicultural classrooms?" We focused more on attitudes than methods:

> Music students cannot use the arsenal of methods available on world music without a pluralistic approach to music. This approach can only be realised when students are able to shift perspectives between on the one hand their own relation to their own musical background and on the other hand their relations to other people's backgrounds.[xi]

Since 1992 we have offered the course 'Studies in the music of a foreign culture – Gambia' and since 2003 also Argentina. The purpose of the development of these courses was to make it possible for music students to experience purposeful intercultural communication within the rather compact music teacher curriculum. The hypothesis was that one experience might be enough, providing the confrontation with the "foreign" music culture is sufficiently strong. It is the strong cultural meeting, or collision, the fissure in the "taken for granted" that opens up for new qualities that might be useful when meeting children/students from other cultural backgrounds. Even today, 16 years after the first course, the students report that they feel as if they have been completely transformed after the three weeks in Gambia. Maybe one day in future they will just think that it was a nice excursion – that day the course is no longer needed or useful!

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[x]Berkaak, 1983, p. 80, my translation.
[xi]Lundström, 1993, my translation.

Of course the development of the Gambia course also implied consequences for the Other, the people at the other side of the meeting, the Gambian master musicians who suddenly found themselves as teachers for white University students, while their own children had no access to anything else than Western music in the Gambian schools. To jali Alagi Mbye this was so disturbing that he decided to start a school for Gambian children, built on his traditional music and his experiences from meetings with Western music institutions and students. He was also the door opener and co-researcher in my own work as PhD student, studying attitudes to music teaching and learning in the Gambia.

Nettl (1985) states that music reflects the values of society, and that this reflection is music's *raison d'etre*. It is in the teaching methods, says Nettl, where we find the aspects of culture that music teaches. And thus, in order to change central values in a culture, we might well start with music.[xii] In our joint field work this is exactly what jali Alagi Mbye did when using the ostinatos of the kora to lead the old masters to the themes he needs to discuss when opening up the jali system of music education to all children. It is also the theme I mention in the final section of the dissertation:

> The method for listening to each other, which is at the core of intercultural education, can be referred to as *confrontation with the unknown*. The same confrontation has led Alagi Mbye to reflect on teaching methods in his own culture, and has inspired the Malmö Academy of Music to develop a continuing collaboration between Gambian musicians and those of the academy. Perhaps the most important achievement of this project is that the Malmö Academy of Music had to reinvent itself. The project has resulted in the institution being more open to the music of other cultures, more receptive to different ways of working, and has provided students with alternative learning opportunities which force them to confront established norms.[xiii]

Learning from the Other

To me, the issue of otherness continues to demand attention. My field work in a classroom in Malmö told me that teenagers living in a multicultural environment do not necessarily agree with guidelines for teachers. As one of the interviewed girls expressed it: "You don't want to be that mixed".[xiv] Still, there are questions to be answered. The municipal music school in Sweden has problems with recruitment of children with immigrant background. To whom is that a problem? Is it because of a tension between different ways of teaching music? What happens when music travels to new teaching and learning settings? Just opposite the street from the Academy where I am writing this narrative, the Persian community has opened their own music school. One of the students is me, using the fiddle to play myself into a field where hopefully some of these questions can be answered.

[xii] Saether, 2003.

[xiii] Saether, 2003, p. 123.

[xiv] Saether, 2008.

When preparing for this new research project I found Todd's (2003) thoughts on the issue of otherness inspiring. She claims that the Other can never be understood and she questions the whole idea of common ground. In the educational context, Todd is concerned about the risk for the individual learner to be "epistemologically raped". There is always a dimension of violence in teaching. Education can cause deep consequences for life, positive or negative. Therefore, it is not possible for the teacher to hide behind a curriculum, because the one who thinks that he or she has understood the Other might simply just have forced the other into the "teacher's" totality.

