A decade of research in music education

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Preface

After years of preparations and talks, the Chair in Music Education was established in 1992 at the Malmö Academy of Music, Lund University. After some initial years of building up the discipline and the department by arranging undergraduate and graduate courses under the leadership of Professor Bertil Sundin, the PhD programme started in 1996.

This book marks, by summarizing the experiences and research conducted since 1996, both the completion of the first decade and the point of departure of the next period. The launching of the book also coincides with the Centennial anniversary of Malmö Academy of Music.

The importance of having a constant dialogue with the international research community cannot be overestimated. This is particularly true for a small country like Sweden and Scandinavia as a region. Over the years, our frequent participation at international conferences, visits at overseas universities and the reading of reports, journals and books by the international research community have been great sources of inspiration. Hence, after ten years of research and establishing our research department we now want to share our results and experiences with an international readership. As the main part of our PhD theses has been written and published in Swedish this book presenting our research and the ideas behind it in English enables us to communicate with and get response from an international readership.

In this preface, I would like take the opportunity to express my deep gratitude and appreciation to all my colleagues at the Malmö Academy of Music. The years since 1996 when I was appointed Associate Professor, and from 1998, Chair Professor, have been a fantastic, inspiring, productive and instructive period of my life. To all of you – no names mentioned, none forgotten – I am very grateful.

In particular, I would like to thank my 'closest family': my colleagues, students and PhD Candidates at the Department of Research in Music Education. You are all a constant source of inspiration, confidence and joy. I feel privileged to be part of our group and to possess the trust and generosity I receive from you all. This deep gratitude also includes Sverker Svensson and Håkan Lundström for their very competent and supportive leadership of Malmö Academy of Music and Malmö Faculty of Fine and Performing Arts, Lund University, respectively.

The writing and editing of the book was made possible by my year as Visiting Professor at the University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia. Thank you all my colleagues at the School of Music and Music Education for the openness, generosity and friendly atmosphere that characterised our everyday encounters.

In particular, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my colleague Professor Robert Walker for all his efforts making my year at the UNSW possible, for all the fun we had, and for all the inspiration and knowledge gleaned from our discussions. I would also like to address special thanks to Dr. Christine Logan, Head of School of Music and Music Education, for inviting me, being so delightful, supportive and welcoming, and for providing such excellent conditions, in all respects, for my work and stay at your department.

Last but not least, I would like to thank the people who have made this book possible to realise:

- The authors, without whom there would simply be no book to present. You have all been fantastic throughout the process of preparing the chapters. Special thanks to Professor Graham Welch for writing the concluding chapter: for this, we are all very proud and grateful.

- From the outset of this project, different people have read drafts of the manuscript and provided valuable comments: Professor Robert Walker, Dr. Christine Logan and Dr. Iain Giblin at the

UNSW, Professor Graham Welch, Institute of Education, London University and Professor Berner Lindström, Göteborg University.

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It is a pleasure working with you all!

Sydney and Malmö, June 2007
Göran Folkestad
Professor and Chair of Music Education

Here, There and Everywhere

A Decade of Research in Music Education

Göran Folkestad

During the 1980s and 1990s, the interest of research in music education increased radically both among music teachers in schools, and in the music teacher education at conservatoires, academies of music as well as in teacher education in general. This resulted in the establishment of *music education* as a research discipline in its own right with the first Chair in Stockholm in 1988, followed by the Lund University Chair at the Malmö Academy of Music in 1992. A Swedish network of music education was established in 1991 and a Nordic network of research in music education in 1994. Since then these networks have had annual meetings and conferences, the latter assembling researchers, master and PhD students from Norway, Denmark, Finland and Sweden for seminars and conferences, where ongoing PhD projects' work-in-progress have been presented and discussed, in addition to lectures and discussions by established researchers. A compilation and analysis of ongoing research projects in music education conducted by Jörgensen (1995) displayed not only a great breadth of interesting and important issues, but also demonstrated that a long-term need for research within the field of music education was now being appropriately channelled.

Up to then, Swedish PhD projects researching issues in music education had been conducted either within *musicology* (e. g., Olsson, 1993; Stålhammar, 1995) or *education*

(e. g., Brändström & Wiklund, 1995; Folkestad, 1996; Sandberg, 1996), and accordingly based on the premises and criteria of theoretical and methodological perspectives in these disciplines. Establishing *music education* as a major subject in bachelor, master and doctoral degrees called for a need of forming and defining music education as a discipline of research on its own conditions and criteria.

In his analysis of how music education issues were researched internationally, and how it had hitherto been investigated in Sweden in musicology and education, Reimers[1] (1989) draws the conclusion that music education as a field of research has to develop its own territory. He connects with the definition formulated in 1988 for the first professorial chair in music education, placed at the newly established Centre for Research in Music Education at the Royal Academy of Music in Stockholm:

> The work includes scholarly handling of questions and issues in situations where music is part of teaching and training or in other forms has an educational function. The subject is empirically rooted in the praxis of music education in a wide sense and connects to musicology and education.

This definition is modified by Ödman (1994), Reimers's successor, and now the explicit connection to musicology is gone. Instead, music education is defined as an area of application within the educational research field:

> Music education as a scholarly discipline deals with issues of contexts in which music is a part or has been a part in upbringing, education, teaching, training and other forms of influence exercised in a certain cultural situation. At this, for example, issues connected to pedagogy, processes of learning and musical influence and experience are dealt with, inter alia in relation to knowledge of psychological and existential prerequisites of the individual or of the group, theories of knowledge formation and curriculum theory. (p. 9)

1 Lennart Reimers was the first holder of the Chair of Music Education in Stockholm.

Accordingly, what we have here are two different kinds of definitions and views on the relationship between music and education: Reimers, having his PhD in musicology, takes music as a phenomenon in different teaching situations as his points of departure, whereas Ödman, with his background in educational research, regards music education as an area of application within the educational field. Simultaneously, Ödman keeps the door open for corrections, revisions and additions by using wordings such as 'for example' and 'inter alia'.

However, in common to both these definitions, and the definitions on which music education research was conducted in Norway (Jörgensen, 1979) and Denmark (Nielsen, 1994, 1997), is that they might be seen as demarkating research in education, and in music education, to involve and deal only with issues concerning upbringing, teaching, training and other forms of *intentional* influence.

This is the framework in which the development of the PhD programme in music education at the Malmö Academy of Music started, and in the continuous discussions in the Nordic Network (Jörgensen & Hanken, 1995) and elsewhere, the need to define and continuously discuss and re-define the field of research in music education became evident. The definition that formed the basis of the research and PhD programme in Malmö/Lund was formulated by Folkestad (1997), and has also been presented and further developed in Folkestad (1998, 2005, 2006).

In the following, I will briefly present (i) the current definition of research in Music Education and the relationship between research and teacher praxis from which we operate, (ii) the way our PhD programme has been organised and accomplished, and (iii) the studies it has resulted in up to now, presented in the chapters of this book.

By way of introduction, I will present the theoretical framework developed in my PhD thesis (Folkestad, 1996) and in Folkestad (1998), *musical learning as cultural practice*, since then applied not only in my continuous research on musical creativity and composition, but also as a point of departure for the definition of music education research.

Musical learning as cultural practice

To the best of my knowledge, my PhD thesis on computer based creative music making, which was published as a book in 1996, is one of the first studies, internationally, within music education adopting a socio-cultural theoretical framework. By the begin-

ning of the 1990s, the ideas of implementing the literature on situated cognition and situated learning within the educational field was still in the bud. At the Department of Education and Educational Research, Gothenburg University, we were a group of doctoral students, inspired and led by our supervisors[2], who started to take an increasing interest in these theories, mainly emanating from the US West Coast, as a point of departure for analysing, understanding and discussing the educational phenomena under investigation. In the seminars of what we called 'the SitCog group', literature describing these aspects was discussed, and established researchers working in this new area were invited, as, for example, Seth Chaiklin and Roger Säljö.

During the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, educational research might be described as having its main focus on the teacher and on teaching methods. One of the reasons why the phenomenographic research approach, introduced during the late 1970s, was met with such a positive response and seemed to fill a gap perceived by educational researchers, was that it put the focus on *the learner*; how various phenomena and types of learning content are conceptualised or experienced by the learners. This was done by providing categories of description of the variation on a collective level of qualitatively different ways of understanding a phenomenon (Marton, 1981, 1992; Marton, Beaty, & Dall'Alba, 1993). By doing this, the bearing on teacher education and teaching practice was obvious: for teachers entering a classroom with a certain focus on the learning agenda, the knowledge of the preconceptions is of vital importance – the ways in which this content can be understood in advance by the students and thereby forming the basis of their continuous learning in school.

What the phenomenographic approach, or research specialisation, did *not* do was to take into consideration the context of the learning event, described by the interviewees in the analysis of the statements extracted from the interviews: these were treated as de-contextualised statements, and the categories of description in the outcome space of the studies, as de-contextualised descriptions of the variation of conceptions on a collective level (Marton & Booth, 1997).

In this context my PhD study started, based on a preliminary theoretical framework inspired by phenomenography in that the aim of the study was to investigate the qualitatively different ways in which young people created music by means of computers. However, given the fact that I studied the actual process of composition, the activity itself, and not only how the participants talked about their experiences of that

2 My supervisors were Berner Lindström, professor at the Department of Education and Educational Research, Gothenburg University, and David Hargreaves, UK, visiting professor at the School of Music and Music Education, Gothenburg University.

activity, the approach was right from the start an attempt to expand the methodology of phenomenographic inquiry to not only include interviews, which had hitherto been the case, but also to use various forms of data collection: Computer MIDI-files were systematically collected covering the sequence of the creation processes step by step; interviews were carried out with each of the participants; and observations were made of their work in order to capture the process of the activity[3].

Having conducted the data collection and started the analysis, it became evident that an alternative, or at least a complementary theoretical perspective was needed in order to describe and understand the activity of study. In particular, the importance of the context became evident, and the fact that the context did not only primarily seem to be the physical environment – in this case the workstation with the synthesiser and computer – but rather the musical situation in which the participants placed their music creation – 'creating this song I was in the brass band, marching and playing' or 'in this song I was alone on stage, singing and playing the piano'. In order to understand and explain this, a theoretical perspective was needed emphasising the *situatedness* and the cultural-historical dimension brought into the situation by the participants themselves and by the tools they used for composition.

Accordingly, the theoretical framework presented in Folkestad (1996, 1998) is just as much a result of the empirical studies as a foundation for the analysis of the data – in fact a good example of the dialectic relationship between theory and practice in research.

Over the years to come from 1996 and onwards, this theoretical framework formed the basis of a number of our research projects, presented in some of the chapters of this book: Gunnar Heiling's (2000) study of the inner life of a brass band; Cecilia Hultberg's (2000) study of classical pianists approaches to music notation; Bo Nilsson's (2002) study of children's computer-based creative music making and Els-Mari Törnquist's (2006) study of the creation process of a school-based opera project. Internationally, many interesting PhD projects have investigated musical creativity and composition using this theoretical perspective: Soares (2006) study of adolescents' engagement in computer-based composition in Brazil; Teresa Dillon's (2006) explorative study of young people's collaborative and creative processes using keyboard and computer-based music technologies in formal and non-formal settings; Magne Espeland (2006) investigating small group music composition processes in a primary school context, to give a few examples.

3 For a detailed description of the data collection methods see Folkestad, 1996, pp. 117-125; Folkestad, Lindström, & Hargreaves, 1997 pp. 2-4; Folkestad, Hargreaves, & Lindström, 1998, pp. 85-86.

Music education in research and praxis

By 1996, as evident from the definitions presented above, most research in music education had so far dealt with music training in institutional settings, such as schools, and as a result it was based on the assumption, either implicitly or explicitly, that musical learning results from a sequenced, methodical exposure to music teaching within a formal setting.

However, right from the very start we found an interest in the issue of taking into consideration not only the formalised learning situations within institutional settings, such as schools, but also various forms of learning that go on in informal musical learning practices outside schools. This change in perspective is summarised by Folkestad (1998) as a general shift in focus – from teaching to learning, and consequently from teacher to learner (pupil). Thus, it also implies a shift of focus, from *how to teach* (teaching methods) and the outcome of teaching in terms of results as seen from the teacher's perspective, to *what to learn*, the content of learning, and *how to learn*, the way of learning. This perspective on music education research presents the notion that the great majority of musical learning takes place outside schools, in situations where there is no teacher, and in which the intention of the activity is not to learn *about* music, but to play music, listen to music, dance to music, or be together with music. Each of these examples typifies situations in which music is experienced and learned, one way or another. Since more than a decade, this is further accentuated as a result of computers and new technology and all the musical activities on the Internet, in which the global and the local interact in a dialectic way (Folkestad, 2002); what Giddens (1991) call *glocal*.

Applying a socio-cultural perspective on music education (Folkestad, 1996, 1998) implied that many questions taken for granted had to be reconsidered: for example, the question of whether or not to have popular music in school, becomes irrelevant – popular music is already present in school, brought there by the students, and in many cases also by the teachers, as part of their musical experience and knowledge (Folkestad, 2000). The issue is rather: how do we deal with it? Do we deny the fact that popular music and world music is an essential factor of the context of music teaching in school, or do we acknowledge the students' musical experiences and knowledge as a starting point for further musical education?

This shift of focus from teacher to learner, and this widened definition of the field of research in music education had the following implication: while music education as a *field of praxis* (music pedagogy) is defined as *all* kinds of formal musical teaching

and institutionalised learning settings, music education as a field of research must deal with all kinds of musical learning, irrespective of where it takes place (or is situated), and of how and by whom it is organised or initiated.

This also defines the relationship between the field of praxis (music teachers) and the field of research (music education researchers) in that the role of the latter is not to 'produce' teaching methods, but to deliver research results to the praxis field – results by means of which the professional teachers may plan, conduct and evaluate their music teaching. An important strand in this relationship between practitioners and researchers – between *individual* and *collective* knowledge formation, respectively (Bowden & Marton, 1998) – is the mutually shared need for a continuous dialogue, and also that research questions induced in the reflections of the praxis field become the object of attraction in research.

When the PhD programme in Music Education at the Malmö Academy of Music, the School of Music and Music Education of Lund University was established in 1996, this theoretical perspective, musical learning as cultural practice, and its implications in research and praxis formed the basis of the definition of the field of research in music education (Folkestad, 1997, 1998, 2005, 2006). As seen above, one insight of adopting a socio-cultural perspective to education is that learning takes place not only in institutionalised settings such as schools, but also in activities, settings and situations outside school. This is particularly true regarding music with its multitude of semi-formal and informal musical leisure time activities.

This widening of the field of research in music education does not only mean bringing in all kinds of informal musical learning in various youth and popular music milieus as objects of study. Other obvious places of outside school musical learning are orchestras and ensembles of all sorts playing all kinds of music, including Western Classical music. Accordingly, one important area of research is to study and analyse the musical activities in these contexts – rehearsals, performances, et cetera – from the perspective of lifelong learning.

The way institutional education is organised also effects the way people construct their way of thinking and in the case of music and music education, I think this is particularly true: the division between on the one hand the training to become a performing artist and musician, and on the other hand the training to become a music teacher, at different seats of learning or as two separated departments within the same university, has led to the wide spread view of seeing performing and teaching as completely separate musical activities.

By studying musical performance as a learning activity, the gap between these two major parts of higher music education might be bridged. The experiences of our first ten years of research is that, at least on the graduate and post-graduate levels, there is no benefit in keeping these aspects of musical learning – the educational and the artistic – distinctly apart. On the contrary, on the more advanced levels of reflective and scholarly activities these two aspects, or perspectives, are crosswise fertilizing each other and might even be seen as two sides of the same coin: interpretation, a core activity and concept in performance training and research might be seen and analysed as a way of learning, while the musical activity in a classroom can be analysed and understood as a way of artistic performance.

To summarize: although music education research, rooted in the 'traditional' research of the social sciences and based mainly on the study of others, and artistic research of performance and composition, based on the researcher's own artistic activity by necessity are distinguished according to specific issues, it is my experience that – regardless of whether the perspective from which the research project has been entered, whether the discipline is music education or artistic performance – both sides of the coin are always present: the education and the performance of music.

Doctoral studies as learning circle seminars

The 'Situated Cognition Group' presented earlier might be described as an example of a well-functioning learning circle: the individual learning also becomes a part of collective learning, that is, each and every participant contributes to the learning outcome, not only for his/her own benefit, but also as an important partner and as a sounding board in the learning process of all the others in the group.

In his article 'Research apprenticeship', Kvale (1997) discusses and compares research studies on research environments from the perspective of situated cognition. One common feature of successful research environments seems to be that the work is (to a large extent) organised and conducted in groups, in which the experienced senior researchers work together with the somewhat less experienced researchers and novices, sharing and discussing their preliminary ideas, thereby allowing everyone access to the process of research. This might be described as an example of *legitimate peripheral participation* (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

On the basis of these points of departure, the idea of research training as a situated practice and the experiences of the importance of having access to the *community of prac-*

tice (Wenger, 1998) of research already as a student and PhD Candidate, the research studies in Malmö were from the very start organised as learning circle seminars.

By tradition, research studies have mostly been organised as one-to-one tuition, the student or the candidate working in solitude on his/her own, and with the only input from meetings with the supervisor, in varying degree of closeness and regularity. In many cases this might be fruitful and well-functioning, and without a doubt the majority of theses have been completed based on this educational model. However, as in all one-to-one teaching, this implies not only that both the student and the supervisor are very committed to the project, for the whole period, but also that the personal chemistry between these individuals is good, and stays good for the whole project. As PhD studies are long, in Sweden four years full-time studies, quite often over a time of 6 to 8 years, the situation of only having one person to relate to, getting response from and being inspired by during all those years, makes the situation delicate, not least for the candidate who has to keep in with the supervisor and not offend him/her scientifically or otherwise.

In the learning circle seminar, the candidate gets complementary feedback to the supervisor and all the participants are updated on the actual status and issues of each other's projects. This means that there is always someone else to ask for advice or a second opinion.

The inner wheel of the doctoral studies is the weekly seminars where not only the literature and other research projects are discussed, and also some of the supervision of the participants' ongoing projects is conducted, in addition to individual, one-to-one tuition meetings. With this inner wheel as the basis, the doctoral candidates participate in courses and seminars at other departments, schools and faculties at the university, thereby not only increasing their individual knowledge and experience, but also, by presenting this at the seminars, supplying oxygen for the learning circle and contributing to the increase of the collective level of knowledge at the doctoral programme as a whole.

The research projects of the first decade

The group of the first PhD candidates, now all senior lecturers, readers, associative professors and professors at Swedish Universities and Academies of Music, together with Bertil Sundin, my predecessor as Chair Professor, Gary McPherson, Visiting Professor, and Graham Welch, Professor and Chair at the Institute of Education, Lon-

don University, constitute the authors of the chapters in this book. Taken together, this gives a picture of a decade of research and PhD training in music education at our department, on the basis of which the next generation of PhD candidates are now developing their directions of research, thereby not only connecting as individuals to an existing and established research practice, but to a great extent contributing in the constant process of collectively developing our research field.

In the first chapter of the book, Bertil Sundin presents his pioneering naturalistic and ethnographic research study from the beginning of the 1960s on children's musical creativity in the first six years. His aim was to find out what children did musically when they were not directly influenced by adult authorities, what children came up with when they were asked to invent their own songs, and what music meant to children. In that approach to research in general, and in investigating children's musical creativity specifically, Bertil Sundin has been a great inspirer and role model, not only to me, but also to new generations of researchers, and his ideas and discussions constitute important parts of the framework of our PhD programme.

By way of introduction to the chapters of the concluded PhD projects, Gary McPherson, Visiting Professor 2000-2001 presents his personal reflections on his time in Malmö and on Music Education Research in general.

The praxis of music education, music teaching, should in one way or another be normative, that is, as a teacher one should have, and need to have, an idea of what is good or bad in teaching, and what is good or bad for the students. Regarding music education researchers, however, this normativity must be put in brackets, adopting epoké as expressed in phenomenological terminology, in order to obtain a descriptive, analytical level.

One of the tasks for research might thus be described as disclosing and exposing the prejudices or preconceptions present in contemporary discussions on music and music education – and present not only in parents, politicians and people in general, but to a certain extent also in school administrators, principals, teachers in general and music educators – prejudices or preconceptions on the basis of which decisions on how and what to teach and opinions about what is good or bad teaching, what kind of music children need or should be taught at school, et cetera, might be implicitly, or explicitly, formulated. These prejudices or preconceptions are quite often present in terms of dichotomies, such as written music vs oral music; social motives of musicking vs musical artistic motives; Western classical music vs African-American music, to give a few examples. Accordingly, one important task of research might be described

as refining the knowledge about these matters, thereby replacing a view of things being either black or white with a picture including all the shades of grey in between the extremes.

In his chapter, based on his PhD thesis published in 2000, Gunnar Heiling investigates a Swedish brass band where a programme for change was pursued which aimed to improve the artistic level of playing of the ensemble without replacing less competent members. The context of the investigation might be described as studying a formalised learning situation, though in an out-of-school setting; formal in the sense that the activity is planned and conducted as an educational enterprise, led by someone taking on the role of a 'teacher'; informal in the sense of meeting several of the features of informal learning situations, for example, all age groups, with varying competences, playing together (whereas formal music teaching most often assumes a division based on age group and competence levels). The research question was: how does community and group coherence interact when the goal is to improve the musical standard in an amateur brass band, connected to a church? In a way, the results might be described as dismissing the myth of the dichotomy of and opposition between social and artistic motives of music making, respectively; that an individual's leisure time music making activity is grounded in either social or artistic motives, but rather that both motives are needed and seem intertwined, and that the emphasising of artistic ambitions not necessarily have to result in the social dimension of participation being less important.