When looking at relationships in education there are two possibilities; learning *about* and learning *from*. Learning about implicates that:

- We think that we can understand the Other
- We think that by acting right we can free ourselves from moral and political demand
- By playing down the difference within the Other, we meet the other with low respect

Learning from, on the other hand, implicates that:

- We can't understand
- We can't assimilate
- The process of learning needs a relation before it can start
- There is a risk of loosing the own epistemological security when meeting the Other
- There must be a willingness for an open mind, expressed in passivity

For music teachers the whole idea of learning from poses new questions. You can learn new instruments and new repertoire by different methods. Learning how to meet the Other is not that simple since it asks everyone involved to reshape their own context! I think that we can learn from face-to-face-relations when creating more open cultural spaces and creating a readiness towards open minds and flexibility. It is not only form and content that needs rebuilding, it is we, all of us. Now back to the fiddle!

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Notes

1. Myers (2006) cites figures in the United States to support this statement.
2. Ibid., p. 12.
3. Westerlund, 2006; Green, 2006, 2008 DeNora, 2000; Lebler, 2007; Stålhammar, 2000.
4. Bresler (2007, p. 17) quotes Seymour Sarason's book *Schooling in America*: *Scapegoat and Salvation* (1983).
5. Lily Chen-Hafteck (2007) reveals inspiring positive learning results on a music education project when it included more socio-cultural information.
6. Myers, 2006, pp. 7–8.
7. Educators from Sweden, France, Malaysia, Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Hong Kong, Australia, Finland, Canada, Germany, United States, Turkey, Greece, Namibia, and Eritrea have expressed such feelings in conversations, leading me to believe this is fairly general.
8. Eisner, 2001, p. 5.
9. Ibarretxe, 2005; Sugie, 2005; Green, 2006;
10. Green, 2006, p. 101.
11. Leong, 1997; Ibarretxe, 2005.
12. See, e.g., Campbell, 2002; Arom, 1994; Blacking, 1967; Feld, 1986; Mans, 2002; as well as various descriptions of apprenticeship learning in India and Africa.
13. Marques et al., 1988; Tarrant et al., 2002; DeNora, 2000.
14. Campbell, 2007.
15. Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 35.
16. Wenger, 1998, p. 3; Koopman, 2007.
17. Ibarretxe, 2005.
18. Ibid., p. 132.
19. Green, 2008.
20. Schippers, 1998, p. 3.
21. I use the word "largely," because certain aspects of a musical worlds are, of course, visible, e.g., dance, instruments, in some cases written scores, and visible performances.
22. Bereiter & Scardamalia, (2003), p. 7.
23. Teacher education and poorly equipped classrooms are problems mainly in developing countries. See, e.g., Mubita, Nyirenca, Nayame, Kakanda, & Muyunda, 2005 for discussion on the disparities between government policies and realities in schools.
24. For example, Green, 2008; DeNora, 2000; Burnard, 2006; Sefton-Green & Soep, 2007; Mubita et al., 2005; Wanyama & Okong'o, 2005;
25. See, e.g., Green, 2008.
26. Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1996, p. 493.
27. Lave & Wenger, 1991; Lave, 1996.
28. Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1993.

29. Vygotsky, 1980.
30. Hallam, 2006, p. 99.
31. See, e.g., Green, 2008; Westerlund, 2006.
32. See, e.g., Wiggins et al., 2005; Rusinek, 2005; MacDonald & Miell, 2000.
33. Much information is available on curricula, especially online. See, e.g., Leong, 1997, *Music in schools and teacher education: a global perspective*; Choi, 2007, the history of Korean school music education; Wanyama & Okong'o, 2005; Saskatchewan elementary arts curricula (Canada) at www.sasked.gov.sk.ca/docs/artsed/; National Music and Arts Curricula of the National Institute for Educational Development (Namibia); International Society for Music Education at isme@isme.org; *National Standards for Arts Education* (1994) (United States); South African Curriculum: Learning Outcome Statements, and so on. See also Davidson, 2005, for a brief layout of "learning-enabled cultures."
34. As described by Wenger, 1998.
35. *Lessons in learning*, September 6, 2007.
36. DeNora, 2000; Elliott 1995; Green, 2008; Chen-Hafteck, 2007; Hookey, 1994; Nzewi, 2003.
37. Green, 2008, p. 120.
38. According to Green, it is also similar to what is referred to as cooperative learning, constructive learning, or co-constructive learning, where responsibility for and control of knowledge is shared.
39. Bruner, 1996.
40. Bandura, 1986, 1997.
41. Bamberger, 2006, p. 71.
42. Green, 2008.
43. Especially in Europe and the Middle East. In many African countries Muslim families seem to be more acceptant of musical cultures.
44. Akrofi & Flolu, 2007, p. 148.
45. Ibarretxe, 2005.
46. One merely needs to turn on international television news to be informed of violent actions by one group of teenagers against others of different ethnic group, or gender, or class.
47. See Boyer, 1995, for discussion of Human Commonalities.
48. Radano & Bohlman, 2000, p. 37.
49. See Thorsén, 2007; Radano & Bohlman, 2001; Akrofi, Smit & Thorsén, 2007 for different perspectives on hybridities and identities.
50. Rogers, 1976, p. 296.
51. Ibid., p. 297.
52. Csikszentmihalyi, 1999.
53. Ibid., p. 314.
54. Hanna, 2003.
55. De Bono, 1967.
56. Bereiter & Scardamalia, 2003.
57. Munro, nd.
58. Campbell, 1998.
59. Campbell, 2002.
60. Burnard, 2006, p. 354.
61. Ibid., p. 354. See also Kushner's (2006) discussion of reflection in relation to adolescent culture.
62. Their armed struggle for independence from a takeover by Ethiopia lasted a brutal and bloody 30 years until independence in 1993, but the tension lingers with border conflicts and another war from 1998 to 2000 when Ethiopia invaded again. During the struggle, all the ethnic groups stood together in resistance.
63. Stake, Bresler, & Mabry, 1991, pp. 314.
64. See, e.g. Chen-Hafteck's (2007) article where a research project indicated clear gains in understanding and appreciation of music, as well as in interpersonal and intercultural relations when extrinsic factors gained prominence.

65. Bresler, 2007.
66. Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1993, p. 207.
67. DeNora, 2000; Green, 2006, 2008; Hanna, 2003; Lebler, 2007; Mubita et al., 2005; Flynn, 2006; and others.
68. See Veblen & Olsson, 2002; Veblen, 2004; Fock, this volume; Harris, 2006; Carruthers, 2005; O'Hagin & Harnish, 2006.
69. See also Stålhammar, 2000.
70. Cox, 2007, p. 5. This section of the *International Handbook of Research in Arts Education* describes developments in arts curricula from several different perspectives. As Cox points out, however, certain issues, such as the role and place of arts in schools, just never seem to be fully settled.
71. Colwell, 2007, p. 101.
72. Barrett, 2007, pp. 152–153.
73. For examples of attention to context, innovative methods, and creative classrooms see, e.g., Chen-Hafteck, 2007; Green, 2008; Lebler, 2007; Westerlund, 2006; Wanyama & O'kongo, 2005; Rusinek, 2005; Portowitz & Brand, 2005; and others.
74. Taken from the Eritrean Ministry of Education's National Curriculum: Elementary Syllabuses (2008).
75. Refer to Stake et al., 1991.
76. See McAlister (2000) on the leading role community performing groups took in Dandenongs, Australia, and the pathways this created for young musicians' education.
77. Woodward, 2002, p. 114.
78. Murphy & Espeland, 2007, p. 337.
79. Murphy, 2007, p. 364, quoting research by Byo, as well as Chuang and Hepworth-Osiowy.
80. Refer, e.g., to Campbell, 2007; Marsh, 1997; DeNora, 2000; Green, 2008; and others.
81. Campbell, 2007, p. 416.
82. Murphy, 2007, p. 364.
83. Walker (2006) discusses the point in comparing several different musical cultures. I have come across similar practices in my ethnographic research.
84. Lebler, 2007.
85. Murphy, 2007, p. 374.
86. Hoffman, 1996. See also Lundquist, 1998, for a discussion on how teachers can approach multicultural music education.
87. See, e.g., *The Rough Guide to World Music Vol. 1 (2007)* for fascinating viewpoints and critiques.
88. MacDonald & Miell, 2000.