In her investigation of how pianists use music notation in Western tonal tradition, Cecilia Hultberg (2000) finds two main approaches: explorative and reproductive, respectively. She shows how concert pianists in their interpretation of Western classical music use not only the score, but also 'aural' strategies, usually connected to the performance of popular music. Moreover, Hultberg's study shows that what is today considered as the traditional Western classical approach to music teaching and learning, the conservatory tradition, might turn out to be a historical parenthesis starting around 1750 and with its decomposition in progress. Before 1750 the 'classical' musicians approach to music performance, music teaching and music learning had very much in common with what is today regarded as essential features of oral based popular music. Today, formal and informal learning strategies based on written and oral traditions act in a dialectic way, which indicates that musicians (in reality), no matter what genre, combine these different learning strategies in their practice of musical learning. Accordingly, it might be a prejudice that Western classical music is interpreted merely

by the help of written music: today CD recordings and other means for oral-aural transmission are used in the interpretation and learning of all kinds of music, not only in popular but also in classical music.

Maria Karlsson (2000) investigated the background, course of study and motivation of the students at the aesthetic programmes of Swedish Senior High Schools. In her study, motivation is viewed as a cognitive process influencing learning through achievement behaviour. The study was based on a survey including 61% of the students, mainly 19 years of age, studying specialised music in Swedish high schools. The results show that the students have a long record of voluntary music education before enrolling senior high school. However, one third of the boys, in marked contrast to virtually no girls, might be characterised as autodidacts with a long experience of informal out of school musical activities, but almost no formal instrumental training. A result leading to reflection is that the gender differences seem to strengthen during the students' senior high school studies. The result of the analysis of attribution confirms earlier studies in that teacher, effort and ability are common factors used by students to explain their success, while effort, previous knowledge and learning strategy often are used to explain failure. Accordingly, the students' explanations of success and failure tend to be uncorrelated. Regarding the effect of goal orientation, Karlsson found, in accordance with earlier studies that mastery orientation had a positive effect on achievement behaviour.

Claes Ericsson's (2002) study of how adolescents experience and talk about musical learning moves in and between the two fields of musical learning *in school* and *in leisure time.* Two main discourses were identified: the discourse of *music* and the discourse of *the school subject Music*. The discourse of *music* is wide and embraces music in leisure time as well as in school. It consists of listening and *musicking*, that is, all kinds of musical activities, as described by Small (1998). The discourse of *the school subject Music* is narrow and legitimised only through its position as a school subject. Moreover, according to the adolescents, value related issues such as preference and interpretation should be left to the students in the greatest possible extent, and the teacher should instead provide help to the students by giving them tools for expression, such as training skills and providing a suitable milieu for musicking. Ericsson found that what many of the students wanted *in* school was more of the kind of musical activities and learning that takes place *outside* school; that is, the discourse of *the school subject Music* to be replaced in school by the discourse of *music*. The discourse of *music* has a bearing on what Folkestad (1996) called *playing music – musical framing* in Saar's (1999) terminology – whereas the

focus of the discourse of *the school subject Music* corresponds with *learning how to play music* and *pedagogical framing*, respectively.

Bo Nilsson's (2002) 2-year study of 8-year-old children creating music with synthesiser and computer software describes the creative process of computer-based composition. In the analysis, five variations of the practice of composition were identified, each with a different object in the foreground of the activity: (i) the synthesiser and computer; (ii) personal fantasies and emotions; (iii) the playing of the instrument; (iv) the music itself; and (v) the task. The results of the study might also be described as putting the focus on the definition of composition and improvisation, respectively, and how these concepts get integrated with each other in the practice of computer-based creative music making: to improvise is to compose and composition involves a great deal of improvisation. The title of the thesis 'I can make a hundred songs' is a quote from one of the children, emphasising that for a child it might be just as natural to make a new song instead of working at an already existing one; that is, to compose by improvisation once again instead of composing by reflective analytical cognitive tools, the latter regarded as a key feature in 'adult' composition.

Most studies in music education have dealt with musical learning, in and out of school, within Western societies and cultures. However, in order to acknowledge the importance of attaining a cultural diversity in music education by integrating world music and indigenous music in the curriculum music, studies of musical learning in non-Western settings are indispensable.

In this respect, Eva Sæther's 2003 study of the attitudes to music teaching and learning among *jalis* in the Gambia provides interesting findings. That which on a surface level, and from the perspective and prejudice of Western music education, might seem as an informal practice, was in fact found to be a very formalised and 'institutionalised' way of knowledge formation and knowledge mediation. The title of Saether's chapter, *The Oral University*, refers not only to this main result, but also to the notion that there is no causal relationship between orality and informality, a connection which is, implicitly or explicitly, taken for granted in much of the literature in this field. In extension, this also challenges the established prejudice that only written music is the content of formal institutionalised music teaching, whereas popular and orally transmitted music is regarded as being the typical content of informal out-of-school activities.

In her PhD thesis *Bringing order to aesthetics in school*, Monica Lindgren (2006) investigates how teachers and head teachers construct legitimacy for different ways of pursuing aesthetic activities in compulsory school and how teachers and head teachers

construct themselves and the pupils within the field. She identifies and describes current discourses relating to the aesthetic activities in compulsory school and problematizes these with regard to power and control. The results of the study show how the field of 'the aesthetic activities of the school' is legitimised from certain ideas taken for granted and centred on a number of essential concepts: *compensation; needs; balance; being whole; practicalities; fun; reinforcement; education*. These concepts put those discourses in focus which are seen as significant to the field, and by means of various rhetorical techniques these discourses are afforded a status of credibility. An eye-opener is one of the described teacher identities *'the teacher as an adult'*, which performs the function of legitimising the aesthetic activities of the school from a certain perspective: the adult is put in relation to the child – in contrast to the teacher who is put in relation to the pupil – and finds a role more directed towards social training in connection with the aesthetic activities at school. The adult achieves her/his legitimacy merely by being older than the children, in contrast to the teacher who achieves legitimacy by being more knowledgeable than the children.

What happens in a school when music becomes the inner wheel of learning; the musical production the learning object supported by the other subjects? In her study on teachers' reflections on their pedagogical work in an artistic context, Els-Mari Törnquist (2006) examines the meeting between the artistic and the pedagogical dimensions in the work of teachers. The questions she deals with in her study are: what are the implications of being a teacher in an artistic context; which role and function does the teacher take on as a pedagogue in this work; and how does the teacher's own learning come out while participating in the activities associated with a musical production. The results show that the character of the participation is mutual engagement, interest and the shared responsibility between the students and the teachers. The teachers adopt and switch between four different roles or positions during the musical production: as a participant, as a supervisor, as a manager and as an artist. Two complementary processes appear in the teachers' objectives regarding education: one personal with an individual alignment approach and another one dealing with self-realization and collective working with a scenic direction. The production of the musical also provides an opportunity to apply personal and acquired knowledge.

Our next generation of PhD Candidates confirm that the regrowth of talented researchers is very good. The ongoing projects demonstrate and illustrate the idea of music education research in Malmö, presented earlier in this chapter, to include both in and out of school musical activities, as well as different genres and musical

traditions: How hip hop musicians learn (Johan Söderman); organ improvisation as a rhetorical contemporary practice (Karin Johansson); self-regulated learning and the education of flautists (Anders Ljungar Chapelon); visual tools illustrating the dynamics of melody phrases (Ingemar Fridell); the construction of legitimacy of educational ideas at cultural school teachers (Kristina Holmberg); aesthetic education in the eyes of immigrant parents (Ylva Hofvander Trulsson); music teachers' perception of scope of action in their pedagogical profession (Anna Houmann).

As described in the opening of this chapter, an important contribution to our PhD programme has been the annual meetings of the Swedish and the Nordic networks of research in music education. In addition to this, an increased participation in international conferences and collaborations with other research groups and institutes of doctoral training have further contributed to the development of our programme.

One of these collaborations has been with the Master and PhD groups in music education research of the Institute of Education, London University. In the concluding chapter of this book Graham Welch, Professor and Chair of Music Education at the Institute of Education uses the chapters of this book and the first decade of music education research in Malmö as a basis for some reflective thoughts on how our research has managed to capture and illustrate important ideas in contemporary research and why these are likely to continue to be fruitful for future researchers.

In Johan Söderman's ongoing PhD project, one of the interviewed female hip hop musicians in New York City states that 'the education system isn't educated enough to educate the kids' (Söderman, Ericsson and Folkestad, 2007, p. 15). One commission of music education research, in and out of school, in a multitude of cultures and in all kinds of music, is to provide the teachers and educators of music with knowledge so that the education system become educated enough to educate not only the children and adolescents in and out of school, but also the adults in their lifelong musical learning.

This is why music education researchers need to be *here* in the schools of all levels conducting all kinds of various research projects, but also to be out *there* where children, adolescents and adults encounter musical learning in all its various forms. Moreover, as a result of the globalised world in which the local and the global interact, particularly in the musical learning of young people, music education researchers need to be *everywhere*, focusing not only on the formal and informal musical learning in Western societies and cultures, but to include the full global range of popular, world and indigenous musics in their studies.

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Musical Creativity in the First Six Years

A research project in retrospect

Bertil Sundin

The beginning

The year was 1960. I had been working with children and music for several years and had been given the opportunity to undertake research concerned with musical creativity in young (up to seven), preschool children. In the 10 years that preceded my work, international interest in creativity research had grown steadily, mainly due to J. P. Guilford's landmark Presidential Address to the American Psychological Association in 1950. Very little of this had spilled over to music education research, though, in spite of the pedagogical tradition of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and after him educators such as Pestalozzi, Froebel and others (Rainbow, 1989).

My intention was not to undertake a series of experimental studies on learning, but to devise a study of a kind which today probably would be called ethnography. I wanted to find out what children did musically when they were not directly influenced by adult authorities, what children came up with when they were asked to invent their own songs, and what music meant to children. Very few researchers at that time had attempted to tackle these questions in a methodical, systematic manner. Even the concept *culture of childhood* was practically unknown outside anthropological circles (Goodman, 1970).

What I found fascinating at the time was the differing meaning of two seemingly related concepts: *children's songs* (songs made by adults for children) and *children's drawings* (drawings made by children). Why was singing considered a recreative activity and scribbling and drawing a creative one? What did this difference tell us about music as an important form of human expression?

The more I became involved with questions like these, the more the theories about children and music began to take the shape of a strange meta-narrative for me. A dominant feature was the biogenetic model, meaning that the child in its musical development recapitulates the history of mankind, beginning with monotone songs followed by the *ur-ters* and the sol-la-sol-mi formula. In this context 'the history of mankind' was an ideological construction with ethnocentric and misleading analogies between children and 'primitive' people. One musical style, 'Western classical music', was seen as superior, Music in its universal meaning. As a construct this was educational lucid but it did not agree with systemic observations.

Earlier research

The research oriented literature was grounded within the same ethnocentric paradigm. During the 1930s studies were published in the United States (e.g., Hattwick 1933, 1935) which showed an interest in the music of young children, but the dominant theme was how well children could perform according to adult standards. What children created on their own was of far less concern. Music research on children's creativity published in English did not appear until the 1970s (Richardson, 1983), with the exception of the reports from the Pillsbury Foundation School from the 1940s, but even these were unknown to most others – including me – until much later (Pond, 1981).

There were a few exceptions in the German language as well, and these provided stimulating ideas for my own work. The first research report about children's own songs was published in 1917 by Heinz Werner, a musicologist and psychologist who later emigrated to the United States. Werner undertook his research in a children's home in Vienna, where he collected songs from 45 children, aged between 2.9 and 5 years of age. The songs were recorded and analysed, with descriptions of typical melody forms in different age groups. Some of the results are mentioned in his later work (Werner, 1948).

Werner's study is the first acoustical documentation of children's songs, collated on 24 phonographic plates. Swedish musicologist and music educator Lennart Reimers has been able to trace seven other plates, which were considered lost, from Werner's study which were not categorised and analysed. In a recent critique (1997), Reimers shows how Werner excluded the songs which disproved his thesis of a step by step evolution of children's songs. Another problem with Werner's research is that the instructions he used with the children to collect their songs also seem to have been misleading.

Werner tried to investigate 'pure' child song. As the children were recruited from the lower strata of the population, Werner assumed that they had not been exposed to many opportunities to listen to music. Nevertheless, some children sang songs that showed clear influences from the adult world. Werner excluded these songs because of what he perceived to be a lack of authenticity. The concepts 'pure', 'genuine', 'authentic' and 'natural' were of much concern to researchers at that time, both in connection with children's songs and folk song (Cox, 1990), but the concepts were not problematized and therefore led to questionable interpretations by the researchers.

Other researchers, such as Schünemann (1930), expressed doubt about the 'real' productivity of children. These authors argued that when children perform spontaneous songs, they tend to put together known parts with each other and modify them. Nestele (1930) argued that the similarity with known melodies is not important for the authenticity and essence of the child's song: the child takes from its environment whatever is adequate for itself and changes the song in such a way that it becomes its own (p. 132).

This discussion continues today. The various opinions are dependent upon several factors: whether product or process is emphasised; whether childhood is seen as a special culture or just as a precursor to adulthood; what is counted as music and what is not; what criteria are used for categorising and assessing the products, and so on. For instance, the once influential Hungarian-Dutch music psychologist Geza Révèsz (1964) asserts that the songs of children do not satisfy the requirements of originality and productivity, which he believes are the essential criteria for any discussion of creative talent.

To sum up, a number of researchers before me, and around the time I was formulating my research agreed about the existence of some kind of musical creativity among children, but their musical assessment of this form of creativity varied considerably. The normative adult-oriented perspective dominated in the absence of empirical findings on music in childhood.

My own study: field work

In the spring of 1960 I made an explorative study to find suitable methods and ways of analysing results. Interestingly, Helmuth Moog, a German researcher, began a similar project at the same time. He visited the homes of 500 infants and children up to seven years of age and played different kinds of recorded music for them, in order to observe their responses (Moog, 1976). Our approaches were quite different as we were unaware of each other at that time. However, we did share a common aim of trying to find out more about the musical world of young children.

My main study started in September 1960 and continued for another three years. The preschool system in Sweden at that time consisted mainly of kindergartens which children attended for three hours a day. Three kindergartens in Stockholm (here called schools A, B and C) fulfilled my criteria of: age distribution (3.6-6.6 years); both morning and afternoon groups; and an interest in participating in the project. (Actually I had to include one girl 3.4 years old and eight children between 6.6 and 6.11 years to obtain the required number of participants. By mistake that was not mentioned in my 1997 paper). The number of children in the groups varied between ten and twenty and my observations were made during the 'free play' hour (with no teacher-directed activity).

The research design can be summarised as follows:

1. to learn about the spontaneous musical life of children I used a method of non-participant, naturalistic observation with the help of time-sampling and event-sampling methods;

2. to learn about the more conscious musical behaviour I used a quasi-experimental method, where the children were asked to (a) sing familiar songs, and (b) invent their own songs; and

3. to learn about contextual relationships I interviewed (a) parents about their children's musical interests and behaviour at home, and (b) involved teachers, who were asked to rate the musical interest and singing ability of the children.

(As not all requirements for a true experiment were fulfilled the term quasi-experiment was used. However, in the discussion that follows both words will be used interchangeably.)

Observational procedure

After an initial period of getting to know the children, those from schools A and B were observed individually with a time-sampling method, while in school C more informal group observations were made (event-sampling). Because of the time-consuming method chosen, the number of individually observed subjects was limited to 30 children, with ten children each in the age groups four, five and six, randomly selected out of the whole population from schools A and B. Each child was observed during 20 five-minute periods, making the total observation time 100 minutes. The periods were evenly distributed at different parts of the hour and days of a week in a predetermined order of rotation. I tried to make the different observations as representative as possible by following other set rules, such as no more than one observation a day and completing all observations within a two month period.

With the help of a portable audio tape recorder and other technical devices I registered the frequency of speech, song (all utterances which I perceived as having a fixed pitch) and other spontaneous musical activities (e.g., dancing, beating rhythms). The units of measure were time intervals, ten-seconds of duration, within which those activities took place (i.e., 600 intervals in 100 minutes). A description of the observed child's activities and the context within which the different musical utterances occurred was also included. The accuracy of the observations was checked afterwards by analysing the responses from the recorded tapes.

After a few days of inquisitiveness the children began to accept my presence in the room with them. Of the sample, only two girls seemed to be directly conscious of being observed and another two girls replaced these two children. In this way the observer effect seemed to be negligible.

Quasi-experimental procedure

A positive outcome of the time consuming observations was that the children had seen me for a considerable time and already knew me when I asked them to come indivi-

dually to another room and sing to me. There were very few children who refused to participate.

As a warming-up exercise each child played on a drum. The activity was recorded and played back to the child who was then asked to sing a song s/he liked and to then listen to it back. The accuracy of singing the song became the measure of the singing ability.

During the next step of the research, each child was asked if they 'make up' songs by themselves, and, if that was the case, if they would like to sing one of those songs for me. If no song was forthcoming (or after the invented songs, as the case may be) the child was asked to sing (a) their name, (b) a certain rhyme, and (c) a song without words. To complete the research session, each child was then asked to play a little more on the drum as an ending.

Assessment of the songs

The ability to reproduce familiar songs *(singing ability)* was rated independently by a research assistant and myself on a five point scale with verbally described steps:

1. Practically no resemblance – apart from the rhythm – with the original melody.
2. Approximately the same melodic contour but otherwise little melodic resemblance with the original melody.
3. Easily recognisable melody but several mistakes and unsure tonal conception.
4. Considerable likeness to the original melody but certain intervals out of tune. Sure tonal conception for the most part, returns to original key after occasional slips.
5. Almost perfect reproduction. A few intervals out of tune are acceptable.

For the reproduced songs inter-rater agreement was very high from the beginning (> 90%). In all cases of doubt, paired comparisons or comparisons with songs considered as typical were made until complete agreement was achieved.

The invented songs (measure of *creative ability*) were also rated on a scale with five verbally described steps. The procedure for achieving inter-rater agreement for the invented songs was the same as for the reproduced songs:

1. Refuses to sing the assignments or reads them, cannot make up a song.
2. Sings one or two of the assignments briefly and perfunctorily, with a few very simple musical formulae. Cannot make up a song.
3. Sings the assignments and/or an own song, which is short with a few very simple formulae ('rhymes')
4. Sings the assignments and/or one or more songs, which must be above 'rhyme' level and which show a certain degree of originality and form.
5. Sings the assignments and/or several own songs which are long and original.

Some weeks after the experiment I had the opportunity to repeat the procedure with five children, who asked to sing again for me. Comparing the recorded material from the two occasions tested the stability of their singing over time. The ratings turned out to be identical in all five cases. The creative ability also showed stability among the children in the high-creative group. However, children who had difficulties in creating songs during the experiment could now invent songs, evidently after having been stimulated by their peers. This makes it probable that under other circumstances (e.g., training), the creative output in the experiment would have been greater.

One important question is the degree to which the singing was context bound. When parents and teachers rated the singing ability of the children (same scale as above) the correlations (contingency coefficients = C) with our ratings from the experimental situation were significant ($p<.05$ resp. $<.001$). The results from the experiment seemed to provide a valid measure of the children's singing ability.

The correlations between the creative ability as measured in the experiment were compared with the children's demonstrated creativity at home (my ratings on the same rating scale as in the experiment but slightly adjusted to the home conditions and built on interviews with the parents). Even here C was high and significant ($p<.001$). The level of musical creativity seemed to be relatively independent of the setting.

Transcriptions of the songs

When a child sings a known song s/he often changes details in the songs. Is this due to deficiencies in singing ability? Do we know whether the child intends to sing the song the way we think it should be sung? What is a good transcription in this type of case? Today, with all the new technologies available, such questions are much easier to answer than they were in the 1960s. What I noticed was that ordinary adults, who listen according to the dominating tonal system in our culture, easily 'heard' intervals in small children's songs which were not present. We hear in a way that corresponds to what we believe the child intends to sing. To diminish this common transcription error my assistant wrote down the songs 'atomistically', note by note, with the help of a chromatic tune-pipe. I then went through the material from an 'holistic' point of view, listening to the melodic motives and phrases.

Every type of transcription has some subjectivity built into it, especially when dealing with this kind of material. The pitches were often vague and the intervals ambiguous. Since the children heard diatonic music around them, our assumption was that their songs would show a gradual adaptation to our tonal system. In the transcription process I therefore changed some of the notes that my assistant had written down if he had marked them low (–) or high (+). I could change a high E to a low F for instance, if F seemed to be intended. If I considered that greater modifications were needed, we both listened through the songs and discussed the tones and intervals in question until we reached agreement. In other words, the transcriptions were not mathematically exact (however that would look). They were however, less subjective than Nestele's (1930) transcriptions, who wrote down what he considered were the intended intervals by the children.

Results

The songs sung by the children were transcribed, both from the observations and the experiment. The intervals used and the voice ranges were computed and the melodic directions of the songs and the melody type, etc., were analysed. Here I will confine myself to the main results from the observations and the experiment and not go into the analyses in detail.

Observation: spontaneous singing

Children's spontaneous songs come and go, are often of short duration and many times go unobserved by adults. In a way this singing falls outside the adult-oriented concept of music, a concept which sets a boundary for our understanding of the children's songs. For example, on one occasion I had a chat with a teacher from one of the schools, after the children had gone home. This teacher was very interested in music and had been teaching music lessons several times a week. She mentioned that she had never heard her children sing spontaneously and was unaware that this occured naturally. I played back some excerpts from one of the tapes, and what she heard came as a revelation to her and sharpened her awareness of what was going on around her in the children's groups all that time!