Chapter 6
Concluding Thoughts – Aluta Continua

Having reached the final part of this book, I am faced with many feelings of inadequacy, for how can one possibly address all the possibilities of a world in one book? Not to mention investigating some of the interfaces between an infinite number of different musical worlds. Therefore, a goodly part of this chapter will be to pay my respects to all the questions and possibilities that have *not* been addressed, in the hope that others will pick them up and take them forward in new directions.

First, in the course of the preceding descriptions and arguments, I have tried to show how music is conceptualized, lived, and valued in diverse and divergent socially constructed ways. I have brought together lessons learnt from ethnomusicology, sociology, and educational theory. This showed how the diversities of ways of life have over many centuries in different parts of the world created musical worlds in which sound and behavior have come to be systematized to reflect and respond to cultural normative practices. Going way beyond the entertainment value of music, we have seen that music is a complex cognitive, affective, corporeal, and social act. To say that differences in music disclose differences in societies is not going too far.

While these ideas in general are known to us, I have gone further to show how thinking and learning socially contribute to the collective construction of a musical world, and how different forms of categorization are the result of different levels of musical practice and thinking. The mere fact that all societies have over time demonstrated unique features to their musical practice, yet also demonstrate certain similarities of structure as can be seen in some of the comments by scholars and in literature, indicates that this is an ontologically human trait.

From the perspective of cognitive studies, it is clear that categorization is a mental operation that helps to organize the wealth of data a human absorbs. It is a process that facilitates easy recognition, efficient storage, and easier tracking of stored information. Clearly, other musical cognitions also play a role in learning, but for the purposes of this book, the focus has been on categorization as the basic construction process of a musical world and recognition, identification, selection, anticipation,

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Let the struggle continue.

creative thinking, and memorization as the processes responsible for the functioning of the system. These common human mental processes are employed in service of the unique ways that cultures organize and structure themselves in terms of power hierarchies, history, memory landscapes, values, beliefs, and socio-economy. The peculiarities of different musical worlds are a result of socio-cultural processes in combination with musical processes.

In general, however, musical worlds are known by their systems of categorization by social purpose; categorization of musical types into collections that fulfill the social purposes; and diverse forms of sonic micro-organization and musical processes, all framed and mediated by societal values, rules, and conventions. A characteristic of musical worlds is that they tend to include a population across genders, class, and importantly, across generations. Contemporary music education tends to focus on children and adolescents. The fact that few adults actively continue to practice music even if they did at school is an indication of the limited relevance and life value of education programs. It is only through the participation of the different ages that basic normative values are transmitted from one generation to the next.

As a result, living in a musical world involves being a part (close or distant) of a music–cultural collective identity, being familiar with its identity markers and boundaries, knowing or relating to its values and aesthetics and its assignation of meanings. Again, it must be repeated that individuals also construct their own individual musical worlds but always against the backdrop of a larger social musical world. Individual sound worlds are intensely influenced by exposure to music. A young Zimbabwean man who favors kwaito music, for example, probably does so against the internalized background of his exposure to southern African popular music and traditions. Diversities in musical exposure will result in an altered personal musical world, dissimilar to that of the surrounding culture. The most significant contribution of a musical world might be its aesthetic framework and processual structure. No information has been available to me on how this is affected, transformed, or distorted in individual sound worlds. I suspect that aesthetic values learnt within family and community environment would easily transfer with little change to new or different-sounding worlds, even while current tastes undergo change.

Future research might prove that my suggested configuration is incomplete or incorrectly conceived in detail, but phenomenological reduction indicates that the broad argumentation and description are accurate for many, if not most, musical cultures including mixed urban environments.

Throughout this book, I have stressed the functionality and hierarchic relation of levels of practice in a musical world, and most importantly, that they are informed at root by the needs, ways, and norms of particular societies. It is in this aspect that this book attempts to bring an original contribution, showing that music is always informed by aesthetic and social values, from modes of performance down to very basic scales and rhythms. The fundamental but unresolved question drawn from this observation has been that if we do not understand or even relate to the value system from which a music derives, how can we fully appreciate, and more critically, teach it?

Because of certain inherent socio-musical differences, I have suggested that a lack of knowledge or sensitivity can and has often resulted in misrepresentation and misunderstandings of musical practices. For this reason, music or arts education needs to become aware of and knowledgeable about musical worlds. This is not an easy task. Or rather, it is not difficult to learn about musical worlds and to intellectualize the diversities, but when aesthetic values are implicated it is surprising how inflexible educators are about what is "good" and what is not. The ability to hear and see as inhabitants of "other" musical worlds do is a learnt behavior. For this reason, the suggestions and points raised below are aimed at initiating the discourse, but do not pretend to offer all the solutions.

I have suggested that an important feature of a musical world is its function to create and maintain a specific group identity. Musical differences at structural and procedural level are fundamental identity markers. Through these sonic differences, I have shown that people construct templates that identify not only musical types but also musical practices. However, from the literature and inputs of others in this book, it seems clear that many education systems appear determined to even out the differences among groups of people, in the hope that political, class, and religious differences would thereby also disappear. For this reason, official curricula emphasize content and information, while individuals and groups strive to maintain their cultural identities.

Because music, in its broad sense, is so intimately connected with issues of belonging, history, ownership, and understandability, any interference or repression strikes deeply at identity. Even when intentions are good, educators are not always able to recognize the difference between alienable and inalienable identity markers. Bo Wah Leung pointed out (this volume) that traditional forms like Cantonese opera can change quite radically yet remain fundamentally Chinese at core. It does this by retaining certain inalienable identity markers. In this way, Cantonese opera even today provides a medium for creativity, using templates of the past with various changes and adjustments to suit contemporary environments. It creates a remembered Chinese landscape with which people can identify.

This book has tried to show that adherence to a specific set of norms and values influences music and can influence learner's appreciation of music. Given this understanding, it becomes obvious that singing a few songs from different countries does nothing for true understanding about other cultures. Musical worlds determine not only how music in a society sounds but also how identities, values, and aesthetic behaviors are revealed. What we believe to be important in social, individual, and musical behavior plays a role in how we relate to others, by implication therefore also in multicultural contexts. But, while this complicates contemporary education, knowledge and insight into these matters and their interrelationships also provide the educator with a "way in." Discussing differences and commonalities in musical practice in terms of the manners in which societal values structure the music itself paradoxically provides a common ground. There are several instances where the rules about *when, who,* and *how* music is made, demonstrate commonalities in many cultures. Investigating the impact of behavioral rules and conventions upon the music could be a fascinating project or topic of research. Sometimes, however,

cultural sensibilities will be implicated and will require careful and sensitive educational negotiations and discussions. But discussing with sensitive awareness how all differences have value and meaning is so much better than avoidance accompanied by lack of insight.

It is unfortunate that in some multicultural music education classes, workshops, and teaching materials, one observes superficial statements made about "other" cultures and the meaning of their music. Sometimes such statements reveal value prejudices. The statements become (too) often repeated and actually contribute negatively to true understanding of the complex beliefs, attitudes, and realities that underlie musical practice that is still close to its roots. Admittedly, such practices seem to be diminishing in number, and in some cases even happily relinquishing their ties to their roots. This comes through in the Counterpoints and Interlocks that other scholars have provided, notably in Alda Oliveira's description of a Brazilian situation (this volume). Even Ruud pointed out earlier (this volume) that "Within a philosophy of recognition [of diversity – my insertion], music educators have to support and strengthen, empower and enable people to express and experience the music, which has become a part of their identities." He suggests that educators need to engage in a debate on the politics of recognition. This includes achieving a balance between national needs of equal rights and special privileges related to the cultural needs of certain groups in that nation. In this sense, Kari Veblen (this volume) has also pointed out that even in Canada's very inclusive multicultural education, with Nova Scotia as an exemplary program, not everyone is or feels included. A member of the Mi'kmaq people believed that "the present approach to merging aboriginal and dominant cultures doesn't work out as it always supplants the [indigenous – my insertion] ways of knowing and learning." Indeed, even if inclusion of an indigenous population group is not tokenistic, how much attention is paid to values inclusion? As suggested several times in this book, a musical world is one of a people's important ways of knowing and learning. Nobody should be expected to give that up.