On average the individual child talked during 30% of the ten-seconds-intervals and sang during 2% of the intervals but the variance was great: some of the children only sang occasionally while for others singing and playing were part of almost all activities.

The songs were categorised in different ways according to musical form, content, use, social situation and function. The social chant-like formula-song dominated (that will be described in the discussion section). More introverted songs (e.g., children being alone, daydreaming, painting, commenting on their own activity) were also usual. What struck me, after having listened and watched over a period of several semesters, was the great variation in content, meaning and function of the songs, even among the chants, which were usually variations or repetitions of a few short formulae. Some examples of what was going on are:

- a boy 6 years of age suddenly imitates a rooster
- another boy, same age, walks around in the room (in the experiment he said he could not sing, his mother had told him that).
- a boy 4 years old walks around, reinforcing his feelings of importance with big movements.
- boy, almost 5 years old, walks around, singing in a plastic tube.
- boy, 6 1/2 years of age, sits with a table, modelling with clay.
- girl, almost 6, is playing with a train on the floor.

- same girl another day, sitting for herself, watching the others.
- girl, 5 years old, sitting in a big box for herself.
- boy, 5-years old, comes back to his group, reporting that he has 'bought' two toy cars from another group.
- girl, 6 years of age, is threatened by another girl, answers with an invocation-like formula: 'You must not' and at the end threateningback, saying that her big brother will come and help her.
- a group of five-year-old-children are chatting, song-like.
- boy from the same group, hits the table rhythmically with a toy car.
- girl, 6 1/2 years old is directing another gitl: 'Not there! There!'.
- girl and boy, both 4 years old, are conversing with sounds and rhymes.
- some girls and boys, 6 years of age, have built a cozy corner and are praising their work: 'Look, how fun we have'.
- two 5-year-old-girls are calling each other bad names.
- group of 6-year-old-girls are mobbing a late-comer.
- a group of girls are standing inside the big window of the kindergarten teasing other girls outside the window who do not belong to the school. They are saying, 'you cannot jump rope').

Quasi–experiment

Generally speaking the children seemed to like singing individually and hearing themselves on tape afterwards. Of the original 98 children seven refused to come to the music room. The ratings of the remaining 91 (41 boys, 50 girls) were shown as percentages:

Rating	1	2	3	4	5
Frequency	15	22	36	12	6

Some recorded examples

The parents told me that some children 'made up' or 'found' songs when they were in bed and about to fall asleep. Some of the songs were repeated with variations night after night, others were heard just once. The same holds true for the songs in the experiment. Some examples follow:

- Yvonne, 6 years old, used variations of a recurring motive in her songs. For example, she sang six long songs about butterflies. She came back three days later and wanted to sing more butterfly-songs. She made them up during last summer, she said, when she was camping with her father. All the songs begin in the same manner, with a rising fifth, in most cases followed by a sixth. The first and the last song are included here. In the first example the butterfly is sitting on the deck of a boat but falls down into the water. But that is all right, because she was able to fly up and onto the boat deck again. In the last song one butterfly flies down to the basement, because she wants to sleep there. Her mother sits in a boat and then asks the aunt in a kiosk (candy stall) to help her look for the little butterfly. They find her and the mother thanks the kind lady in the kiosk.

- Ann, age 3.4, suddenly tells me that 'she can also'. I do not know if the song was made up on the spot or if it was something she had devised previously. The latter may be true as she sings other songs with a similar form. The short song is composed by parts which sound familiar but are put together in an original way, like the words: 'All the birdies, they came for a-all, then came there an uncle, then they took a fish'. In spite of the rhapsodic elements my impression is of a personal statement with a formal structural unity. As in many other songs there are shifts in meter and the rhythmic pulse is determined by the breathing.

- Agneta, age 4, sings several songs of a girl picking flowers, going home and giving the flowers to her mother. Two of the songs are included here.

- some of the songs remind us of Swedish folklore, such as this 'dancing' song by Irene (age 6.4). The words are about a girl who is sick. Her father has died and her mother tells the girl that he has been buried. The girls starts weeping and then (the song shifts here from minor to major mode) 'everybody comes with fruit and candies for her'.

- the same composer/lyricist: Irene, shows her interest in epics with a long song about a snowman, created by the children during Christmas. One can hear when Irene is thinking of what to sing next and when she is allowing her imagination to roam freely. Even this song has a 'folkish' character. The snowman can think and walk around the playground. He receives a money-box where the children put money and after a while goes to a bank to invest the money. Then spring comes and everything is beautiful. When the snowman is about to melt he gets an idea. He returns to the bank and gets his money back. He then buys a frigidaire which becomes his summer house.

- the rhythmic, dance-like pulse is strong in Irene's songs and that is also the case in Jan's (age 6.6 years) way of singing his name. Jan also sang a rock influenced song which is rather exceptional in my material. I am sure that today there should have been more songs of this kind.

- some songs were evidently improvised on the spot but even in these cases certain formal intentions, such as a sense of form, are displayed clearly. Anne, who was almost 6, composed consciously at the piano at home. During the experiment I asked her (like I did with the other children) to sing the rhyme 'Kalle Ballong, satt på en stång' (Kalle Balloon sat on a bar). She asked how it went and I told her she could invent it, as she liked, and out came a song, where Kalle is sitting on a branch and falls down. A rooster passes by and asks for help to find a hen. In the second verse Kalle again is seated on the branch. The balloon disappears and Kalle uses all his money to buy another one. Of interest in terms of form are the repeated sections at the end of both verses.

- Anne then mentioned that she knew another song, which she did not like. She had to close her eyes when she sang it. The lyrics are about a sad bird without food in a tree. The bird is killed by a cat, who in turn is beaten when it comes home.

The wordless songs and the name-songs were usually very short and did not stimulate the children. There were some exceptions, though, as when Mats (age 5) sings his name. He sings the whole name, when he was born and on which street he lives.

Melodically my collected material indicates a preference for small intervals such as combinations of seconds and variable thirds in certain recurrent formulae. The songs were tonally and metrically free, and often based rhythmically on the child's breathing. What I did not find was the strict developmental progression described in educational texts with a minor third *(ur-ters),* later being combined with a second above (sol-la-sol-mi) and a pentatonic scale at a later stage. The pitches, intervals and forms which the children used represented a store of sounds covering many potential music styles and cultures.

Relationships

The results of the schools, sexes and ages were compared and interrelations tested with both non-parametric and parametric tests. The level of significance was 5% throughout.

The girls sang better (reproduction) and were more interested in the music lessons than the boys. This difference increased with age. The singing ability also showed an expected relationship to the musical interest of the parents. The spontaneous musical activity during free play, in contrast, showed no significant differences between girls and boys or different ages!

The creative output (production) showed varied patterns at the different schools. The sex differences were greatest and occurred earliest at School C, which was situated in a working–class area. At this school it was considered 'girlish' by the boys from five and upwards to sing, and from that age onwards they seldom played with the girls. The boys in this school were the least creative musically, in contrast to the girls from the same school who were the most creative in the whole study! Gender differences were smallest in school A, which involved children from the highest social strata of the three schools. In school B the teacher taught the children songs with long narrative lyrics, which the children liked, but when asked to invent songs in the experiment no-one was rated above step 3!

The creative ability as measured in the experiment showed no relationship to the singing ability, intelligence and to the musical interest of the parents. It varied only randomly with age. A comparison between the most and the least creative children did not reveal any clear and unambiguous differences. Musical creativity as defined here seems to be an expression of a general creative attitude which is relatively independent of the child's general musical and intellectual aptitude. However, it is influenced by the atmosphere of the school, by social class and by gender. It is tempting to assume the existence of two kinds of 'musicality', one displayed in spontaneous and/or creative activities and another one evident in meeting expectations from the adult world.

A partial follow-up of the study was made in 1969. Thirty of the original children, who were now 11 to 14 years of age, were divided into a low-creative (steps 1-2), a middle-creative (step 3) and a high-creative group (steps 4-5, from the original ratings). The high-creative group now differed from the others in having stronger musical interest and more differentiated musical preferences, showing stronger personal autonomy and having more experience of playing instruments. The only individuals who still 'made up' songs came from the original high-creative group.

Discussion

Spontaneous singing

Two other studies add interesting insights to my work. The first was undertaken at the Pillsbury Foundation School in California, and involved children from three to six years of age. This study was conducted between 1937 and 1948, and led by a child development expert and a composer. The purpose was to examine the musical behaviour of young children, with particular emphasis on their developing capacity to spontaneously create music through singing. Donald Pond (1981), a composer, documented how and why children produced and organised musical responses, as well as the social context in which their responses occurred.

The other study is from Oslo, Norway. My study inspired musicologist Jon Roar Bjørkvold (1985) to continue where I had left off. He observed children – or rather musical events – in three different preschools of day-care type using what he called passive participant observation. He observed the social life of the children and every time he noticed any musical activity he listened and took notes. Altogether he registe-

red nearly 1,700 events where singing occurred.

The research questions which particularly interested Bjørkvold concerned the uses and functions of children's spontaneous singing. He worked out an elaborate theoretical model with the aim of studying the relationship between the social context of the situations where singing occurred and their musical patterns. He also compared his results from Oslo with observations he made in similar settings in St. Petersburg, Russia, and Los Angeles, U.S.A.

The observations of the spontaneous singing made by Pond, Bjørkvold and myself used different approaches and are difficult to compare in detail, but the general results are strikingly similar. In the discussion which follows I will outline some of the most important features.

During the 1990s many studies have focused on music in the first years of life. Most of these have had an experimental character (see overview by Deliege & Sloboda, 1996), discussing issues as the singing interactions with mothers and children's responses on the voices of adults. Where the infants' or toddlers' own singing production is mentioned (as in Dowling, 1988), the results seems to be in accord with the findings reported here.

The first singing forms are vague, 'floating' and can be compared to scribbles. Songs from the adult world can be observed early but are usually 'reproduced' in a compressed or in other ways changed form. Experimenting with sounds is usual. From the age of two to three years onward the formula-song (chant) becomes the dominant type in children's groups, so dominant that Bjørkvold calls it *the musical mother tongue.* His view is that through these songs the child learns to communicate and feel solidarity and belongingness with other children. They are the expression of a linguistic code peculiar to the children's own culture and give rhythm and form to their play.

These songs are usually short, but can change into long teasing sessions. They can accompany different activities or be a part of them. They may be monotonous to adult ears, repeating a few formulas over and over again, but on closer listening they show considerable variation. Singing, body movement, words, a basic beat feeling (Hammershøj, 1991) and the like form a whole. Bjørkvold (1985) expresses the universal features of the spontaneous singing thus:

> Children's spontaneous singing is an intrinsic part of a contextual whole, in which song, body movement, rhythm and words are totally interrelated, as one inseparable mode of expression. Its most

> common context is play. The analytical splitting apart, putting song, words, intonation, body movement and rhythm into different and convenient categories for investigation, so typically of Western research, threatens the basic validity of the actual field of study - children's language (p. 111).

Bjørkvold (1985) observed Norwegian preschool children with focus on the social song which he calls "children's musical tongue", where the cildren are communicating and feeling togetherness with other children, in a special 'children's culture', divorced from the cultures of the adult world.

Invented songs

Findings by John Kratus (1994) and others seem to support the view that most children are incapable of conscious composing until the age of about nine years, when form, structure and ability to replicate their composed songs appear more clearly than at an earlier age.

In contrast, Coral Davies (1992) and Margaret Barrett (1996) have found structurally organised and varied invented songs in five-year-old children. Davies and Barrett did not have any subjects younger than five-year-olds. If they had, they may have found the same formal features in songs by even younger children. My results and those of W. Jay Dowling (1988) point in this direction. Not all of these young children invent songs with structure and form but some of them do.

Researchers now agree, as they did sixty to seventy years ago, on the existence of musical creativity in early childhood, but disagree on its value and whether the products should be called improvisations or compositions. As my closing remark in this debate I would like to refer to Pond (1981, p. 11), who wrote that young children appear to have an innate understanding of the function of formal procedures when sounds are being structured. What he may have had in mind was the trend one notices over and over again: how children work hard to make the world meaningful, including the world of music. Perhaps they cannot make much meaning out of creativity studies conducted in non-natural settings with highly specific tasks which severely limit their own imagination and also their choices.

Barrett (1995, 1998) seems to argue along the same lines in an overview of research about children composing. She argues that we have not learnt much during the last

thirty years; 'research in children's compositional processes and products is still largely in its infancy with a number of conflicting views of children's capabilities emerging' (p. 43).

Where the practical application of my research is concerned I am happy to say that educators in the Nordic countries have been inspired by ideas from my research, especially when they have been presented in popular science books (Sundin, 1995). The general attitude toward children's creative musical attempts is positive and many research studies (Folkestad, 1996) and pedagogical projects have been undertaken during the last twenty years which aim to nurture the creative side of children.

What troubles me in the international research world is that the music concept is still seldom problematized. This gives many research reports a definitively conservative and prejudiced flavour. Another disturbing bias which still prevails is what I would like to call an instrumental attitude towards children. To me the inevitable focus on children's abilities and skills from an adult-oriented perspective is not properly balanced by a respect for and interest in what the children hear and do as they observe the world in which they find themselves.

The postmodern condition of today's global community is among other things characterised by a poly-aesthetic music concept with new media and other art forms creeping into the music subject at a very early age (or music creeping into the media culture). This makes questions of values central to music research and music education, where the teacher can no longer rely on conventional conceptions but has to take a personal stand. Margaret Barrett found research on children's compositional activities to be still in its infancy. It holds true for research on musical interaction and the communication of values as well. Even creativity research seems often to focus on technical aspects (with the pupils making choices among teacher-given alternatives) instead of trying to capture something of the spirit of creativity.

Perhaps something could be gained from careful studies of new research trends in areas such as psychotherapy (an example is Russell & Orlinsky, 1996), that are characterised by a scepticism of traditional designs where some 'clients' are accidentally offered 'treatment' and others not, with 'before and after' measurement. The emphasis of research in the area of human interaction would rather be on naturalistic studies, with attempts to find out, through repeated observations, specific micro changes that would lead to a deeper understanding of the developmental processes of children. That might lead to an abandonment of the traditional but artificial dichothomy between process and product.

Education and psychotherapy are of course different kinds of activities with different goals. However, the interactional and identity-creating processes of the two disciplines can be very similar, as experiences from music therapy activities clearly show, both with young and grown up clients.

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Personal Reflections on Music Education Research

Gary McPherson

I have many fond memories of my time as a visiting professor at the Malmö Academy of Music. My visits in 1996 and then again in 2000 and 2001 came at a time when I was consolidating many of my own ideas about music education. Most importantly, it offered a chance to work with colleagues who continually challenged, inspired and motivated me to think more deeply about my work as a music education researcher. I say 'colleagues', because the doctoral candidates I worked with all came to our sessions with rich individual experiences and many years of teaching experience. Some were slightly younger or older than me, but all were keen to discuss and enrich their own understandings through intense discussions and debates about some of the key functions of music and music education. Importantly, our discussions did not attempt to reach a consensus on the issues we discussed in our sessions together. Rather, through our deliberations we attempted to 'refine the debate' about the most fundamental issues facing music education both now and into the future.

In another time and location, I now have a chance to reflect back on what those experiences in Malmö meant to my own development as a researcher and those with whom I came in contact. Most especially, I remember many stimulating conversations with Bertil Sundin and Göran Folkestad who accepted the challenge of developing the

new doctoral degree at the Malmö Academy of Music during the 1990s. What pleases me most is that the doctoral candidates whom I worked with during my visits to Sweden have now completed their degrees and gone on to make significant contributions in the field of music and music education. Most now have senior positions in tertiary institutions or schools and all are making a difference as a result of having produced dissertations of real quality.

The contributions in this volume provide a sense of the diversity of opinion, the complexity of the topics investigated, and the breadth of understanding that the researchers brought to their research. Each of their perspectives deal with real life situations that attempt to develop stronger theories of how music is learned, transferred, taught and appreciated. Most significant, and something that in my opinion marks the Malmö dissertations as distinctive within the music education literature, is the emphasis on culture and cultural traditions as the basis from which to study teaching and learning processes in music. The essays in this volume therefore celebrate the richness and diversity of music and it's importance in both formal and informal educational settings.

Reflecting back on my own research

When I first enrolled in a PhD, the area that most attracted my attention was that of how to teach a child to play a musical instrument. As I reflect back on how I formulated my research problem, I can remember a number of colleagues who stimulated my thinking about some fairly basic issues – such as what types of factors contribute to a continuing interest and motivation to learn to play an instrument, what learning experience most effectively develop skills and what type of mental strategies are needed to succeed on an instrument. For me, the over-riding questions have always been however: 'How does a child starting an instrument gradually start to develop a sense of him or herself as a musician?' 'How does this evolution take place?'.

It is these questions more than any others that have grounded my work as a researcher. To study these questions I've become increasingly interested not merely in what students can actually do on their instrument, but the types of expectations children hold for their musical learning and the degree to which they value their musical participation. In my articles I've proposed that there are six key dimensions that can be used to frame children's motivation to study a musical instrument (McPherson & Davidson, 2006):

- Interest – *the personal satisfaction students gain from the music learning experience and their love for the music with which they come in contact*
- Importance – *the degree to which learning music fits with personal goals about what the student hopes to be good at*
- Usefulness – *whether the student believes that learning music is constructive and functional for what he or she wishes to do now and in the future*
- Difficulty – *whether the learning process creates obstacles or is perceived by the student as being more difficult than other activities*
- *plus also how learning and participation lead to a sense of:*
- Competence – *for which participating in music becomes an activity in which the student would like to succeed, and*
- Confidence – *the empowerment felt for developing the skills necessary to master challenges associated with learning music and in particular whether the learning process is fraught with pressures and anxieties which diminish confidence and a sense of self-worth.*

As shown by Pomerantz, Grolnick and Price (2005) students become more interested, and feel that their learning is personally important and useful when four psychological needs are met. Within this conception, students need opportunities during their learning to experience themselves as:

- Competent: *Children who feel competent are more likely to learn faster and easier. They are also more likely to utilize more effective learning strategies and persist when faced with obstacles.*
- Autonomous: *One of the most basic needs of children is to feel that they have some control of their own learning and are able to make choices. As I have found in my own studies where we observed home practice (Renwick & McPherson, 2002) children can display highly elevated levels of attention, persistence and strategy use when they are practising pieces they have chosen themselves as compared to repertoire that has been selected by the teacher.*
- Related: *Effective music education depends on a three-way partnership between the child, the teacher and parents. Children need to feel that their pa-*

rents and their teacher care about their musical learning. This is a necessary condition for their success. The way that parents interact with their children, plus the way that teachers 'connect' with the child by showing their liking for the child and love of music are essential parts of an effective learning process. Musical learning can be stymied when these attributes are not evident in relationships between students, teachers and parents.

- Purposeful: *Children have a basic need to feel successful and to enjoy their learning. When this occurs, they are more likely to feel that the activity in which they are engaged is meaningful and related to their own personal learning agenda.*

All of the above dimensions of learning have a common theme. Working from the child's perspective, they help us to more precisely understand how individual children come to view themselves as competent and their learning as a meaningful and important part of their everyday lives. They also help us understand how children become sufficiently self-regulated to monitor and control their own learning, start to gain a sense of themselves as musically competent, and apply the types of learning strategies that lead to more effective learning. By studying children's personal beliefs we can start to gain a sense of what individual children *expect* from their learning and wish to accomplish as musicians, and how they come to *value* their musical participation as an important part of their daily lives.

For me, a key part of studying these aspects of learning is to understand how parents and teachers help children along their musical journey. Consequently, my research attempts to unravel some of the complex human interactions that facilitate or impede children's feelings in each of these areas.

In all of my studies, I have come to realize that among the most important priorities are two facets of learning that need to be further clarified. The first concerns the *emotional climate* in which learning takes place, and particularly the types of parent-child interactions that lead to a child developing a sense of competence and confidence. My interest in this dimension has been spurred on by a longitudinal study I conducted with beginning learners in the late 1990s (and which still continues today!). One of the findings from this study which still influences my thinking, perhaps even more today than ever before, recognizes the influence of parents on children's perceptions of their own ability. For example, a key finding from a study I published with Jane Davidson in 2002, was that very soon after our children commenced learning, many of the mothers

formed judgements (often incorrect judgements!) about their child's ability to cope with music learning, as well as their own capacity to devote energy to help regulate their child's learning. We found that some mothers withdrew their support for their child's music learning because they felt that their son or daughter was either not coping emotionally or that he or she was simply not interested. Most importantly, the impression we formed was that many of the mothers of unsuccessful learners had actually given up feeling that their child might develop into a competent musician well before the child had him or herself come to feel the same way.