As discussed in previous chapters, an understanding of a musical world impacts on formal classroom education. Perhaps the single most neglected factor in music education is the development of an understanding of values in general, how they influence musical processes, and how aesthetic values influence musical appreciation. This factor, which determines not only how we respond to music, but more significantly, how music is crafted and performed, can be seen to surround a musical world protectively. It is this framework that determines how musicians relate to one another; how they value a composer (or not); how ownership, copyright, and piracy are construed; how much work or play goes into performance; how much concentration, spirituality, and body are required; and how much change, development, or re-doing happens in music. For this reason, music which is disconnected from the purpose and meaning of original contexts is at best superficial, and at worst, destructive.

Moreover, values – both normative and aesthetic – are always ensconced within a curriculum. Therefore the philosophy, approach, selection of contents, and means of assessment all betray the official as well as the hidden curriculum. The teacher

also brings an individual set of values to the classroom. So how does one manage all these different sets of values in a classroom?

Music education where peers, community musicians as well as teachers become involved in collaborative instruction and aesthetic evaluation remains valid and useful, not least because it involves learners actively in largely self-directed musical praxis. Learners bring their own values to the classroom. This can form an exciting part of instructional and peer-learning focus. Knowledge building is suggested as a connectionist approach whereby healthy and constructive social environments can be built via music as social practice in the full sense of the word. Insight into the way musical worlds are made and function could assist a constructivist teacher in creating a context and community for learning where learners can become fully engaged in interesting activities that encourage, generate, and facilitate learning.

Attitudes to music and to learning play a key role in music education. All educators would like to see their learners display attitudes such as tolerance, eagerness to find out, and willingness to participate. In an atmosphere where learners demonstrate positive attitudes toward others, they could be willing to accept, or at least try to understand, different value systems in music. Even in popular music studies, this would be useful, as differences of taste not only are fleeting age-related preferences but can also be indicative of culture-based preferences fed by certain values. But Meki Nzewi (this volume) also warns that in urban versus rural communities, there is a "degree of altered worldview that alters creative imagination, self-imaging, cultural retention, and overall musical value." We are therefore talking not only of the small world of music that teachers deal with in a classroom, but about individuals and entire communities that can be or are deeply influenced, affected, changed by the music with which they live or do not live.

Koji Matsunobu's perspective brings values issues in a Japanese environment compellingly to the fore, where business and industry have become irrevocably tied to the material standards of the West, whereas education still seeks to inculcate aesthetic, moral, community, and spiritual sentiments. In such an educational environment, there is bound to be some form of collision between value systems. Which will be dominant? When different value systems prevail within the classroom, assessment has been shown to be directly impacted. As Roger Avenstrup pointed out (this volume), assessment can be only authentic or partly authentic when criteria for assessing the arts product are set by learners, not teacher. Again, the same refrain – this depends on knowledge of aesthetic values and also extant templates. Teachers need to understand the aesthetic values being employed by the learners and be able to use templates to link the past with the present creatively.

We have thus seen that an understanding of how the knowledge inherent in musical worlds is passed on can have a beneficial influence on formal and informal education. Eva Saether (this volume) makes mention of the inherent differences in learning about and learning from others. Implied are the potential benefits of a more authentic intercultural understanding. Her narrative as a musician who has ventured into and partly absorbed different musical worlds draws our attention to the inherent difficulties and pleasures of learning from and about the Other. Learning individuals, as well as cultural groupings can benefit.

It was suggested that children's culture itself provides a wealth of possibilities, although the question does arise – if children already practice their own music, why do teachers need to interfere? Children's music does, however, provide a level playing ground of sorts through which many other aspects of different musical worlds might be accessed.