Another aspect of learning, which I'm keen to further investigate concerns the *learning agenda* of each individual learner. Students come to their music lessons with very different motives that drive their expectations about what they hope to achieve and be good at, and what they subsequently value and find meaningful in their lives. As a teacher and researcher, I now seriously question methods of instruction that provide students with little or no opportunities to make judgements about what they themselves wish to learn and accomplish. Fortunately, more than at any time in the recent past, music educators are now questioning the traditional view of music as a specialized craft in which manipulative and technical skills are allowed to dominate over intellectual growth across the discipline. We are seeing in many curriculum's around the world a broadening of this conception to include more emphasis on aural and creative forms of expressions and where learning to play a musical instrument involves learning to create music as well as to reproduce it. We are also seeing some serious questioning of teacher-directed approaches that have too often resulted in a huge percentage of children giving up their music learning. I am heartened that there is a growing and ever increasing groundswell of opinion to change how we teach musical instruments. As an example, some of the most important and influential that have emerged in recent years compare and contrast formal methods of learning with informal methods (an excellent example is Lucy Green's *How Popular Musicians Learn: A Way Ahead for Music Education*). Increasingly, music educators are beginning to recognize that effective learning implies active involvement; if a learner is not actively involved behaviourally, cognitively and affective, then there is little chance that he or she will ever succeed musically.

In my opinion, clarifying the *individual learning agendas* of students helps us to more effectively understanding why some students are more successful than others. It seems self evident that students have a better chance of succeeding when they are actively engaged in the learning process and feel that they have some control and choice over

what they will learn. But how often do teachers really consider what their students might want to learn? And just as importantly, what percentage of our students come to believe that learning music involves satisfying the teacher rather than themselves, and learning pieces that the teacher wants them to learn rather than repertoire they would choose to learn themselves?

The above comments lead to yet another issue I have tried to address in my research. This aspect concerns the types of learning activities that best equip students for future success as musicians. In my doctoral dissertation I describe five types of performance skills (playing by ear, from memory, by sight, improvising and performing rehearsed music) according to three orientations (aural, visual, creative) that I thought all young musicians should have opportunities to experience. At the time I was convinced that less emphasis on visual forms of performing and more emphasis on aural and creative orientations would provide the type of balance that is necessary to maximise success, especially in the beginning states of learning to play an instrument. As a follow up to this earlier research Alf Gabrielsson and I attempted to deconstruct the myth that students who learn to play by ear and improvise are less likely to become efficient readers of music. Based on our review of literature, we concluded that emphasizing musical notation too early can lead to a decreased sensitivity to the unified patterns which children spontaneously observe when listening to music. We also proposed that notational skills should never be taught in isolation from perception. In our view, stressing notation, with few opportunities to perform music by ear limits musical development and the types of skills needed for a young musician to succeed long-term. Instead, we advocated a more integrated approach, where performing music by ear serves as preparation for literacy development in the beginning states of development, and where performing with and without notation are encouraged during all subsequent stages of development (see McPherson & Gabrielsson, 2002).

Issues that will steer my future research

The above research interests are mainly directed at how children experience music and come to acquire expertise as instrumentalists. But I recognize also that this is only a small part of music education research. As a former president of the Australian and International societies for music education, there are some wider and perhaps more complex issues which impact on the profession worldwide.

The current *International Society for Music Education* policy statement states that 'lived experiences of music, in all their many aspects, are a vital part of the life of all people'. With this as a guiding principle, the Society advocates that there is a need for music education in all cultures, and that access to music education is a human right of people of all ages.

My thinking in recent years has been shaped by a number of imperatives that I see occurring worldwide. The past two decades have brought a number of contrasting emphases into the main education initiatives of many countries, and these developments have impacted on music education. The rationalization of the curriculum, a convergence of the goals of education, and the rapid introduction of new information technology are some of the factors that have brought about fundamental changes to the ways in which music is taught and learned.

During the 1980s we saw efforts by governments in various countries to standardize school offerings and by the early 1990s many had developed their own national curriculums. Politicians and educational authorities were prompted to act on these achievements and soon after begun to push for ways of benchmarking student achievement. By the late 1990s some nations had developed national tests in academic areas to assess what they believed to be core educational outcomes, especially those related to literacy and numeracy. My basic complaint with standards testing and benchmarking is that comparisons of these types are too superficial to provide meaningful insights into what students can actually do. Another flaw is that they tell us very little about why students achieve in the way they do.

In my opinion a conceptual shift is needed from standards testing to efforts to understand the types of beliefs that children form about their own learning. Such an emphasis would help us to more precisely understand what teachers and educational systems might be able to do in order to cater for students of all types and abilities. One way of researching these issues is to attempt to understand, from the learner's perspective, what children expect and value during the learning process. For this reasons, I have become increasingly interested in motivation research, especially in terms of the *expectancy-value framework* proposed by Eccles and her colleagues (Eccles, et al., 1983, 2005).

Research I am in the process of completing suggests that students, teachers and parents generally believe that music is a subject that children enjoy and find interesting during their time at school. At the same time however, they will often regard music as less important and useful as other 'academic' school subjects based on their perception that studying music does little to prepare a student for life and a future career.

Running in parallel with these developments we are seeing some serious societal changes that are also influencing how music is taught and experienced within and outside schools. In his book *Bowling Alone,* Harvard University Professor Robert Putnam (2000), provides a powerful account of how Western society has slowly changed over recent decades. Citing a wealth of research data, much of which would probably be equally true for other countries, Putnam shows that during the past 25 years, attending community social meetings in the United States is down 58%, having family dinners is down 33% and having friends over is down 45%. The picture Putnam paints is of societies in which teenagers walk around with headphones on their ears, where the average adult is more likely to talk to someone on a mobile phone than a fellow passenger on a bus or train, and where children spend a great deal of their time playing computer games in preference to playing sport or a musical instrument.

Putnam provides evidence that consumption of music is at an all time high, but that participation has dropped. While attendance at pop/rock concerts is up a third, the fraction of households in which only one person plays an instrument has dropped from 51% in 1978 to 38% in 1997 (pp. 114-115). Participating as a member of a community band or choir, or even gathering around the family piano, are examples of how people within communities have traditionally interacted socially. Now however, the percentage of children who play an instrument has fallen to only 20% (from 30% twenty five years ago) and instrumental tuition has also dropped over recent decades. These findings do not mean that societies around the world have lost their love for music, but they do provide indications of how individuals are increasingly becoming consumers of music rather than active participants.

If any of the above is true, then music educators have some serious issues that they need to address through research and advocacy.

As I see it, a major task for music educators is to explain and promote the value of music education in ways that others outside the profession can understand. We have nothing to lose and everything to gain by advocating the unique and valuable contribution music makes to the development of all children. Our subject will continue to decrease in significance however, until we build a more persuasive argument that convinces parents and the educational community that music is just as important and useful as any other subject in the curriculum.

Almost no research exists on the types of motivational and personal beliefs systems cited above that operate for music as a school subject. This is why my most recent research explores the personal beliefs students hold for music and compares these with

the beliefs they hold for other subjects. It will also compare responses from students across a number of different countries.

In summary, I am becoming increasingly convinced that if music is to survive or even flourish in schools, then our profession will need to develop further in two distinct ways:

Speaking to Ourselves: We need to define more precisely what we want children to achieve in music education. This means developing a profession that celebrates the importance and usefulness of music, and the powerful ways in which exposure to music can enhance a child's development.

Speaking to Others: We need to also become better at relating the goals of music to the goals of general education. This means not only speaking to educational authorities and the general public about the importance of music in ways they can understand, but tackling current educational debates head on, by relating the many special and unique ways in which the study of music enriches children's education and develops those attributes and competencies which others outside the profession view as the most important imperatives and dimensions of school education.

Coda

By 2017 even more students will have graduated from the doctoral degree at the Malmö Academy of Music at Lund University. When scholars look back on the years between 2007 and 2017, I hope they will acknowledge the foundation that was built during the first decade of the program and how quickly the Malmö doctoral program was able to make a meaningful contribution within Sweden and internationally. Sweden has a relatively small and well educated population and to their credit they are keen to see scholarly contributions feeding back into the community and for theories that are discussed in university settings to be implemented within policies around the country.

The Malmö Academy of Music deserves to be proud of its achievements over the past ten years, and especially with the quality of its graduates. My hope is that the innovative thinking that Swedes are admired for all around the world will continue to be a distinguishing characteristic of the dissertations that are produced in Malmö.

Congratulations to those who have now graduated from the program and may your efforts continue to inspire the students who succeed you.

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‘Play Well and Have Fun’[1]

Community, group coherence and musical development in an amateur brass band

Gunnar Heiling

The Brassband – a short presentation

This study is about a Swedish brass band, called The Brassband. During a period of one and a half years (1995-1996) a programme for change was pursued with the aim to improve the artistic level of playing without replacing less competent members of the band.

The Brassband is an amateur band in the British brass band tradition connected to a local congregation of the Swedish Mission Covenant Church. The instrument set-up includes cornets in Eb and Bb, flugelhorn in Bb, tenor horns in Eb, baritones and euphoniums in Bb, trombones in Bb and G, tubas in Eb and Bb, plus percussion. The repertory includes religious as well as profane music from a broad spectre of genres. The Brassband performs regularly in church services as well as in concerts inside and outside the church. The band has taken part in national as well as international brass

1 This chapter is based on the author’s doctoral dissertation thesis *’Play Well and Have Fun’. Community, group-coherence and musical development in an amateur brass band* accepted in 2000 by Lund University, Sweden and published as a book by Malmö Academy of Music.

band contests and has made tours in Europe, USA, Australia and China. A CD was released at Christmas 1994.

The developmental programme was built on a diagnostic evaluation of the work in the band made by the conductor to be. Eight problem areas were identified:

- shortcomings in balance, intonation, precision, rhythmic phrasing and technique;
- lack of private rehearsal discipline;
- low and infrequent rehearsal attendance;
- lack of concentration and too much talking during rehearsals;
- low commitment to playing at church services among some musicians;
- the repertory is demanding and requires musicians in all the 15 (17 with percussion included) parts for a piece to be played;
- the musicians have too little influence on the choice of repertory, which is sometimes found boring;
- information about what's on in the band is infrequent and usually comes too late.

A plan of action, which aimed at eliminating these problems, was developed by the conductor and adopted unanimously by the members of the band. I was appointed to evaluate the implementation of the programme. Being the solo tenor horn player of the band, my role as a researcher became that of the participant observer. During the process of data collection it was decided that this project could be used as a point of departure for my doctoral thesis in music education.

Olsson (1998) describes what happens in groups where members are united in mutual work. He points out two different processes that seem to operate in parallel or as intertwined, *work processes* where group members join in targeted work, and *socio-emotional processes* where group members interact in other ways, only indirectly associated with the work. The first type could be exemplified by playing music as artistically as possible, and in the second type of process the primary task is social community and

group coherence. Sometimes one process is given priority, sometimes the other. One may ask in what ways they are interrelated.

I was first interested in what happened to the social community and coherence in the band when musical development was stressed. As this turned out to be a too constricted perspective, the research question finally formed was: *How does community and group coherence interact with a targeted work to improve the musical standard in an amateur brass band connected to a church?*

Theoretical framework

In this study, the music making of The Brassband is approached from two theoretical perspectives, one of social psychology and education, and one of aesthetics.

Social psychology and education

The band is seen as an organisation where the activities and the roles of the musicians as well as the relations between them are described on both the individual level and on section and band levels. The activities are either oriented towards the musical results, the social relations or both.

To look at The Brassband as an organisation has similarities to seeing it as a workgroup (cf. Svedberg, 1992): in both perspectives the band has its *objectives* and a *target-oriented approach*, the *group cohesion* and *boundary control* are essential as well as the *group structure* to support and control communication and cooperation between members. The *management team* is responsible for a comprehensive view and for coordination of the activities. These factors together form the *group* or *ensemble identity*, a 'we-feeling'. There are also differences: a workgroup is generally a smaller unit than a brass band. When the group is enlarged the cohesion in the form of personal influence, commitment and responsibility decreases, as well as the possibilities of feedback. With an increasing size of the group there is also an increase in physical distance between members as well as in target orientation and in the need for a more rigid structure.

The analysis of the Brassband and its activities is based on the following factors, which form a model:

Goals:	Official vs. unofficial, System-based vs. individual. Goal acceptance.
Social structure and relations:	Physical and social construction of the band. *Formal social structure:* Division of labour and responsibility. Hierarchy of power. Leadership functions. *Informal social structure:* Informal conditions for power and leadership. Pattern of communication (coherence, boundary control, roles, social relations, group identity)
Technology and processes:	All means by which the ends are reached. Activities, conflicts, result-orientation vs. relations-orientation. Goal accomplishment.

Community is defined as a positive affinity with both a qualitative dimension (positive-negative feeling) and a quantitative (strong-weak coherence). Cohen (1985) describes how members of a group can unite and be delimited in a community, which is a symbolic construction. Thus, both the content and the borders of the community are symbolic constructions, which are not only substituting something else but can also be filled with meaning, explaining how a community is established. Music could be one such symbol (Ronström, 1992; Roberts, 1993). Music making could be another (Schutz, 1964; Ronström, 1992; Davidson, 1997).

Cohesion is seen as a process, which is essential to the existence and survival of a group. At the same time it is a measure of the strength of the community. Groups characterized by a cohesion that is either too strong or too weak are apt to have some problems concerning constraint and control (Svedberg, 1992). In a band a balanced cohesion seems to be favourable. Changes in the strength of cohesion might be studied from four aspects: unity, stability of membership, membership satisfaction and internal dynamics (Forsyth, 1990).

From the educational point of view this is a study of knowledge and learning. Knowledge is created in the interaction with others. The musical knowledge of the band is developed and re-created in a social process. The unit of analysis is not the individual musician, but the social practice. This non-dualistic perspective concentrates on what happens in the daily work on rehearsals and concerts; that is where community and musical results are constituted.

Vygotsky (1934/1986) sees activity as the link between the influence of the object and the change of the subject. Higher mental functions are at first social and external, until the individual takes part in the activity and thereby creates the relevant cultural practice. There is a change in this participation from needing much help in the beginning to becoming more and more independent and even able to assist others. Vygotsky uses the concept *zones of proximal development* to describe the difference between what you can learn on your own and with the help of others. Rogoff's (1995) concept *guided participation* is also useful in the description of how people learn by taking part in culturally structured activities, helped, supported and challenged by others, whose knowledge and status might vary.

Playing in The Brassband can also be described as situated learning, based on the relation between learning and the social situation in which the learning takes part. In a study such as this one, of music-making and its social aspects, this is of a special interest. Learning is described as an ongoing process in the form of participation in an activity. I have adopted a model of analysis created by Lave and Wenger (1991) called *Legitimate peripheral participation*. The musicians have a common affiliation through their collective activity, which defines what is going to be learnt and under what circumstances. The musician can choose between a hierarchy of roles ranging from peripheral to central, reflecting his/her musical career in the band. By choosing a role you find your place in the social world, which is the band, and begin the process of learning - in the beginning by 'sitting next to Nellie'. As a newcomer you don't participate under the same conditions as the more experienced players.

To supplement the concepts of legitimate peripheral participation and to shed some light on the musical knowledge in a band, I have chosen some concepts presented by Rolf et al. (1993) based on knowing-in-action (Schön, 1987). *Capability* means sensor-motor skills, which you might learn from your own experience, practical knowledge in accordance with certain rules from which the individual can determine whether the performance is right or wrong. *Know-how* is the skill of acting in accordance with social rules, quality criteria, values or standards that you have internalized. These guidelines are carried by actors, groups, institutions, traditions, etc. Know-how rests on a relation between the actor and socially anchored rules, and the individual cannot explain his or her know-how verbally. The evaluation of the performance is made by others than the actor, for example, the conductor in a band. *Competence* is a reflected know-how. You can verbalize the system of rules and you are even capable of changing the rules. The professional is said to have competence. To *raise the competence* means to connect reflection with praxis when an activity can be improved. This development

should take place within the social structures where the competence is carried on. Supra-individual factors, that is, routines and traditions, decide and maintain know-how and competence.

The perspective of aesthetics

In the literature, two ways of thinking about quality in music-making are identified. One of them is called *the traditional* and emanates from the world of the conservatories (Stockfelt, 1988). Art music could be created and performed only by especially gifted composers and musicians who knew their criteria of quality. The music was thought to carry an innate message creating harmony and balance. To be able to enjoy music, the audience had to become familiar with these criteria. By listening to good music, a good taste could be developed. These educational ideas lay behind the establishing of many Swedish symphony orchestras in the early twentieth century. This tradition is in accordance with the concept of the aesthetical high culture, in opposition to another concept of culture, the anthropological, defined as people's ideas and values and practical manifestations of human activity (HSFR, 1993) where aesthetic traits are never mentioned. Due to the latter view activity is preferred to content, music making to the music itself and there are no self-evident criteria of what is right, good, important, beautiful etc. The view of music only existing as a social activity, as opposed to traditional aesthetic education, is, for example, held by Elliot (1996).

Developing the musical standard of The Brassband is an undertaking very much in accordance with the traditional criteria of quality. These are used in contests to adjudicate the playing of the bands, for example, tone, intonation, technique, balance, interpretation and musical effects (Boyle & Radocy, 1987). The programme of development of The Brassband included similar factors such as sound, intonation, precision, phrasing and technique.

By focusing on the performance rather than on the music, there is a possibility to see the playing not only as an artistically motivated activity, but also as a social teamwork with other objectives. When the band chases technical and musical excellence, the reason could also be to win a contest, to be admired by the audience or to mediate a religious experience. In this case the music making is a means to reach social or religious ends.

Arvidsson (1991) presents a 'popular aesthetic' characterized by independence in the relations to models of musical ideals; the wish to play music that the audience

recognizes rather than new repertory; to work for and cooperate with the audience, not wanting to educate it, because the audience includes not only strangers, but also relatives, neighbours, friends, workmates or members of the same congregation.

Today, in a 'post-modern world', the context of the musical message is just as important as the music itself (Heiling, 1997). The audiences seek experiences, entertainment and want to have fun, which is met by marketing music packaged as concerts with famous artists, festivals or carnivals. The 'passepartout of music', for example, personal charisma and a professional appearance of the musicians in clothing, deportment and how the programme is presented on stage, might compensate for a less excellent artistic result measured by traditional criteria of quality.

The Brassband is stamped by the art-musical tradition, partly because this is a dominating feature of the international brass band tradition, partly because it is a part of the musical tradition of the Swedish Mission Covenant Church. The *aesthetic code* of The Brassband is described by common traits of the different situations in which the band is active, including quality criteria based on intra-musical as well as extra-musical circumstances.

Methodology

The present study might be described as a naturalistic case study, where the musical and social consequences of a learning process are focused. Inspired by an ethnographic research strategy, the data collection was made through participant observations; audio and video recordings of rehearsals and concerts, and by qualitative semi-structured interviews during a period of one and a half years (1995-1996), with a follow-up in 1997. The band was studied at least once a week rehearsing and performing. I, the researcher, participated in the activities as the solo tenor horn player and kept field notes in a diary on my music stand. More than 30 years of personal experience with the band are used to supplement the field notes and form *my* perspective. The interviews with the other members of the band give *their* perspective and together these two perspectives form the picture of what happened. In this work I follow the principle of theoretical sensitivity (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) where the researcher makes use of his/her earlier experiences.

Results and discussion

In Heiling (2000), the results were firstly presented through narratives concerning the work of the band. A number of critical themes were chosen to illuminate the research question. The themes were then commented upon and supplemented by excerpts from the interviews. Finally the research question, the structured material and a number of theoretical concepts were connected to form the result pattern. This process was following the path of abduction, contrasting and reflexivity (Starrin, 1991; Kullberg, 1996; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). The validity and trustworthiness of the results were discussed in connection to a number of criteria of quality in qualitative studies (Larsson, 1994).

In this chapter, the results will be presented and discussed under four headings: amateur or professional, the band as an organisation, leadership and participation and musical development. This account is finished by a conclusion.

Amateur or professional

The Brassband has characteristics that strongly make it an amateur undertaking, but sometimes it works in similar ways as a professional orchestra. In order to decide where to place the band on a continuum between amateur and professional a number of distinctive features are used.

The first feature is that of *earning one's living*. In the Brassband the members have other jobs and even pay for the favour of being members of the band. Some members study music or work as music teachers, but the majority has no formal education in music. No musician is paid for his/her contribution. All money earned by the band goes into the common cashbox and is spent on instruments, printed music, guest conductors and guest soloists and last, but not least, on concerts and tours. By this criterion the band is very much an amateur one.

Hedonism is another feature, mostly connected with amateurs, and in The Brassband it is a crucial point to play for fun. That is the reason why the absolute majority of the members have joined the band. They mention different combinations of musical, social and religious reasons for their engagement, but the social arguments are most frequent. In this respect, the band is truly amateurish.

Playing in private is said to be more typical for amateurs, but this band plays regularly *in public*, even for paying audiences like a professional orchestra, so by this criterion the band is not typical amateur.

The *artistic level of playing* is said to be higher with the professionals. Rolf et al. (1993) use the concept competence to describe the knowing-in-action of the professionals in contrast to the amateurs' know-how, but there are amateurs in this band who play as well as if they were professionals. The collective level of playing is, however, best described by the concept of know-how.

The *repertory* is also said to constitute a difference between amateurs and professionals, but in the case of The Brassband the repertory could rather be seen as typical for a professional orchestra as it is musically both broad and deep.

Finally, the *quality of playing* and thereby the *status* of professional musicians are generally found to be higher when compared to that of amateurs. The differences in quality between amateurs and professionals could be difficult to decide. There is undoubtedly a wide variety of individual musical skills in the band, which is typical for amateur bands, but the overall standard of the band has risen through the years (measured, for example, by points in brassband competitions) to a level where the labelling is not self evident.

In conclusion, when The Brassband is said to be an amateur band it has primarily to do with the fact that no player is paid for his/her job in the band, that they play for the fun of it and that the level of knowing-in-action is know-how, not competence.

The band as an organisation

The Brassband is an organisation with a threefold goal containing one musical, one social and one religious part. The latter two can be combined to form the socio-religious goal *to support a social community with religious connotations*. The management supports the musical goal to give the band members the opportunity to improve, in this case in accordance with the criteria of musical quality as they are formulated in the rules of the Swedish Brassband contests. Band members support the goal aspects to a varying degree. They favour the socio-religious aspects, which means that the acceptance of the unofficial goal according to the interviews – *to spend extra time and work on improving musically* – is moderate.

Members of the band meet once a week for a two and a half hours full-band rehearsal. In addition, each section accomplishes a section rehearsal by contract. Each musician is expected to know his/her part, which means practicing at home. Since this is not always the case, band rehearsals have to be used to help musicians learn their part, which hampers the progression of the band. This is however not seen as a sufficient cause to replace those musicians who are less motivated. As The Brassband

is a part of the open activities of the congregation, everybody who can play, and wants to play in the band, is allowed to take part and become a member.

As a part of the development programme, each musician was offered an individually adjusted training programme in order to eliminate his/her basic technical and musical shortcomings. Individual brass lessons were offered, popular in the beginning but in time utilized to a decreasing extent. Basic brass technique is a prerequisite of playing in a band, but the know-how needed for ensemble playing is only developed through band practice.

At the time for the study, The Brassband comprised 34 members, aged 11-70 years (Md = 22; m = 29), four of them female. In the interviews, this lopsided gender distribution is considered to favour task orientation and hamper community and relations orientation which would not be the case were there more females. Female musicians in The Brassband during the 90's were, however, characterized by breaking the gender barrier not only by their choice of brass instruments, which are mainly considered to be male (Abeles & Porter, 1978; Howarth & Howarth, 1998), but by their choice of vocational careers as well. Thus they have perceived few problems in adapting to the male community of the band without having to change it first. Consequently, more female musicians of the same kind would make no difference in the task orientation.

Leadership and participation

The management of the Brassband consists of a board, comprising the conductors and five members, elected at the annual meeting. The members of the board are expected to handle the economy and the planning of all activities, while the conductors are responsible for the musical part. In fact, the members of the board have a tendency to deal with all tasks. The chairman and one of the conductors have been co-leaders of the band for almost two decades. They are strong personalities and are seen as brass fanatics by the rest of the board. Their struggle for power has accompanied the band's activities all these years and their relation could be described by the dialectic concepts *accelerate–slow down*. In their work with the band each of them, in his own way, has been able to satisfy needs of self-fulfilment (Maslow, 1954). In this dynamic process the band has benefited too, both from spectacular projects and from the meticulous rehearsal work week after week.

The band is divided into sections, each one led by a section leader with the responsibility to organize section rehearsals, monitor the absence and ensure that the section

is able to play its parts. The responsibility of the musicians is to join the rehearsals and performances of the agenda on the information sheet distributed weekly. A certain absence is tolerated, especially from the more advanced players, which is unfortunate, because the less experienced players need them as models.

The musicians of the band are not uniform when it comes to social and religious opinions. Their band membership is their sole common feature. Sometimes this social community is not strong enough to keep the band together. That is why spectacular concert projects and international tours play an important role regarding team building.

Conflicts are frequent as there are different opinions within the band about the ends as well as the means. Most common are the controversies about absence, about somebody not practicing enough, about the disturbing small talk during rehearsals and the distribution of parts (some are always missing). But there are also conflicts concerning how much time band activities should be allowed to occupy in the members' lives (e. g., extra rehearsals), and disputes around the change of instruments or parts within the band. The most common method of solving the conflicts is to act as if they did not exist, what Olsson (1988) calls a defensive strategy of conflict solving, which causes the problems to reappear over and over again.

The activities of the Brassband have traditionally been governed from the top. According to some members, the need for information, the possibilities to influence or to participate in the decision-making have been insufficiently met. The new conductor wanted to introduce more democratic forms of leadership as part of the project of change. Sections were intended to be a sort of self-governing groups where the social needs of the members could be satisfied, but this worked only when it came to section rehearsals. At some occasions during the period of study, members were invited to influence the planning and the decisions about the repertory, but these measures turned out to be accidental. There was a box for ideas, where written suggestions for change could be put, but nobody used it. When the conductor responsible for the democratization left and was replaced by the former one, the leadership returned to the traditional and there was no strong opinion against that.

Changes of influence seldom work at once in an organisation, on the contrary, they often cause trouble and conflict (Olsson, 1998). For such a change to have a breakthrough, it has to be supported systematically by the management. Once participation and influence have been established, they cannot be removed again without negative consequences for the coherence. The single aspect of change that has remained in The

Brassband is the weekly information sheet, which enables the members to be updated on the agenda and the work of the board, and also gives feedback on the previous activities.

Musical development

The musical development in the band could be studied as changes in relations (Lave & Wenger 1991). Many members start as novices or apprentices, others might already be seen as journeymen when they join. A musician in the band might switch between many roles and functions, for example, section member, group rehearsal leader, soloist, member of the board. When a member has to change instrument within the band, it has not always to do with the individual career from a peripheral to a more central position. Rather, it is the outcome of the leadership using the combined resources of the band in the most effective way in order to raise the bottom line, and the members having to subordinate themselves to that overarching goal. Sometimes this has been difficult to cope with for some of the members: a good player might have to play a less glamorous instrument/part, as this is important for the band as a whole. There is a hierarchy between the roles and functions and all players know it, but to some of them it is of minor importance if they are complementary players as long as they are members of the band.

To play in the band means to participate in many different situations, for example, playing a simple hymn in a small group in the church, entertaining 10,000 female joggers who have completed a 5 km steeplechase, participating in a grade seven school concert with music from Beatles to Rimsky-Korsakoff, playing a commissioned contemporary piece for organ and band, or going on a concert tour to America playing music from the new and the old world. Lave and Wenger (1991) describe learning as an increased access to participation in an expert performance. The members of The Brassband obviously have that opportunity, but in one crucial respect the model of *Legitimate peripheral participation* is not applicable to what happens in the band: all musicians in The Brassband, regardless of position, participate from the very beginning under the same conditions when playing in the band. All parts are needed to make the full chord, and the position is not something you have to conquer step by step during a process.

When a concert project is embarked on, the music usually is rehearsed by repeating each sequence until it is mastered. The conductor decides as an external adjudicator

of quality when the performance of the band is in accordance with current rules or criteria and what has to be improved if it is not. His competence and accuracy decide if the band shall enhance its musical standard, for example, practise know-how in accordance with a new, more demanding set of rules. This might be seen as a good example of what Vygotsky (1934/1986) calls development within a zone of proximal development. When the band rehearses a piece that they mastered last week, the capacity to play it has normally vanished. Without the help from the conductor the musicians are not able to play at this higher level of achievement. This is what mainly seems to separate amateur bands from professional ones.

When the adjudication criteria of the brassband competitions were changed in a post modern direction to include musical expression, composition of a contest programme, and onstage deportment beside the common criteria of quality and excellence, it was a sign that a new and partly different view of musical quality had taken over. The role of the audience as adjudicators of taste was increased (Arvidsson, 1991). When music has to be traded as goods on a market, the opinion of the consumers, for example, how the audience wants the music to be presented, becomes important. When members of The Brassband have met an audience that is enthusiastic because of the spectacular show at the event, they have experienced that it is fun, meaningful and worthwhile to carry on in the band. Thereby they expose themselves to more rehearsing, which contributes to a higher musical standard.

In the band features of *popular aesthetics* (Arvidsson, 1991) have been adopted as important activities when spectacular projects have become part of the daily work. That is why the framing of the music (Sandberg, 1996; Saar, 1999), its *passepartout*, has turned out to be equally important as the music itself. When a gala concert project is introduced, rehearsal time has to include preparation for band members' dancing and singing. This hampers the time for musical preparation and therefore the conductor demands extra rehearsals, which creates a lot of frustration among many band members. They have a restricted time that they are prepared to invest in the band, which is a sign of the medium degree of cohesion that is characteristic of The Brassband. The goals of the individuals and the band as an organisation must not be congruent and there is a division between private life and life in the band. There is, however, no need for control, because participation is a personal choice based on mutual trust.

When the time for preparation is long and the conductor has an open style of leadership, the framing will be *musical*, for example, the activity of the band is aimed at bringing about a holistic experience of the music, producing new sounds and new

forms of performance and the musicians having a high degree of participation in the choice of music and methods of rehearsal.

Short preparation time, however, in combination with a more closed style of leadership, promotes an *educational* framing of the activity; the activity brings about an experience of the different parts and sequences of the process of music-making, a reproduction of music and a feeling of being guided and controlled by someone else.

Accordingly, The Brassband is switching between a more musical and a more educational framing of the activities. When the leadership has planned ambitious projects that overlap or the musicians have had problems with their rehearsal discipline, the result is short preparation time and a very dominant and controlling conductor. When the programme is not so intensive the conductor invites the musicians to take part in a more explorative way of testing different alternatives of playing, which has in some cases brought about a shift from know-how to competence.

Conclusion

I am concluding this chapter by returning to the research question: how does community and group coherence interact with a targeted work to improve the musical standard in an amateur brass band connected to a church?

The level of the musical result is limited by the differences in goal acceptance and goal fulfilment characterizing a social community with a balanced group coherence that is neither too strong nor too weak. On the other hand, social community and group coherence are limited by the differences in goal acceptance, the stability of the membership, the members' satisfaction and the members' influence that characterize a musical activity striving for perfection, but where everybody who can play a brass instrument (or percussion) is welcome to participate.

The aesthetical code of The Brassband could be described as follows: the striving for artistic perfection is restricted by time, by the leadership style and competence of the conductor, and by the goal acceptance of the members. With a simultaneous emphasis on the 'passepartout of music', which has its foundation in a wish to work for and cooperate with the audience, shortcomings in the musical perfection can be compensated. Thus, the likelihood increases that there will be goal acceptance and goal fulfilment among the members of the band with the combined goal to *Play well and have fun*. In that way, social and musical factors act together in order to bring about a good result.

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The Printed Score as a Mediator of Musical Meaning[1]

Approaches to music notation in Western tradition

Cecilia Hultberg

Introduction

During my time as a music teacher in Germany and Sweden, many students have asked me questions like '…can you please show us how to play this'. Even if they knew about musical practice of the style in question they did not know how to transfer their knowledge to other works. Many colleagues in different countries have reported on similar difficulties among their students. This general character of the problem was the reason why this study was carried out in the first place.

In this chapter, an explorative, qualitative study of musicians' ways of drawing meaning from printed scores of Western tonal music will be presented. The chapter is structured in four main sections: *Theoretical framework and previous research, Methodology and design, Results,* and *Discussion*, in which theory, method, and results of the study are presented and discussed.

1 This chapter is based on the author's doctoral dissertation thesis *The printed score as a mediator of musical meaning. Approaches to music notation in Western tradition* accepted in 2000 by Lund University, Sweden and published as a book by Malmö Academy of Music.

Theoretical framework and previous research

In Western tonal music the printed scores are expected to provide the necessary information to educated interpreters. The reason for this is that, even though the practice has changed between styles and periods, a collection of conventions of expression form a common frame taken for granted, if nothing is explicitly marked. This general musical practice constitutes a collective knowledge of Western music tradition. Thus, this study concerns how individuals today recreate this collective knowledge. Connections between traditions and individuals are of special interest in a socio-cultural theoretical perspective (Säljö, 2000), which was selected for the study. The collective knowledge that had to be accounted for concerned not only the music tradition in itself, but also traditions of coping with music notation in instrumental training.

A Socio-cultural perspective

A socio-cultural theoretical perspective is closely connected to Vygotsky's theory of cultural history, meaning that individuals inherit the cultural history of the collective in which they live through the influence of traditions (Vygotsky, 1971). Material or intellectual *cultural tools* function as bearers of meaning and mediators of the real world (Vygotsky 1934/1981). The idea of *creativity* as a way of living is central in Vygotsky's theory of cultural history, according to which individuals learn how to use and master cultural tools and gestures through re-creation of experiences of the real world. Consequently, individual *re-creation* is part of the concept of *creativity*, a process in which intellect and emotion are connected (ibid.). Cultural tools may also consist of different kinds of *gestures*, such as bodily gestures and ways of behaving. On this point Vygotsky's ideas are consistent with Mead's (1934) theory of social interactionism, according to which human beings understand themselves as social beings by implicitly imagining other persons' attitudes towards them.

Transferred to this study, *notation* has been regarded as a cultural tool mediating the *real music* to the interpreters. The process of drawing musical meaning from notation has been regarded as the musicians' individual re-creation of their experiences of the real music. Furthermore, influences from teachers' attitudes in contexts of coping with printed scores have been considered.

Traditions of using notation in instrumental training

In instrumental training in Western music two methods for coping with notation developed. Today, aspects of both of these are combined in different ways. In the *practical-empirical method*, which prevailed until the middle of the 19th Century, beginner students learnt how to play their instrument by ear. Imitating passages and listening to 'musical sentences' played by their teachers, they learnt how to express themselves in music and to create sentences on their own. Not until then music notation was introduced. The repertoire played was well adapted to the students' ability and they were encouraged to interpret the music independently. The teachers supervised as much as needed, supporting the pupils' development as musicians and instrumentalists (Geiringer, 1969; Gellrich, 1992; Gellrich & Parncutt, 1999; Hultberg, 2000). Thus, in terms of Vygotsky the students inherited a tradition of musical practice.

The social and technical development during the early 19th Century caused great changes in instrumental training. A strongly increasing interest in playing instruments made it difficult to find well-educated teachers. New printing technologies made printed scores available. Various editions, with circumstantial markings representing individual musicians' interpretations were published, as well as technical exercises. In instrumental training these by now often replaced the musical sentences played by ear, which made the focus change from musical development to instrumental-technical progress.

Many students now played repertoire on a higher level than they could master on their own. Instead they had to follow the editor's markings and their teachers' instructions. Only after these pupils had acquired a high technical skill they could concentrate on their own musical development (Gellrich, 1992; Gellrich & Parncutt, 1999). Hence, in terms of Vygotsky, most students who did *not* reach this high level inherited a tradition of instrumental training. To a large extent this remained separate from musical practice since little space was left for individual licence in the interpretation.

Great musicians like Alfred Brendel (1977) and Daniel Barenboim (1991) have pleaded for strategies similar to those of the *practical-empirical* method. McPherson and Gabrielsson (2002) found that aural creative activities are connected to motivation and efficient musical improvement, and that the capacity to play new literature is of great importance when continuing to play as an adult amateur. Yet, the results of several separate research studies indicate a focus on instrumental-technical aspects in Western music education (Brändström & Wiklund, 1995; Gellrich, 1996; Nielsen, 1996; McPherson & Gabrielsson, 2002). Studies on practising made evident, not only that

beginners tend to give priority to playing correctly before they focus on musical expression (Hallam, 1992, 1997), but also that students on a high level spend much time on solving instrumental-technical problems (Graabræk Nielsen, 1998). All of these findings need to be related to the outcome of studies by Jørgensen (1997), meaning that students' strategies of practising are strongly influenced by their teachers and the institutional learning context.

To summarise: In recent research the focus has been on the different aspects of musicians practising on various levels, and strategies for learning have been investigated. Yet, how *musical meaning* is comprehended from the printed scores of entire works or sections still remain rather unexplored. Therefore, the intention of the present study was to further investigate this.

Methodology and design

Drawing meaning from notation of entire sections or works requires practice and reflection. Consequently, well rehearsed performances and explorative interviews needed to be included in the study. General categories of using notation could not be established in advance, but needed to be generated from the collected data. These conditions correspond to criteria of qualitative studies (Kvale, 1997; Starrin, 1994), which is why a qualitative method was chosen for this project.

In order to satisfy the requirement of the harmonic dimension of tonal music I decided to direct this study at pianists. Eleven musicians – six students as well as five professional musicians and piano teachers - were invited to participate. The collective of participants represented different countries and traditions of music education, as well as professional orientation. However, irrespective of how they had been educated, all of them were capable of interpreting printed scores independently – an important criterion in this study.

The participants were asked to perform one tonal piece of music of their own choice and three short pieces unknown to them, selected and composed by me[2]. Interpreting the freely chosen pieces they could present themselves as musicians. Preparing these, their strategies of coping with the printed scores would directly (students) or

2 To be assured that none of the participants had played, heard or read the compulsory music, I had composed short pieces, based on the same basic harmonic ground, but with different characters, harmonic complexity, time signature and part-writing.

indirectly (professionals) have been influenced by their teachers' advice. Preparing the compulsory pieces of music, unknown to all of them, the participants would have to rely completely on their personal experiences (the participating students' teachers had agreed not to support the process of interpretation). These pieces, which caused no technical problems to the musicians, were notated without any markings on expression. They were sent to the participants about two months in advance with an invitation letter which also informed about the settings of the study and the procedure of participation.

The data collection included three stages: Each musician performed a piece of music (stage 1), after which he/she commented on the printed score, sitting at the piano (stage 2). These two stages, which were video-recorded, were repeated with each piece of music. Then, while viewing his/her own video recording in another convenient room, each musician was given the opportunity to make complementing comments (stage 3). This last stage was audio-recorded.

Each musician decided when to make the recording, and no time limits were set. Before recording, the participants were given the opportunity to warm up on the piano. They were also informed that they could stop a performance and start again if they wished so. In order to disturb the recording as little as possible I stayed beside the camera during the playing sections.

No interview questions or categories were set up in advance, but the participants commented freely. However, unclear statements as well as gestures and played examples were followed up. A content analysis of the data was undertaken in which the statements were compared to the interpretation actually played on the video. The original aim of the study was to achieve knowledge about how the participants refer to conventions in tonal music. In this respect the data did contribute valuable information but, in addition, they also formed unexpected patterns, thus shedding new light on how the musicians used printed scores.

Results

Two main approaches were identified, in which the origin of the musical meaning mediated differed. According to this divergence, the roles of the musicians as well as the functions of printed scores diverged.

In a REPRODUCTIVE APPROACH the musicians restricted their observations to

phenomena to which special meaning was assigned by means of the markings. They concentrated on visual observation, while motor and aural observations served as methods for executing and controlling the attempts to reproduce the prescribed interpretation. Thus, the musicians acted on behalf of a superior interpreter, the editor, whose interpretation they tried to reproduce. Some of them even disregarded their own intuitive/emotional impression of musical meaning.

In marked contrast, in an EXPLORATIVE APPROACH the musicians participated in the entire process of transforming the composer's intention into an actual sounding performance of the music. They explored the printed score relying on their personal judgement and familiarity with musical practice, even if this meant that they had to disregard the editor's instructions. In this exploration they coordinated observations of visual, motor, aural and intuitive/emotional orientation. Hence, in an EXPLORATIVE APPROACH, a musician's individual understanding of conventions of expression was the core of interpretation.

Reproductive approach

The correct execution of explicit instructions on musical expression is given priority in a REPRODUCTIVE APPROACH. Commenting on her freely chosen piece, the first movement of *Sonata G major,* K. V. 183 by W. A. Mozart, edition Peters, Elisabeth maintained that '…you play mostly because it *says* so.' If you would think up more by yourself, then there are sort of many ways in which you can do it that I think would be equally good'. Her reflection was consistent with her experiences during years of learning - and also with observations among other students - that students do not try out their own ideas of expression because of a tradition to follow performance markings as instructions in order to reproduce *the* edited version.

Even in the prescribed pieces, in which no markings on expression were provided, a few musicians paid special attention to the *lack* of markings. For instance, in her opening comment on the *Allegro*, Karen stated: 'Well, here I added phrasing markings myself, because it wasn't complete, this printed score, and then it was easier to write some down. I don't know if they are musically correct'. Karen reflected on the information *not* provided since the lack of markings caused her problems to cope with the notation. Once she had added the performance markings they turned into instructions which she reproduced although she felt uncertain if they were 'musically correct'. Karen also described that she had learnt to highly respect performance markings in Western tonal

music as demanding instructions. Similar statements were made by some of the other participants as well.

Explorative approach

Reflections on *implicit* musical meaning might be seen as a determining indication on an EXPLORATIVE APPROACH. Commenting on the prescribed *Allegretto* Beatrice stated:

> *I lift up the little melody and [in the B-section] I have a somewhat different character. I make it lighter, mainly because it raises, and I emphasise that A is in this register, so to speak, and B in that register [shows with her hands], and then it is natural to make it lighter here [B] and darker there [A] … so you just have to play as the notes say.*

Describing how she played, Beatrice referred to general conventions connected to register and part-writing explored by her in the very notes as indications on expression. Then she reflected on an alternative interpretation of the *Allegretto* as a whole:

> *This variation tends to become a little Russian, if you wish so. I don't know if you have heard it, but I will play it once more and you may listen. At first you might not notice it especially well [plays the beginning], but if you* listen, *you will hear that it has a very, very Russian succession of notes [plays]. So, if you get into that swing which I made now, in the entire piece – well I made it more solid with more of that kind of swing, which you may develop from the harmonies themselves – it will very quickly change its character.*

Beatrice, who was brought up in the former Soviet Union, had revealed that the musical gestures might as well indicate an interpretation quite different from the 'natural' one initially maintained by her. She emphasised that listening (aural orientation) and playing (motor orientation) were required in order to reveal this alternate character. Maintaining that a specific swinging feeling (emotional/intuitive orientation) developed 'from the harmonies themselves' would be a condition for achieving it, she impli-

citly connected this exploration to a familiarity with Russian music. Actually, I, as the composer, had not been aware of this implicit character of the music, although I had created it.