Perhaps one of the biggest differences between the most dominant music worldwide – Euro-American popular and art music – and a major proportion of the folk-based traditional musics lies in the emphasis on individuality or on participative communality. Given the pervasiveness and aggressive marketing of the former, and the steady decline and relinquishing of the latter, it is obvious that more and more, individualism is being adopted as one of the prime values in the arts. Even in Namibia, removed as it appears to be from the mainstream, this one small facet has resulted in fundamental changes to musical practices and musical cultures. Young people do not want to make music "with others" unless it is in a formal choir. They want to perform individually. To perform individually, they need to take lessons – studio lessons. This is good news for music teachers. But, paradoxically, it results in so many youngsters giving up on music because they cannot afford to continue lessons, or more often, they are weeded out in the typical studio process of selectiveness, assessment, examination, fixed repertoires of study, music that is initially very foreign in terms of template, and long hours of rehearsal. The value perceived by the young person within "stardom" as an individual is accompanied by many other linked values. It comes as part of a system. Not knowing or not being part of the larger individualistic value system dooms untold numbers of youngsters to early failure. It also results in fewer informal community music gatherings. Conversely, those who come from homes where the strict discipline of working toward a long-term individual goal reigns, have significantly better chances of success. In many ways, this is one of the long-lasting effects of colonization. The metaphor of wanting the watch but not the inflexible rule of time comes to mind.

Importantly, we may need to facilitate future music education environments outside of schools if we wish to provide education in and through musical worlds. If sustainable, lifelong musical learning cannot be begun in schools, perhaps more use can be made of networks of community music. Institutions such as community schools[1] can play a key role. Alternatively, the school system can "tender out" the music education program to different communities and still maintain contact, even a measure of evaluation of basic goals. Assumptions about music's relevance to the community are undergoing much needed review, which bodes well for school-community liaison.

In the previous chapter, I alluded to the desirability of music education moving out of schools and back into communities. However, the notion of "community" is hard to find in some cities. It seems likely that music can be of assistance in creating communities, but this will require investigation. In urban communities, there is much overlap, layering, and interlocking of landscapes. Therefore, an earlier chapter asked whether musical identities can remain functional in culturally foreign or heterogeneous societies, removed from their original environments. While little is currently known about this, the reality probably results in a major proportion of

people living in-between worlds and identities. The confusion and uncertainty of in-betweenness contributes to values instability.

Myers suggests that one needs to transform the typical school model and its structures that are inconsistent with the musical worlds outside of school.[2] Rather than placing such high importance on the advocacy of outdated school music programs, and making unconvincing claims about the effect on music on learning and intelligence, it would be better to spend efforts on *transforming* existing programs into centers of relevant, lifelong musical activity valued by the local community.

If arts education must be retained within schools for whatever reasons, it is of vital importance to engage learners in independent and authentic music-making that is consistent not only with their developmental capacities but also with their musical worlds. Only this way will their music grow with them into and through adulthood. This requires from the teacher an understanding of how musical worlds are drawn upon their cultural landscapes and how diversified and interesting these landscapes can be. It is not clear whether people perceive tangible links between music actually experienced in schools and the lasting intrinsic values of arts education.

One of the questions I haven't dealt with is whether it is preferable (initially) to learn only one musical culture or more. In contrast with many music educators who believe that it is desirable for children to experience as many styles and pieces of music as possible at a young age, I have taken a somewhat conservative stand. For children to learn to understand the meanings in music and to memorize the templates so that they can perform confidently yet be creative, it is important to become fully conversant with their own or the surrounding musical world. This implies the detailed musical rules and conventions, as well as the societal rules and musical customs including norms and values. The analogy with language – being conversant – is intentional, as learning disabilities may arise out of language confusion, that is, learning different language types (e.g., a Germanic and a Kushitic type) before the mother tongue has been established. It would be interesting to find research that shows whether or not a similar confusion arises in terms of musical syntax (the micro-level of musical practice) or whether these are eminently transferable from one practice to another. As far as norms and values are concerned, no research of which I'm aware has been done on the normative and aesthetic effect of learning more than one cultural practice at the same time. My experience, however, informs me that the more education one has in one kind of music, the more difficult it might be to loosen oneself from the aesthetic values of that musical culture, even if the musical processes (learning the music) are more easily achieved.