The impact of individual experience on the exploration of implicit musical meaning was further emphasised by some of the musicians who decided to disregard the editors' instructions, giving priority to their personal judgement instead. Peter even changed the notated text. Just before playing S. Lindberg's *Meditation* (on a Swedish folk tune) he added a silent chord extracted from the theme, and ended each phrase with a fermata during which the sound of that chord remained. Stating that 'you have got that licence', he combined his knowledge about traditions of coping with notation of this style with his imagination of pastoral 'mountain surroundings', which issued from the theme. Thus, the individual musical judgement made these musicians extend their creativity while exploring the printed scores.

Shifts of approaches

Many of the participating musicians shifted between both approaches in their comments on a piece. Shifts from a REPRODUCTIVE to an EXPLORATIVE APPROACH were connected to their individual understanding of conventions of expression. For instance, in her opening comment on her freely chosen piece, F. Chopin's *Sonata in b flat minor*, Beatrice referred exclusively to markings on dynamics as explanations of how to play, although she played from memory:

> *You know, when I play this sonata, I play very much like the notes say, because the printed score is very detailed. It starts out forte, and does a small crescendo, and then it goes down, sforzato in the bass, down to piano and then a small crescendo-diminuendo, and then the theme itself begins in piano. Chopin has written down exactly what he wants, how much, and when things happen.*

Beatrice had studied this work with her teacher. Although she played from an edition by Paderewski she maintained that Chopin's intention was exactly displayed. However, then she reflected: 'So actually my task is to make it work, and *understand* what he wants, and to what degree these *fortes* and *pianos* are used. … You should listen to the chords you play, what colouring the chord has, and what kind of jumps you do, becau-

se *that's* where the music is'. Still following the expression settled by the performance markings, Beatrice had explored the printed score as well, in order to comprehend the musical intention. Thus she developed an EXPLORATIVE APPROACH based upon a REPRODUCTIVE one.

By contrast with Beatrice, Daniela shifted from an EXPLORATIVE to a REPRODUCTIVE APPROACH as she commented on C. Schumann's *Romance*. Having explored its structure Daniela reflected that the musical expression of its first section '…goes without saying, because it exists in the music'. Consequently, she had played with more shades of nuances than explicitly marked. As I asked her to explain by *what* these nuances were indicated, she meant: 'I guess nuances are things that you maybe - if you're allowed to, I don't know - add emotionally'. To my surprise, Daniela, an experienced young concert pianist, hesitated about whether she was allowed to add nuances or not. My question might have awoken the implicit experience of a lesson, in which a teacher asks a student to comment on her interpretation: it made Daniela question her musical judgement.

Functions of the printed scores

The primary function of a printed score in a REPRODUCTIVE APPROACH was found to be that of an *explicitly normative* document in which the composer's intention is correctly decoded. The normative function concerns a prescriptive *and* a controlling aspect. It provides instructions on how to solve a defined task: the reproduction of the editor's interpretation of the composer's intention. These instructions also serve as tools for assessing the musician's interpretation. Thus, being the starting point as well as the goal of the process of interpretation, the printed score directs the interpreter's actions.

In an EXPLORATIVE APPROACH, music notation serves the primary function of a document providing incomplete, coded information on the composer's possible musical intention within a *normative frame* settled by the discourse in music. Each interpreter needs to decode the general musical message and complete the missing information through investigations of implicit meaning. Thus, the printed score is a source for exploration based on the musician's individual familiarity with conventions of expression.

The musician's earlier experiences from the practice of using music notation influence its secondary function. Influenced by experiences from a REPRODUCTIVE

APPROACH, the function may on the one hand be *restricted* exclusively to a temporal dimension, and on the other hand be *restrictive*, breaking the musician's self-confidence. Influenced by experiences from an EXPLORATIVE APPROACH, it may be *extended* to a source for a continuing, further exploration, and thus *challenging* and *extending* the musician's creativity.

Discussion

Surprisingly enough, reproductive statements were made by most of the experienced musicians, all of who were thoroughly familiar with conventions of expression. This major finding indicates a wider perspective of coping with music notation: the complex long-term consequences of traditions of teaching. This will be discussed in the following section, *Traditions and individuals,* after which a *model of instrumental training* is presented, developed on the basis of the results of this study.

Traditions and individuals

The reproductive statements and descriptions made by some of the musicians, of being taught to obey explicit markings rather than developing personal musical judgement, exemplify that attitudes adopted in instrumental training form patterns of behaviour in students' future life. Connected to earlier research results indicating that young students, as well as adult amateurs, give up playing their instruments because they cannot cope with new literature on their own, these findings make it relevant to discuss implications of instrumental training in general.

The long term influence of teaching methods found in this study sheds new light on Jørgensen's (1997) findings on teachers' influence. It is also consistent with Vygotsky's (1930, 1934) and Mead's (1934) theories concerning the influence of earlier experiences of social interaction. In instrumental training this means that students implicitly take up their teachers' attitudes in all kinds of communication. Accordingly, the context itself and the entire social practice used in it will influence the student's development. Thus, in contexts of coping with music notation as a *cultural tool* (Vygotsky, 1934) in instrumental training, teachers need to consider relations between teachers, students and printed scores.

A theory of instrumental training

Based on the results of this study, a theory of instrumental teaching was developed. It represents three models of teaching which might be regarded as different sub-cultures in Western *music education*. In the following presentation the correspondence between these models and Western *music tradition* will be discussed.

A) The teacher approaches the printed score reproductively. Informing the listening students of how to realise the instructions provided by performance markings, s/he teaches them how to do so in practice as well. The students' initiative is not required since they have to follow *instructions* on how to play in order to correspond to *the correct execution* of the musical message *transmitted* through the printed score. In this one-way-communication the students will learn about the explicit meaning of markings, but *not* about the implicit meaning of the very notes indicated by conventions of expression. Thus, the students inherit the cultural history of *the tradition of instrumental training* as represented by their teacher, rather than a tradition of *musical practice*.

B) In this model the teacher is *familiar with established interpretations* of the Western tonal repertoire. This constitutes a contextual frame in which s/he teaches the listening student how to understand the instructions provided in the printed score. In a one-way-communication, conditions for *receiving* musical messages through notation are mainly dealt with. Even if little space may be left for the initiative of beginner students, this may increase with higher levels of education. After years of studies, the students may develop musical independence by growing into the practice of interpretation. This process may result in a dialogue in which the teacher and the students exchange ideas of how to understand musical meaning.

However, to many young pupils this will be of little relevance since they might give up playing before reaching the independence referred to here. Taking up the teacher's attitude toward themselves during the first years of learning, students may get the impression that they are not capable of coping with printed scores without the support of their teacher. Since the students are introduced to a tradition of interpreting certain works instructed by their teachers, they inherit the cultural history of *the tradition of interpretation represented by their teacher.*

C) Here, the teacher puts the printed score into the context of coping with music notation among composers as well as interpreters. In a dialogue with the students

the teacher takes their ideas into account, *and* exemplifies musical practice through ideas of his/her own. Conditions for *sending* and *receiving* musical messages through the printed scores are explored and considered. In this model the students develop an individual musical judgement on which they can rely in musical practice, irrespective of the level of music education. Adopting the teacher's attitudes, the pupils develop their independence and a habit to explore implicit indications on expression. Thus, they inherit the cultural history of *co-creative musicianship in Western tonal music tradition.*

Conclusion

In conclusion, familiarity with musical practice is presumed to be a condition for coping independently with the printed score as a cultural tool in Western tonal music. To a large extent, the conditions for acquiring this traditional knowledge depend on teaching methods and the teachers' attitudes towards students as well as music notation. Depending on these attitudes the students' development might be either supported or obstructed. In order to introduce students on all levels to Western tonal *music tradition,* and to support their musical and personal growth, instrumental teachers need to be familiar with the general practice of notation and interpretation of different epochs. Furthermore, they need to respect their students and consider their ideas in a mutual communication.

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Music Students at the Aesthetic Programme[1]

Background, schooling and motivation

Maria Karlsson

Introduction

This study has two purposes. The first is to provide a general picture of students who are specialising in music according to their background and educational studies at Swedish senior high schools. The second is to investigate how constructs from international research on motivation influence these students' choices, efforts, persistency, attitudes and study results in a Swedish context.

I argue that motivation has a special significance in music education for three reasons: (a) a great deal of an individual's musical practice is done outside the instructional context – alone or together with friends in an ensemble – and self-regulation is therefore more crucial to studies in music than to most other subjects, (b) music instruction, perhaps especially in the modern Swedish gymnasium (senior high school), consists of numerous occasions where the individual must choose: between different musical courses,

1 This chapter is based on the author's doctoral dissertation thesis Music students at the aesthetic program of the high school. A study of students' background, course of study and motivation accepted in 2002 by Lund University, Sweden and published as a book by Malmö Academy of Music.

between instruments and musical styles, between different kinds of musical expressions, and (c) music making is closely connected with emotions, has a strong element of creativity and expression, and is therefore highly dependent on the individual's perception of himself/herself in relation to the music. In spite of these special aspects, few researchers have studied motivation in connection with music studies.

The music option in the Swedish senior high school

Swedish secondary education (forms 10 - 12) has undergone substantial changes during the latter part of the 20th century. By co-ordinating the education after form 9 for all Swedish youngsters to a common high school, called 'the gymnasium', originally highly diverse school forms have been integrated into a common curriculum, with a common content in the basic courses. The gymnasium nowadays encompasses practically all young people, as compared to only a small proportion in the first part of the 20th century. However, traditions and former 'school codes' partly remain from the earlier school forms.

In 1994 a new national curriculum for secondary education (Lpf 94) was adopted. Students can choose between 16 'national programmes'. All programmes share 'core courses' in the basic subjects, but contain 'character subjects' and optional courses, by which each programme has a special profile. The new curriculum entails a much greater emphasis on freedom of choice and diversity than the previous ones. The curriculum also stresses the pupil's self-determination, and the school's aim of developing pupils' ability and will to take personal responsibility for their study results.

The aesthetic programme – in Swedish 'estetiska programmet' – is one of the 16 national programmes. The programme consists of three options: music, visual arts/design, and dance/theatre. In the school year of 1998/99, when the study was performed, the music option of the aesthetic programme was given in 81 schools. A total of 1,320 students studied in their third year on the music option. Their music education is divided into several subjects. In the year the study was conducted, instruction in singing/instrument, ensemble playing, music theory and 'music and communication' – with a total of 350 instruction hours – was compulsory for all students at this option. For the rest of their musical training – 290 instruction hours – students could choose between courses in Children and music; Production of music and sounds; Conducting and ensemble directing; Arranging and composing; Musical history; Choir singing;

Rhythmic with dance, and Musical stage project. Many schools have also developed local courses in other musical subjects.

Theoretical framework

Theorists and investigators have long debated whether 'musical talent' is a fruitful construct. As noted by Howe, Davidson and Sloboda (1998), the notion of talent is prominent in parents' and music teachers' thinking about children's music education, and, accordingly, has an impact on the behaviour of the people around the child. The view of most researchers (e.g., Howe et al., 1998) is, however, that it has not been shown that early signs of talent can help predicting future musical success. Instead, several authors have shown a strong influence on musical achievements depending on how long the student has studied music, and the accumulated length of practice. There is also convincing support that the quality of practice and the degree of cognitive engagement in practice are also influential (Ericsson & Crutcher, 1990; Ericsson et al., 1990; Ericsson et al., 1993; Sloboda, Davidson, Howe, & Moore, 1996). Although the main focus of this study is on motivation, the factors mentioned above are studied due to their connection with motivational processes.

Motivation is, in many uses of the word, an umbrella term, and has to be defined more precisely for the present investigation. I have chosen to adopt a definition suggested by Ames and Ames (1989). Their definition centres on cognitions. Mental processes, or cognitions, in learning can be categorised into two areas. Learning processes concern the subject content – how information is perceived, processed, stored and retrieved, and how concepts and constructs are formed. Correspondingly, motivation in a learning context can be seen as the mental processes by which individuals monitor and manage their learning by collecting, processing and using information about the self and the self in relation to the task of the problem. Although much of these processes may not be fully conscious for the individual, they can in principle be made conscious, and thus become meta-cognitive processes. Motivational theories should aim to describe how individuals govern their learning – what goals they pursue, what kind of information and what meta-cognitive strategies they use and how they evaluate their ability and their performances.

Motivational research in music education has emphasised the importance of an individual's causal attributions for success and failure, and the individual's perception

of his/her competence with regard to the task (i.e., self-efficacy). Authors have also stressed how other factors influence musical performances, such as the quantity and quality of practice (Ericsson, Tesch-Römer & Krampe, 1990; Sosniak, 1990; Sloboda, Davidson, Howe & Moore, 1996; McPherson, 1997; McPherson & McCormick, 1999), support from parents (Davidson, Howe, Moore & Sloboda, 1996), and the individual's previous knowledge (Hallam, 1995a, 1995b, 1997). Together, these and other studies point to complex relations between ability, previous knowledge, motivation, effort, social support, meta-cognitive strategies, self-regulation, and performances or results.

Motivation, in the sense that I use the term, is not a quantitative variable. Researchers (e.g., Maehr, 1984) have, however, discussed 'achievement behaviours', or behaviours in achievement situations, as observable effects of motivational processes. The present study aims to measure three kinds of achievement behaviours: (a) 'direction', choices between different activities, such as what courses to follow, (b) activity level, such as the amount of work within a certain area or with a certain task, and (c) persistence in the area or the task, especially when a student is confronted with difficulties and challenges.

Autonomy is a construct that is relevant for motivation since it describes the freedom of choice of an individual in a special context. The construct presupposes a certain relatively firm structure (deCharms, 1976). Self-regulation refers to the individual's ongoing monitoring and regulation of his/her own learning process. Zimmerman (1989) defines self-regulated learners as 'metacognitively, motivationally and behaviourally active participants in their own learning process' (p. 329). Self-regulation thus refers to meta-cognitive processes. Autonomy and self-regulation are important in music studies, partly because a great part of children's or young persons´ musical studies consists of practising on their own. Studies of life-long musical development of prominent musicians (Eriksson, Tesch-Römer, & Krampe, 1993; Manturzewska, 1990) have found a transition from an early stage with a high degree of external regulation to a more mature stage, where the musician is more autonomous.

A dimension that has been widely studied in general research on motivation in learning is the goal orientation of students. The term refers to the criteria an individual uses to define what constitutes a success or a failure. Two contrasting goal orientations have been defined. The term 'mastery goals' (e.g., a term used by Ames, 1992) designates a focus on the acquisition of new knowledge and skills, on understanding and mastering the area and on developing competence for a task. The contrasting goal orientation is 'performance goals' with a focus on the environment's perception of the

student's competence and ability, rather than on the competence as such. Students with mastery goals tend to concentrate on the understanding of the material. Mastery oriented students have a tendency to prefer challenging tasks, and are prepared to take the risk of difficulties and accept failure. Students with performance goals tend to focus on the visible result, and to view low achievement as a sign of low ability, which leads them to avoid taking the risk of failure they see in challenging tasks. They have also a lesser tendency to use self-regulation, and tend to use shallow learning strategies focused on short-term results.

A third construct that is used in the study is self-perception. Individuals' perception of their competences and abilities in the subject area has been shown to be a vital factor in their processing of information about their learning. Shavelson, Hubner and Stanton (1976) have proposed, and Marsh (e.g. 1987) and his colleagues have further developed, a hierarchical model of self-perception. Vispoel (1995) has proposed an extension of the model, in which the four higher factors in the Marsh 1987 model are supplemented with a fifth factor for artistic self-perception, which in turn influences self-perception in four specific artistic areas. A more specific theory on the impact of self-perception on individuals' behaviour and emotions is the theory of Bandura (1997) in which 'self-efficacy' is an important construct. Self-efficacy refers to the individual's expectation of success in a certain task. The task can be a specific assignment or something broader, such as a certain school course. As Skaalvik (1996) points out, the constructs of self-efficacy and self-perception have much in common. My interest in self-efficacy stems from the clear connection Bandura's theory offers from attributions of success and failure to ability.

In this investigation attribution theory is used in order to capture students' explanations of the causes of their successes and failures, and to relate these results to other constructs. An important contribution to attribution theory has been made by Bernhard Weiner (1984). He proposes that interpretations can be classified along three dimensions and that an attribution's consequences for the individual's behaviour and emotions is determined by its place in this three-dimensional scheme. The three dimensions are (a) locus (internal or external), (b) constancy (stability over time and generality to other contexts), and (c) responsibility (controllability and intentionality). However, in applications of the theory researchers have moved away from Weiner's original dimensional scheme.

Vispoel and Austin (1995) categorise methods of investigating attributions into three groups: (a) situational studies, (b) critical incident studies, where the participants

are asked about their beliefs concerning the causes of their success or failure in a situation they themselves have experienced, and (c) attributional disposition. In the present investigation, a 'critical incident' design is used. Previous research on attributions in music education have mostly been undertaken as studies of attributional disposition. In several studies (1985, 1986, 1987, 1989; Asmus & Harrison, 1990) Asmus has found that music students often explain their results as being due to internal causes like ability and/or effort, but that 'love of music' and classroom milieu are also common explanations. Austin and Vispoel (1998) have reported high correlations between attributions, self-perception and achievements, and defined 'attributional patterns' for high and low performing students. High-performers tend to attribute their successes to ability and family influence more often than low-performers but avoid attributing their failures to these factors.

Research questions

This investigation, concerning students studying at the music option of the aesthetic programme in the Swedish gymnasium, has two purposes reported and discussed in separate parts of the result section. The first purpose is to provide a general picture of the students' musical studies and factors in their background. In this description, special focus is given gender aspects. The second purpose is to analyse the students' motivation in terms of achievement behaviours, to analyse the content of different constructs within motivational processes and the correlation between these constructs, and finally to form a coherent model for describing motivation in a context of musical instruction.

In the study several research questions are formulated regarding different aspects of the students' background and studies, as well as different constructs in motivation. These separate research questions can be summarised as follows: *How do different motivation processes, such as attributions, self-perception, autonomy and goal orientation, vary between students? How do these processes act together and how do they influence achievement behaviours and study results?*

Methodology and design

The investigation is primarily quantitative in character, based on a broad survey. Most items in the survey were developed especially for this inquiry.

Attributions, however, are measured by an instrument developed by Vispoel and Austin (1991) and adopted for this survey. The adoption contains 27 items, designed to measure nine factors, six of which are identical to those used by Vispoel and Austin (ability, effort, strategy, teacher, difficulty or ease of the task, and good/bad luck), one slightly changed to its content (family influence), and two additional factors (classmates and previous knowledge). Goal orientation is measured by two items designed to measure participants' preference for challenging versus 'secure' tasks. For autonomy support and autonomy, I use self-developed items on the frequency of different kinds of teacher feedback and information in combination with items regarding the student's perception of influence on her/his music education and the student´s experience of different kinds of co-operation. The instrument used for measuring self-perception of musical ability is based on the ASPI (Arts Self-Perception Inventory) scale designed and validated by Vispoel (1993; 1995). Three of the items are translated directly from English, seven items developed by me for this survey. The survey also contains items regarding students' background, schooling and attitudes. Students' study results are measured by self-reported marks in the different musical courses, or, regarding courses not completed when the survey was conducted, by students' expectations of marks.

The data collection was conducted in 1998/1999 among music students studying their third and final year in 54 of the 81 schools in Sweden with a musical option of the aesthetic programme. The sample of schools is not randomised, but as all major schools participate, I do not perceive any threats to generalisations by selection biases. A total of 811 students participated in the survey, giving a completion rate in the participating schools of 77%.

The data was stored and analysed in a SPSS database, version 8.0. Structural equation modelling was completed by using LISREL 8.12 and STREAMS 1.7. The analysis in SPSS is mainly done with univariate methods, mostly parametric, such as ANOVA and linear regression, but also non-parametric, such as chi2-tests. For certain analysis I have used multivariate regression and multivariate ANOVA. The grouping of cases into different musical styles, different levels of previous skill, and goal orientation has been done with SPSS K-means cluster method.

Results 1: Students' background and schooling

Background

The ethnic and socio-economic background of students at the musical option of the aesthetic programme differ in certain respects from that of corresponding age classes in Swedish society as a whole, even if gender proportions are equal. Students from working classes are under-represented. The music students come, to a great degree, from families where music is important also to the parents – different forms of musical activities are two to four times more frequent among participant's parents than in society as a whole.

Almost all of the students (92%) had received some form of organised instrumental or singing instruction before their studies at the gymnasium. Most common are studies at a municipal music school (77%). Previous formal music schooling is more frequent among girls than boys, and also tends to have a longer duration among girls. A very large majority (89%) among the participants have played at least one instrument (or practiced singing) in organised forms, such as choir singing or participation in a rock group or other kind of ensemble. A reasonably large number of boys can be characterised as autodidacts, with a rather extensive experience in rock groups, but with little or no formal schooling before the gymnasium.

Students' choices

Slightly more than half of the students studying the music option of the aesthetic programme aim at a profession in some musical area, in almost all cases after further studies at a 'folk high-school' or a musical academy. The situation reflects the dual purposes of the aesthetic programme; to offer a general aesthetic education to interested students, but also to provide a ground for further studies and a professional career.

The curriculum and schedule of the aesthetic programme provide the students with many opportunities to choose – about 25% of the total instruction time is designed for (eligible) optional courses. As discussed by the Swedish national authority for lower and middle level education (Skolverket, 1999b), local regulations tend to reduce the choices students should have according to national plans. The courses in both Choir Singing and Musical Stage Project is in this study shown to be 'virtually compulsory'

at most schools. Data in the study suggests that only in about 57% of all the cases when a student studies an optional course, the student has had any real choice. As for the reasons for selecting individual courses, the most common reason reported in the study was interest ('I chose the course to develop my musical competence'), which stood for 42% of the reasons, while chances of getting a good mark stood for 28% and 'forced selection' stands for 29%.