A problem not addressed is the fact that young people commonly reject traditional music. This may seem hard to understand, unless we think about the way that many of us, the older generation, relate to our own musical traditions. Along with a large number of my music colleagues worldwide, I grew up with education that very firmly promoted European art music as superior. In 1950 s and early 1960 s, the music I learnt at school consisted of German, Afrikaans, and English child songs. Anyone showing a modicum of musical interest, talent, intelligence, or money was directed toward the study of an orchestral instrument or piano. Never were we educated about music in (any) society. No mention was made of popular music. Even

"folk music" – the songs of Baez and Seeger – was radicalized. Values? Meaning? A ridiculous thought. So my generation learnt little about musical meaning and values that we did not discover for ourselves. The younger urban generation is almost inextricably tied to popular music in all its electronic media forms, but with access to diverse live performances and experiences. Most of these are touch-and-go experiences in the sense that the contact time is very limited. The sonic immersion time is constant in places of transport, shops, malls, and so on. But the depth of immersion is lacking. Few have learnt music from their parents or family members. How can we expect the younger generation to attach much value to traditional music? They consider pop music of a few decades ago traditional.

Perhaps the question we ask should really be what is the tradition? Does it only exist in a memory or other archive of musical examples, or does the functioning musical world from which it arose still exist? Only in the latter case is it really worth the full attention of education. In the former case, however, historic examples of earlier musical cultures may still serve as interesting study facets of musical cultures. So even though our romanticized visions of clearly defined musical cultures learnt through community participation and intergenerational contact now belong mainly in the past, music educators cannot throw in the proverbial towel. Children are committed to schools for their education. David Myers[3] writes

> I was one of those who wrote to Budiansky. In a return e-mail, he elaborated: "We've turned music education ... into an assembly line that is pretty good at whipping together a group of students who can push the right buttons on their instruments and read music and produce something that sounds polished fairly quickly. And then those kids leave high school and never touch their instruments again, never go to classical or jazz concerts, never know how to make music on their own, never have the curiosity to discover music that means something to them. It really makes me want to weep" (e-mail correspondence, April 6, 2005).

We lose sight of the ways in which people spontaneously engage in music throughout their lives. There are skills and complex cognitions that underlie personal music making, both of which could form a basis for more relevant school programs. We might only provide a soupçon of meaningful musical experiences in the classroom by making careful choices in content as well as method, by providing all the necessary contextual information. As mentioned at the outset, we need to consider the breadth and vision of human music-making in terms of *why*, *how,* and *when* they make music; what are the social and musical rules that determine *who, where,* and *what* kind of music they make; and importantly, what determines whether the music is correct and sweet. By additionally providing the *appropriate* aesthetic criteria and tools for specific cultural musics, we can give learners the means to make more meaningful intercultural and intergenerational excursions.

Musical diversity is determined by choices made about the life of a society – what they deem worth saving, what history has taught them, their contacts with others, and even trial and error. The sounds that are built into a music develop over time through social negotiation and social cognitions such as categorization. The latter is in turn informed by values that determine category hierarchies. Some sound patterns are retained, some relinquished, others never discovered. Borrowing from

and lending to others adds flavor and spice from time to time. The heart of the music, however, remains specific to a society. It is this heart or soul of musical cultures which enriches and makes music worthwhile. Somehow we need to bring this back to music education.

Further research to test musical world systems against existing and emerging perceptions of musical culture is demanded. For example, how does a musical practice reflect current identity complexities? What are the social responses to gradual or abrupt changes to the musical environment? It is my hope that scholars in neighboring and distant regions will be willing to collaborate in an extension of this idea in research. Further, that music educators would reflect on these ideas in their classroom practice. Action research might provide compelling new insights. It is said that music pedagogy is fundamentally located in the practice of good society in music. It might also be said that if we don't teach the values and meaning of music in our societies, our education will become valueless and meaningless.

Notes

1. Cf. Fock in this volume.
2. Myers, 2006.
3. Ibid., 2006, p. 2.

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