Schooling and attitudes towards music education

The studies in the major subject Instrument playing/Singing are normally done on one main instrument and one (for 62% of the students) or two (for 30%) 'side-instruments'. Instruction is normally given individually to each student. Four instruments dominate as main instrument; among girls vocal studies and the piano, among boys electric guitar/base and percussion. Orchestral instruments occur as the main instrument with only about 20% of the students.

Instrument courses are offered at three levels; A, B and C. In spite of the fact that almost all students have had previous experience with their main instrument, in most cases (85%) they start their studies on the main instrument at level A, intended as a beginner's course. Probably as a result, half of the students finish their studies already at level B. On the basis of this result, I recommend that schools more actively assess the student's skills upon entering, and seek to provide instruction at an advanced level as much as possible.

Another major music subject is Ensemble play: the results show that pop and rock music are the most common genres. A national goal for the instruction in the subject is that it should cover several musical styles. Although most students experience a considerable genre breadth in the subject, many schools do not succeed in offering students a sufficient broad range of styles – about half of the students with a large/rather large interest in classical or folk music do not practice the genre in Ensemble play.

More than 80% of the students appear before an external audience during their studies at the gymnasium. A smaller group (24%) performs only once or twice per school term, but performances are normally considerably more frequent (median=5, M=9). Moreover, most students (74%) are active outside the school context in organised music making during their time at the gymnasium. A large majority (80 - 90%) of the students who were musically active in this way also made appearances before an audience. Boys were especially active in performing before an audience (M=9 performances per school term among boys, versus M=5 among girls).

The overall picture from the items reflecting attitudes is that the students are often more ambitious than the school and the teachers presuppose. Most students are satisfied with the music instruction they have received at the gymnasium, but a minority of 16% declare that they are disappointed. In answers to open-ended questions the disappointed group often holds the view that the ambitions and demands on the students are too low.

Attitudes towards separate music courses vary to a certain extent, although students' attitudes towards different courses correlate. There is a clear tendency that attitudes are more positive towards courses with a large content of musical practice and music-making, while attitudes towards more theoretical courses are less positive. The subject Instrument play/singing is especially popular.

Students' practices and study results

Comparisons with official statistics on marks given at the end of courses indicate that the marks reported by the students in the survey are only slightly higher than the mean of marks actually obtained. The mean for students' reports on marks, regarding all music courses, is 14.94, which corresponds almost exactly to 'Well approved' (Väl Godkänd). The mark averages vary between schools; 15% of the variation can be attributed to which school the student attended.

The time spent on musical assignments and other practice at home varies greatly between students. Median value for total home-time spent on musical studies is 9,5 hours per week, but some students spend a much longer time practising their instruments (or singing) outside the class – a group of 12% of the students reports 20 hours or more per week on practise and other musical studies at home. Boys focused on classical music or jazz tend to practice more than other boys and girls, irrespective of genre focus. Practice time is, to a certain degree, dependent on the student's instrument – those studying singing practice less than those studying a 'proper instrument'. The variance in practice time can be seen as an indication of differences in goals, values, and persistence, and are therefore consistent with Jörgensen's (2000) findings.

Correlations between accumulated length of practice and study results reported in earlier studies vary from 0.25 (Doan, 1973) to as high as 0.67 (Hallam, 1998). In the data of the present study, a regression of the average of expected marks in music courses, with four variables (number of years of music studies and organised singing/playing prior to the gymnasium, hours per week of practice time in the home, and number

of public performances) provides a multiple correlation of 0.46. Adjusted determination coefficient is 0.21, that is, 21% of the differences in marks can be predicted from indications of accumulated practice. The strength in the correlation varies between instruments – the correlations are higher among students of piano, classic or acoustic guitar and brass instruments than among students of singing or 'rock instruments'.

Gender differences

Gender differences are obvious in the kind of instruments the students play. In general, results in earlier studies are repeated or confirmed in the analysis of this study. Girls dominate on singing, the piano, the woodwind and the string instruments. Boys dominate on electric guitars and percussion and also on brass instruments. There is also a significant correlation between choice of instrument and socio-economic group; piano is more common in higher social strata, while rock instruments have a reverse correlation.

Most students report a considerable span in their preferences for musical styles – only 19% have an interest dominated to more than 50% by one single genre. Preferences for musical style is correlated to gender – boys tend to be interested in pop/rock and jazz, girls in folk and classical music – but the gender difference in genre preferences is smaller than in the choice of instruments. Girls tend to have a broader musical interest than boys.

The match between a student's reported genre interest and her/his genre experience in the subject of Ensemble is heavily gender dependent. For instance, most girls with a large interest in jazz have not played this genre in Ensemble, while a substantial number of girls with little or no interest in folk or classical music still play often or always in these genres. The conclusion is that schools allocate students to ensemble groups in a stereotype way, by presupposing that boys want to play jazz or pop/rock, and girls folk and classical music.

In the distribution of instruments in Ensemble there are signs that the educational system tends to strengthen gender differences instead of counteracting them. Instrument distribution is thus more gender dependent in the gymnasium than what the same students reports as instrument used prior to the gymnasium.

Results 2: Study on motivation

Achievement behaviours

In the study, a structural equation model (SEM) is developed for measuring three achievement behaviour constructs together with students' attitudes to their music education and study results. The construct 'direction' is measured by the student's reasons for choosing the music option of the aesthetic programme and by his/her plans for the future. 'Persistence' is measured by the extent of the students' musical activities outside school. 'Activity level' corresponds to achievement behaviour in a narrower sense – the amount of time each student spends on homework, and how much time students spend on music at school. The model is based on the hypothesis that these achievement behaviours together with students' attitude to their music education have effects on study results.

These four causal constructs and attitudes can be identified as separate factors in a structural equation model, with mutual correlations between 0,24 and 0,60. All four constructs exert a direct influence on study results, measured as marks in the main compulsory courses in music in the gymnasium. Together, the four constructs explain 62% of the variance in study results. The strongest influence on study results comes from 'activity level' – its direct effect on study results explains 27% of the variance in study results.

Certain gender differences exist in the model. These differences are, however, limited to the magnitude of means of certain latent and manifest variables – there are no significant differences in the partial regression coefficients between boys and girls. Girls have a higher mean on persistence and on attitudes, while the mean among boys is higher on direction and activity level.

Autonomy

Many students perceive that they have a substantial influence on the shaping of different aspects of their learning. For instance, on the items 'degree of influence on how you work in class', and 'influence on selection of repertoire' almost half of the students report a high degree of influence. However, students relatively seldom experience regular feedback from the teacher – only 21% indicate that this occurs at most or all

courses and 32% never perceive feedback of this kind. In summary, analysis indicates that students´ perception of autonomy vary both within and between schools, which underlines the arguments put forward by Jörgensen (2000) of how important it is that the school takes responsibility, not only for the students' learning, but also for their development of independence and self-regulation.

For this study, an index of autonomy was developed 'post-hoc' on the basis of the items pertinent to self-determination, participation in decision-making and perception of autonomy-supportive actions from the teacher. This index of autonomy correlates positively with achievement behaviours (r=0,12 to 0,49).

Attributions

The items for measuring attributions (three for each factor, or a total of 27) has been analysed in two measurement models – one for success incidents, one for failure incidents – with SEM technique, and found to have (with the exception of three items in the 'failure model') acceptable loadings on their nine intended factors or attributional categories, and after the addition of a few 'cross loadings', an acceptable overall goodness-of-fit (RMSEA 0.035 for success, 0.038 for failure). The models have great similarities, but differ slightly in the strength of the loadings.

In the models, the individual attributional categories can be linked to superior factors, which to a certain degree correspond with positions in Weiner's dimensional scheme. In success situations, effort and strategy can be identified as members of a superior factor internal/controllable. Ability and previous skill load together on a superior factor 'internal/uncontrollable'. Home, classmates (or class milieu) and teacher are linked to a factor 'external/personal' and degree of difficulty of the task and luck to a factor 'external/impersonal'. In failure situations, the agreement with Weiner's dimension is poorer. The two factors 'internal/controllable' and 'internal/uncontrollable' are identified also in failure situations. The two remaining superior factors collapse in failure situations into a single one, which I call 'external'.

As can be seen in Table 1, certain categories – especially ability – are not as frequent in failure situations as in success situations. An 'altruistic' effect is also evident, in that students tend to give teacher and peers credits in the case of success, but avoid blaming them for failures. Relatively strong inter-correlations exist among certain attributions. In the case of both success and failure, effort and strategy use are strongly correlated (r=0.72/0.86), as are classmates and teacher (0.27/0.76).

Table 1. Means of attributions for success and failure (scale from 1 - 5)

Factor	M, success	Factor	M, failure
Teacher	4,17	Effort	3,32
Effort	3,70	Previous skill	3,21
Ability	3,52	Strategy	3,14
Previous skill	3,29	Task	2,65
Strategy	3,22	Teacher	2,58
Classmates	3,08	Classmates	2,26
Good luck	2,08	Home	2,25
Home	2,06	Bad luck	2,24
Task	1,86	Ability	1,97
Help	1,11		

(N=768 for success, 676 for failure)

One specific research question in the analysis is whether students differentiate between ability versus 'previous skills'. The result in differentiation is clear – r was only 0.37 at success, 0.36 at failure – and that students view ability as a more or less permanent capacity to achieve good results in music. As can be seen in Table 1, successes were explained by ability more often than by previous knowledge, while for failures, lack of previous knowledge was the most common explanation, and a lack of ability the least common. I suggest that this is an effect of the self-protective mechanism reported by other researchers' works (e.g. Covington & Omelich, 1979).

In general, correlations between categories are positive. The category 'ease of task' differs in that it is mostly negatively correlated with other categories, which contradicts the hypothesis that one's own ability and the task's degree of difficulty are two sides of the same coin and therefore should correlate positively. I suggest that two mechanisms can explain this, one for students with a mastery orientation, one for students without a mastery orientation. For mastery students, I suggest that students do not perceive success in an easy task as a noteworthy one and therefore choose to describe incidents when the task was not easy. Students with a performance orientation, I suggest, avoid explaining their success by the ease of the task on the grounds that this would diminish their achievement.

Do students differentiate between effort and strategy? The answer is that differentiation is not complete, especially not in failure situations. On the grounds of the importance of learning strategies and meta-cognitive strategies in music studies, it is disappointing that strategy use plays such a minor role. Possibly the teacher, by focusing more on qualitative aspects of practice and on self-regulation, can make students more aware of the possibility of alternative strategies.

The participants in my study were asked to give their attributions twice, once for a success incident, once for a failure incident. The attributional pattern for success with a given student differs heavily from that for failures. Only one category, ability, had a strong negative correlation between success and failure situations (r= -0,73), and one (good/bad luck) a moderate positive correlation (r=0,37). One reason for the low correlations for other categories is the context-dependency of attributions in a critical incident approach.

Certain differences in attributional patterns can be seen between 'high-achievers' (students who report high expectations of marks) and 'low-achievers'. High-achievers tend to ascribe their successes more often to internal factors, especially to ability, but – with a less prominent difference – also to effort, strategy and previous knowledge/skills. In the cases of failure, the pattern is reversed – above all, low-achievers tend to use ability more often, but also effort, strategy and previous knowledge.

Goal orientation

In cluster analysis of indicators for mastery orientation and performance orientation, four groups emerge – one consisting of individuals with low levels on both constructs, one for individuals with high levels on both, and two for individuals with a high level on one of these goal orientations. The groups differ significantly in means in various variables. In all cases, however, the differences are significant only between the two groups with a mastery orientation versus the two groups without a mastery orientation. The conclusion is that the presence of a mastery orientation has an effect in a number of aspects, but that the presence of performance goals cannot be shown to have any impact on either behaviour or cognitions.

Other motivational constructs differ between students with and without a mastery orientation. Mastery orientation is relatively strongly connected with high levels of the construct 'activity level' (eta^2=0.08) – students with a mastery orientation tend to

practice more, to take more courses in music and to follow courses at a higher level. They also more often than other students plan a professional career in music, and tend to have a more positive attitude to the music education.

Self-perceptions

Exploratory measurement models for self-perception in musical skills have been developed with SEM technique. An acceptable fit (N=712, Chi^2=34,32, 24 df, RMSEA 0.025) can be achieved only in a model where a general factor influences three sub-factors who in turn control the ten items used in the instrument. One of the sub-factors covers items that concerns basic musical ability, one sub-factor covers items concerning musical creativity and the last sub-factor, called 'musical technique' covers items concerning qualities achieved through musical training and the perceived reception by an audience. The sub-factors are relatively independent – slightly more than 60% of the variance in 'basic musical ability' and 'musical creativity' is specific for the factor, while 'musical technique' has more in common with the general factor and only 30% specific variance. Boys have a markedly higher self-perception of musical creativity than girls (eta^2=0.09) and a slightly higher self-perception of basic musical ability (eta^2=0.02).

Correlations between self-perception and study results are significant. The highest correlation is found between self-perception of technical skill and mean of expected marks (R^2 = 0.18) – the other two sub-factors give only small contributions. Compared to earlier results, correlations are higher than those reported by Vispoel (1993) for mark in music and self-perception in music among pupils in the 7th grade, but generally lower than correlations for other school subjects summarised by Skaalvik (1996).

Interactions between motivational constructs

A question central to attribution theory is the link between attributions and self-perceptions. A relatively strong correlation exists in a multivariate analysis with the three components of self-perception as independent, and the nine attributional categories as dependent variables: R^2=47% of the variance in attributions after success can be explained by self-perception. For attributions after failure, the statistic is R^2=28%. More substantial correlations with self-perception, however, exist only for certain attributions, especially that to ability (r=0.64 in success attributions, r= -0.47 in fai-

lure attributions). The comparatively high correlation in both cases shows that the student's perception of musical ability has a major effect on how she/he explains successes and failures. An indication that many students perceive ability as a stable trait is that attributions to ability has a markedly greater correlation with the component 'basic musical ability' in self-perception than with the component 'technical skill'.

Existence of mastery goals also implies certain differences in the connection between attributions and study results. Overall, in both success and failure situations this connection is strongest among students without mastery goals (for success attributions R^2=0,17 as compared to R^2=0,08 students with mastery goals). I interpret this as an indication that students with mastery goal tend to keep a focus on learning regardless of their attributions, but that other students are more influenced by the perceived causes of the success.

Figure 1 summarises the results from the analysis with linear regression, ANOVA and multivariate regression techniques – only the part that illustrates achievement behaviours and its effect on study results are determined in a structural equation model.

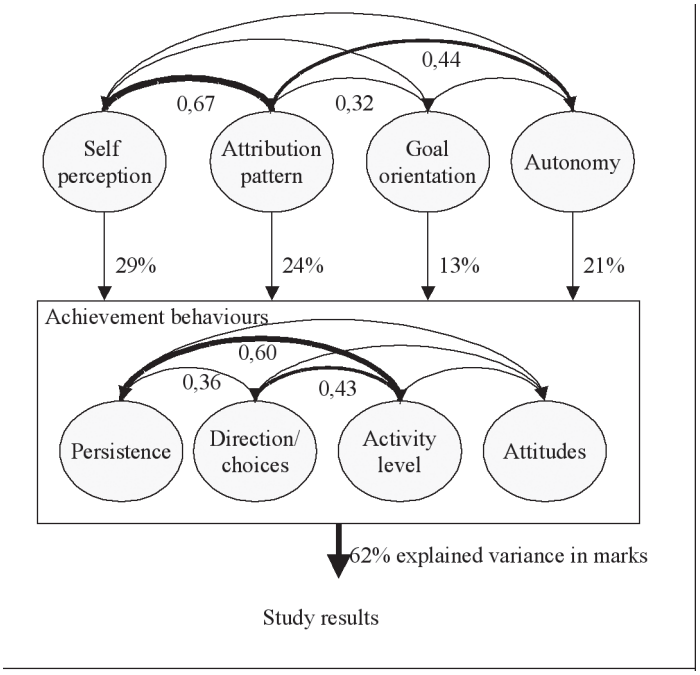

Figure 1 Interactions between motivational constructs, achievement behaviours and study results

As seen in Figure 1, strong or moderately strong correlations exist between attributions versus the three other motivational constructs, while remaining correlations (not shown) are weaker. All four motivational constructs exert an influence on achievement behaviours (in Figure 1 indicated as R^2:s), strongest for self-perceptions and attributional patterns. The relatively weak effect from goal orientation and autonomy level might be an artefact, due to weaknesses in the measurement of these constructs.

Gradually, when working with the analysis of the present study, I have come to view motivation in learning according to a model illustrated in the Figure 2.

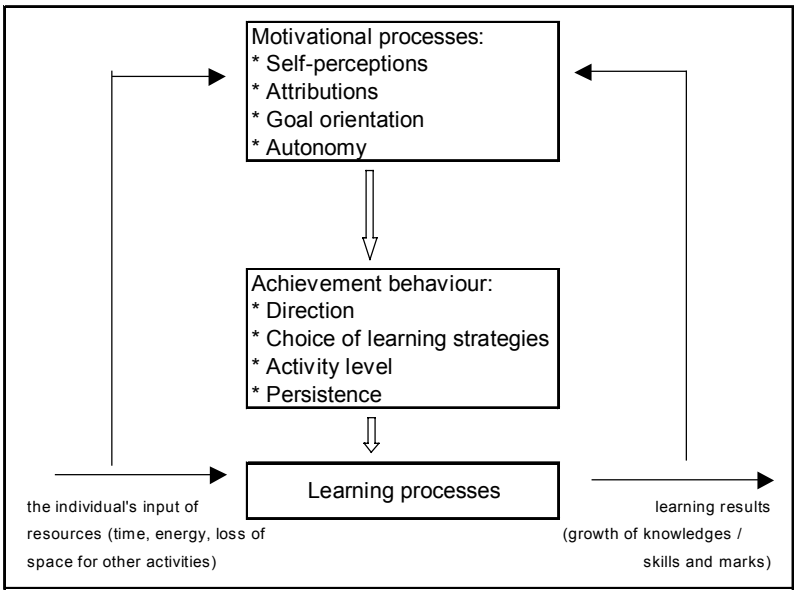

Figure 2: Relations between motivational processes, achievement behaviour and learning processes.

From the starting-point that motivational processes are the cognitive processes used by the individual in regulating her/his learning, I propose that motivational processes can be viewed as a processing of information according to models of the type used to illustrate management of organisations. The information that is processed encompasses both input of resources and learning results. Resource input should be understood as the resources used by the individual in the learning process, that is, her/his time and energy, and its 'alternative cost', or alternative activities the individual cannot pursue because of limited time and energy. Learning results encompass both the direc-

tly observable results, such as results in tests and verbal feedback, growth in knowledge and skills, and the growth in self-esteem and satisfaction that accompany this self-fulfilment. Other examples of learning results can be 'social effects' or effects pertinent to the individual's relations with others.

Motivational processes are often subconscious, but can, at least in principle, be made aware to the individual, or developed into meta-cognitive processes. Components in these motivational processes can be structured into self-perception, attributions, goal orientation and autonomy. Motivational processes directly influence achievement behaviours, such as the individual's choices, effort, cognitive engagement and persistence. These achievement behaviours influence in their turn learning processes, resulting in differences in learning results.

Autonomy is pertinent to the potential for different actions of the individual, and how aware she/he is of these potentials. In contexts where the learning process to a high degree is regulated by the teacher or others, the individual's motivational processes have little room for influence on choice of activity or learning strategy. However, a certain 'private sphere' can always be expected to exist – even students whose learning is very strictly regulated by others have room for choices between working hard and conscientiously, or listlessly and disengaged.

Concluding discussion

Students' interpretations of causes of successes and failures in their learning – their attributions – can be seen as the core in their cognitive processing of information about the self and the learning task. Self-perception is an important factor in this cognitive processing, but still only one of several in these interpretations. The individual's goal orientation is also linked to attributions, as goal orientation governs what is perceived as a success or a failure. Even the study of autonomy and self-regulation are related to attributions, as the level of autonomy influences the extent to which causes of success and failure are perceived as controllable or uncontrollable.

I therefore suggest that the study of attributions is central in motivational research. The methods for attribution studies, however, might be further developed. A systematic measuring of the attributions students make at various stages of their musical development coupled with a study of the conclusions students draw and how they change their learning strategies, would be fruitful to furthering our understanding of

the different patterns of cognitive processing that students employ when developing their skills in music.

In conclusion, one major implication of this study for music education is the importance of feedback. Motivational theories might help the teacher in a direct manner, by providing a framework within which the teacher and the student can interpret and discuss events in the learning process.

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From Guided Exhibition to Shopping and Preoccupied Assimilation[1]

Modernised conditions for adolescents' musical learning

Claes Ericsson

Introduction, purpose and research question

In the Swedish compulsory school system there is a trend towards increased student influence. School ideologists have for at least ten years put a strong emphasis on this issue (Englund, 1999). This tendency is in line with a more general direction in Western societies, which in many aspects has moved toward a greater emphasis on individualisation (Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992; Bauman, 1998). Based on these developments, the main reason for undertaking this study was to contribute to the discussion about different aspects of learning with a starting point in the issue of how adolescents experience musical learning.

The parameters on which the study is based are strongly influenced by the age in which we live. Adolescents all over the world spend a great deal of time listening to music (Sundin, 1978; Folkestad, 1996), and a multi-national culture industry distribu-

1 This chapter is based on the author's doctoral dissertation thesis From guided exhibition to shopping and preoccupied assimilation. Modernised conditions for adolescents' musical learning accepted in 2002 by Lund University, Sweden and published as a book by Malmö Academy of Music.

tes different types of lifestyle options in which music has its own distinct place. Thus, music from a 'youth perspective' can be considered as being loaded with *values*, and a specific genre of music will also symbolise certain attitudes toward the environment.

Another current aspect is that learning at a higher level might be achieved by informal processes in different settings. New information technologies make it possible to acquire knowledge in everyday contexts that in many aspects can compete with, or even outshine formal education in schools. Ziehe (1986a) identifies a lack of *aura* in contemporary schools. In line with the *detraditionalisation* of society, which, among other things, evokes *reflexivity* (Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992), there is an increased questioning of different societal phenomena, including the school. Thus, according to Ziehe, the former authority of the school as an indisputable residence of learning has now been seriously eroded in contemporary society. Fornäs (1996) and Hargreaves (1998) also point out that the school might be considered as an institution characterised by slow structural change. This standpoint confirms the supposition that formal education has certain problems in a rapidly changing world.

In the light of this, it can be presumed that a tension exists between the way formal music education in schools is carried out and the ways in which music is acquired in everyday contexts. If the intentions outlined above regarding student influence are to be realised, educators must learn to cope with the problems that arise when the two ways of acquiring musical knowledge meet in the classroom.

Therefore, even though the emphasis of this research project is on learning in schools, it moves in and between the two fields of *musical learning in school* and *musical learning in everyday contexts.*

Consequently, the major purpose of the study is: *to examine how adolescents in conversation give expression to how they comprehend musical learning, and to construct a number of concepts with which this comprehension can be understood theoretically.*

The research questions are formulated as follows: *What signification has the term musical learning for adolescents; what assumptions and conditions are experienced to surround different situations of musical learning; what kind of knowledge is developed, and how are musical learning in the everyday context and music education in school legitimated from an adolescent perspective?*

Research with relevance for the study

It has been claimed that youth music might be problematic to integrate in formal educational settings (e.g., Fornäs et al., 1988; Fornäs, 1996): Rock music is considered as a sub cultural form of expression that is loaded with *values* that do not correspond with the ones that ought to be taught in schools. Furthermore, it is argued that the methods of learning and the long-term learning processes found in schools, do not fit with the way rock music is commonly assimilated.

Other researchers stress, however, the importance of integrating youth music with the school context (Stålhammar, 1995; Hebert & Campbell, 2000). This standpoint is common amongst educational researchers who believe that youth music motivates students and that it has a position in today's society that is difficult to ignore.

The following is a brief description of research which has been helpful when discussing the results of the study:

Kruger (1998) studied two music teachers' discourse on music teaching. One of them considered a transmitting of musical values as the most important task of a teacher and the other one worshiped the communicating function of music.

Stålhammars (2000) work on English and Swedish adolescents' comprehension of music shows that English adolescents attach more value to the musical knowledge acquired in school, while it is the other way around with the Swedish adolescents; the latter rate musical learning in everyday contexts as more important.

Collaboration in learning situations is covered by MacDonald and Miell (2000) and the main result of the study is that a more fruitful collaboration was found in groups of friends than in groups where the students did not know each other.

Gustavsson (2000) delivers a historical view of Swedish music pedagogy from 1900-1960. He uses Bourdieu's field theory in discussing different, often opposite, approaches to music education.

In a study that focuses on the learning of young musicians, Saar (1999) distinguishes two dimensions of musical activity. The first one is orientated towards learning and the second towards playing.

Finally, Lilliestam (2001) gives an account of how adolescents think and speak about music, and one result in his study, relevant to this study, is that rock music can no longer exclusively be considered as youth music. The polarisation between different generations regarding musical taste is no longer apparent in the way it used to be some decades ago.

Theoretical foundation

The theoretical framework of the study is based on two different areas that have some common aspects, namely *theories of modernity* and *philosophy of music education*.

The theories of modernity can be considered as a more general overarching perspective into which the philosophies of music education easily fit. Modernity is a wide area and only aspects relevant to the study are elucidated. These are mass culture and avant-gardism, discourse, individualisation and standardisation, differentiation, meta-narratives, control and self control and the school as a public room. The role of mass culture and avant-gardism in the modern age are discussed from the starting point of authors such as Adorno, Benjamin, Lyotard and Ziehe. Mass culture and avant-gardism have a problematic relationship, at the same time presupposing and criticising each other. Without mass culture there would be no reason for the avant-garde to exist, because, in a way, the avant-garde may be considered as a reaction against the standardised forms of expression and art production that take place within the culture industry. Furthermore, a main issue is the proposal that the modern artistic avant-gardism prepared the way for the post modern aesthetic condition. Adorno's attack on popular music is also exposed together with his concepts of *plugging* and *pseudo individualisation*. Plugging refers to a strategy where continuous exposure to a certain type of music or certain songs results in people becoming accustomed to these works. Pseudo individualisation refers to a tendency amongst popular music listeners to search for music they can call 'their own', thereby demonstrating individuality.

Another aspect of modernity is an awareness that the world is socially constructed and that people live in and through discourse. From the turn of the 20th century the concept of *discourse* has been discussed in different ways by authors such as Sausurre, Lèvi-Strauss Lacàn and Althusser. Michel Foucault is, however, the one whose work on discourse has been most influential. Foucault drew attention to the phenomenon in the 1960s, but nowadays this way of conceptualising reality is accepted not only in scientific circles but also more generally. A *discourse* is characterised as a certain way of acting or speaking. To create a discourse a group of people have to talk about certain things in the same way. It can start with a few followers and then the group gets bigger and suddenly a discourse is born. Discourses change over time; they die out and new ones are born. Discourses are also materialized. A discourse can thus be expressed through material things like buildings and furniture or as a piece of art.

Individualisation and *standardisation* are two main features of modernity that are

identified by commentators from separate paradigms (Adorno, 1941/1987; Foucault, 1974/1993; Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992; Ziehe; 1986b). Individualisation implies that the individual is, to a greater extent than before, able and forced to make his or her own decisions, with the result that this *freedom of choice* thereby appears to be a concept which comes to the fore. *Self-knowledge* and *reflexivity* also become necessary in an individualised world without fixed possibilities and values. This standardisation manifests itself in different ways. Adorno (1941/1987) identifies it in popular music and mass culture, Giddens (1991) speaks of a *globalisation* and a *regionalisation* which occurs at the same time, and Beck (1992) comprehends the contemporary institutionalisation of man as a form of standardisation. Foucault (1974/1993) points out the existing connection between standardisation and individualisation: to make people standardised in different aspects, a categorisation regarding individuality must be achieved. Thus, the two concepts walk hand in hand and have a dialectical relationship.

Differentiation is another distinct feature of modernity discussed by theorists such as Habermas (1986). The community is divided into various systems that have a tendency toward *self referentiality*. A consensus valid for the entire community is thereby difficult to achieve. The differentiation has to be fought against and several commentators such as Habermas (1986), Giddens (1991) and Beck (1992) call for autonomous self-organised groups that can challenge the *system*. Certain youth sub cultures might be seen as such groups (Ziehe 1986a) and music achieves a central position in the struggle.

Meta narrative is a concept developed by Lyotard (1984), which can be understood as a story about 'how something is'. A meta-narrative is dependent on a norm for its legitimisation. Its task is to explain existence as a whole. Even smaller narratives can be constructed and an interesting application that could easily be achieved is on institutional settings, for example, the school. Thus, one question would be: what narratives govern the activity?

Another concept in common with narratives is Hargreaves (1998) *safe simulations*. A safe simulation may be understood as an action that gives security in a false sense. How does a teacher, for example, know if the knowledge acquired in school will be of a lasting value to students? If not, the activity in school can appear as a *safe simulation*.

Control and *self control* are important issues in modernity. Foucault (1974/1993, 1988) has shown that a transfer from outer control to self control has gradually been taking place in modern society. According to him, this is a strategy to rationalise the community. If individuals govern themselves resources can be liberated for other purposes.

This phenomenon is observed in school. When students collaborate there is often a leader who governs the others, and this might be considered as one step towards *self control*. The categorisation regarding behaviour, diligence and talent also implies that students might try to correct themselves in order to increase their performance.

Ziehe (1986a) identifies a lack of *aura* in the contemporary school and calls for a new attitude that restores the position the school formerly had. He is aware that the school has become anonymous, abstract and hostile towards human beings, but does not advocate the intimacy and psychologising which is evident with reform and alternative pedagogy. Instead he interprets the school as a *public room* where a meeting between teacher and students takes place, but without an exposure of the whole human being. There ought to exist a certain *distance* except in areas of common interest, where an *intensification* of the relationship can occur. Ziehe does not point out any strategy to restore the *public room*, but he talks about the necessity of knowledge having a utility value (1980), and he also points out that there is often a disregard of *technologies* (e.g., the ability to play an instrument) in pedagogical contexts (1989).

Hargreaves (1998) advertises a period of transition, which, among other things, is shown as a changeover to a post-industrial society characterised by a constantly increased alteration and an awareness of the relative nature of the truth. This circumstance creates problems for the school, which traditionally is seen as an institution that is transmitting true knowledge. Hargreaves also sees it as a monolithic institution lacking the flexibility that is necessary in the new age. Secondary schools and colleges are considered to be modern colossi that must be administered by hierarchical and bureaucratic systems. He also stresses that the acquiring of standardised knowledge should not be the main aim in a future school. Instead, the focus should be on adaptability, a sense of responsibility, flexibility, cooperativeness, creativity, risk taking and an ability to learn.

The concept of equivalence is of great importance in the Swedish school. Englund (1999) points out that the concept gradually has changed in meaning. Some twenty years ago it referred to a collective concept of democracy, but during the 1990's this view was more and more displaced by an individual concept of democracy. An emphasis on the sovereignty of the individual as well as the individual's responsibility for his or her actions and life came to the fore.

The implications of this change is that the *freedom of choice* turns out to be an important issue, and Englund (1999) discusses whether the school should have a responsibility to present 'the good things of life', after which the student can choose what is

preferable, or leave this to other agents (social, cultural) in the environment. A paradox is that if the presentation of 'the good things of life' is being forced on the student, the freedom of choice will not be materialised until quite late in the process.

As noted above, the theoretical foundation, with the exception of the theories of modernity, contains a part dedicated to *the philosophy of music pedagogy*. Two important authors in this field are Bennett Reimer and David Elliott. They have conflicting ideas about how music education in schools should be carried out and the polarity between them provides a good ground for elucidating the area. Reimer (1970/1989) claims that music education in schools ought to be focused on listening. The educational aim ought to be the development of 'good listeners'. Furthermore, students should be able to critically examine and appraise different types of music with music making taking on a subordinate role. On the other hand, Elliott (1995) considers music to be an entirely practical activity, and argues that listening in the classroom should only be carried out as a complimentary activity to music making.

Another author interested in the philosophy of music pedagogy is Estelle Jorgensen. She develops several conceptions of music education (1997) which can be useful in a discussion regarding different ways of musical learning. *Schooling* is a way of learning music that often takes place in formal settings, such as schools. Interest in the subject matter is not a presupposition for this type of learning, which must be considered as relatively superficial, although types of certain musical knowledge, (e.g., facts), can very well be acquired through schooling. *Training* refers to the methods or ways in which a person is taught or learns skills and acquires knowledge in order to embrace self-knowledge and knowledge about the world. Music making turns out to be a central activity focusing on the process instead of the product. *Eduction* can be seen as a type of learning where the teacher has the important task of providing a stimulating milieu for learning. If the external conditions are present, learning will occur. This is, according to Jorgensen, a sympathetic form of learning, but it has its shortcomings. Though it takes a positive attitude towards learning, the unmotivated, rebellious and non co-operative students cannot be embraced by this type of learning. *Socialisation* and *enculturation* can be seen as effective ways of learning since they are of a more unconscious nature. The learners do not explicitly have to decide whether to learn or not; it just happens.

Methodology and design

The aim of the study, to examine how adolescents in conversations give expression to how they comprehend musical learning, makes clear that the data ought to consist of some form of verbal communication, and I have chosen group conversations or focus groups as methods of data collection. In the field of *philosophy*, language and verbal communication have been subjected to an increased interest during recent years, resulting in a tendency to view the conversation and the dialogue between people as important elements when they construct and constitute knowledge (Habermas, 1987; Kvale, 1997; Säljö 2000).

The analysis of the data contains three levels in accordance with Kvale (1997): (i) the *self-comprehension* of the informants, (ii) *critical common sense* and (iii) *theoretical understanding.* Alvesson and Sköldberg (1994) advocate a way of attacking the analysis that has a lot in common with Kvale's three levels and they also point out that different methods of analysis should not be seen as opposed to each other. Instead they can be considered to enrich the analysis. Alvesson and Sköldberg refer to a method called *kvadro hermeneutics,* implying an analysis which refers to four different ways of collecting and approaching the material. The first, *data close method,* presupposes an extensive empirical database that is carefully categorised, and meta-theoretical discussions are moved to the background. The second, *hermeneutics*, is still dependent on empirical data, but the analysis is deeper and more reflective, and therefore the material can be less extensive. The last two ways of approach are *critical theory* and *postmodernism*. Both these perspectives are characterised by having a well-devised meta theory, and even if they in certain aspects might be considered as contradicting perspectives, it is possible to bring them together within the concept of the *theory dependent method*. In this method, the connecting of data to a theoretical frame is of vital importance, whereas the systematic collecting of data which is characteristic of the first two approaches, especially *data close method,* is not necessary.

The ambition of the present study is to make use of all these different approaches (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 1994; Kvale, 1997). The data is carefully collected and categorised, and the material is rather extensive. An interpretation regarding the informants' *self-comprehension* is provided in the first part of the result section. There is, however, also an ambition to go beyond the self-comprehension of the adolescents, and the results also include a hermeneutic interpretation. Finally, the level of abstraction is raised when the findings are confronted with theory.

A pre-study was undertaken following the method of participating observation. Along with an extensive pre-understanding, this study provided valuable background knowledge for the analysis.

The data consists of seven group conversations with four to eight people in each group. The study was undertaken with eighth and ninth graders (age 15-16) from three secondary schools in Sweden, including a music group. The conversations lasted about 60 to 80 minutes and were recorded on tape and then carefully transcribed. The analysis followed the structure as outlined above.

Results

The presentation of the results in Ericsson (2002) was divided into two sections. The first section contained one of the group conversations, or interviews, presented as a narrative. In research inspired by post modern thinking there is often an ambition to expose the empirical material as much as possible so that a reader can make her own analysis. In such case, the power relations between researcher and informant will be reduced. Here, an analysis was undertaken with its starting point exclusively in the adolescents' self-comprehension. Since no categorisation is done in this section it is hard to point out any distinct results. Still it is possible to distinguish a main issue in the interview. Two different discourses are apparent in the material. In one of them music in school is described as a traditional school subject where all-round education is an important feature. The other one takes a more relativistic standpoint. Music is seen as a cultural phenomenon and the values of different kinds of music are incommensurable.

In the following, a summary of the second result section of Ericsson (2002) is presented. It is divided into three main parts or categories: (a) *presuppositions* for learning, (b) *process* and (c) *product*, in which a number of different themes identified in the data are exposed and discussed. In this section, the analysis shifts between a focus on the adolescents' self-comprehension, and a deeper more reflective interpretation, that corresponds to the second interpretation level outlined above.

Under the first category, *presuppositions*, the following themes are discussed: *Interest, influence, autonomy, ability* and *environment.*

Interest turns out to have a key role in musical learning if this is understood as music making. The majority of the adolescents in the study claim that without interest no

learning will occur. Certain conditions have to be fulfilled for interest to arise. *Influence* is one of them. Social and cultural influences are, according to the adolescents in the study, of vital importance and so is a feeling of *autonomy* in the learning situation. It should be possible to negotiate with the teacher regarding content, method and form, otherwise the interest might fade out. A certain *ability* is also perceived by the students as important in sustaining interest and it should be observed that it is not entirely a question of biological talent, it is rather an ability that stems from several other factors such as pedagogy, societal and cultural causes, strength of character and, of course, motivation. A favourable *environment* is also experienced as a prerequisite for musical learning understood as music making. Access to instruments is, of course, necessary and possibilities to perform are important in sustaining interest. Different institutional settings, (e.g., schools and leisure time organisations like youth recreation centres), have resources to provide a suitable milieu, and the adolescents in the study have nothing against such an institutional interference.

The following sections, dealing with the second category, *process*, contain the following themes: *Culture school, Learning in rock groups, Compulsory school, Institutional learning compared to leisure time learning, Unconscious and conscious learning* and *music listening.*

The teaching in the culture school is described as stiff and formal. Progression is a key word and everything must be done according to special methods and plans. This also includes the content such as the musical material. Overall, the student influence is described as very poor.

Learning in rock groups is considered to be more free than institutional learning and one aspect that the informants put forward is the autonomy present in a rock group. The members have full influence on which music to play as well as the interpretation.

Two different *discourses* of learning were identified in compulsory school. The first one is very wide and includes both learning in school and outside school. This discourse is named *music*, according to the definition of the adolescents in the study. In school this discourse is materialised through music making and during leisure time music listening is the most apparent activity.

The other discourse is named the *school subject music,* and refers solely to music as a school subject. This discourse is narrow and legitimised only through its position in the school system. When it comes to music making, the adolescents in the study gratefully accept help from teachers with training skills and they are not uncomfortable with performing in institutional settings. They demand, however, a certain au-

tonomy regarding their choice of music and interpretation. Institutional learning and more informal learning without a teacher are perceived as complementing each other. Furthermore, a kind of unconscious learning is identified. The adolescents in the study have a tendency to experience learning as an activity that demands concentration and an explicitly pronounced intention to learn. Yet their discussion shows that there exists an unconscious learning of, for example, texts, melodies and even harmonic figures when listening to music in a passive way, that is, when another activity is in primary focus. Music listening can be an end, but it might also be a means to achieve another end, namely music making. If music listening is an end, there seems to be no need for verbal explanation or analysis. In the other case, however, there are different levels of analysis. Music listening can, according to the participants, be a source of inspiration, it can be a means for recreating songs and learning to play in a certain musical style, and finally it can be a means to create one's own music. When listening to music a person is exposed to influences which colour his or her own production. Finally, some of the adolescents emphasise that music education in school is an important forum for practising collaboration.

The third part, or category, in this section, *product*, contains a number of themes which refer to what comes out of musical learning and how it is legitimised by the adolescents in the study. The following themes are discussed: *Self knowledge, aesthetical experience and consciousness, identity, life quality, familiarity, self- realisation, cultivation, exposure and initiation, education, feeling of meaninglessness, marks and pleasure.* Most of these themes refer to learning as a work with the self. This attitude finds expression solely in the discourse of music. In the activity of music making it is possible to create an identity and to find a niche for self-realisation. Music making also has a therapeutic dimension, which can be used to increase the experience of life quality. This also goes for unfocused music listening that often has a function as an emotional reinforcement and catalyst. An aesthetical consciousness is identified when music listening goes hand in hand with music making. The two activities stimulate each other and a deeper familiarity and ability to analyse and verbally explain the music is thereby developed. Activities in the discourse of music are legitimised through the concept of *pleasure.*

The school subject of Music is legitimised through an idea that the crucial task is to expose students to different kinds of music and musical instruments, after which they can choose what suites them. In the discourse of *the school subject Music,* marks turn out to be an important instrument in motivating students. Furthermore, the content of the education seems to be unimportant except as a medium for achieving high marks. The

adolescents also give expression to a feeling that the acquired knowledge is only valid in the school. In this light, the school seems to be a self-referential system.

Discussion

In this discussion section the findings are confronted with the theory outlined above and a couple of metaphors and concepts are thereby constructed. The intention is to create an instrument by which the adolescents' experience of musical learning can be understood. The metaphors and concepts are: *The value liberal room, guided exhibition, shopping, preoccupied assimilation, content and form, dominating discourses and others, the self care function and transmigration.*

The value-liberal room is a proposal of how to re-establish the public room of the school that Ziehe (1989) calls for. The adolescents in this study have no problem with an institutional environment and a teacher helping them to train their skills. However, preference and interpretation seem to be parameters in musical learning that ought to be left alone. Thus, a value liberal room is a classroom or a field of action, in which the adolescents gain respect and autonomy regarding preference and interpretation related issues, and the educational aim is to supply tools (skills) for expression and a suitable milieu for music making and performance. In such a room the communication that Habermas (1987), Giddens (1991) and Beck (1992) call for, might be realised.

Guided exhibition is a metaphor that illustrates the way the adolescents in the present study legitimised music as a school subject. They gave expression to a standpoint that the purpose of music in schools is to expose and initiate. Two narratives of music education can thereby be formulated in accordance with Lyotards (1984) definition.

1. An important task in music teaching is to systematically expose students to *different kinds of music* whereupon they can choose what suits them.

2. An important task in music teaching is to expose students to *different activities* whereupon they can choose what suits them.

These seem to be two narratives that certainly exist in the students' world of ideas, but, according to their statements in the study, no longer have any relevance. The modern information technology in the hands of the music industry provides a perfect

instrument of influence. It can be questioned if a *guided exhibition* in school can compete with the *plugging* that continually goes on in the adolescents everyday world. Thus, a *guided exhibition* seems to be a *safe simulation* in accordance with Hargreaves' (1998) definition.

Shopping is a metaphor that illustrates the way in which the adolescents in this study acquire preference. This is done in an individualistic manner. They stroll around 'the shop windows of music', picking up what suits them. The *shopping* takes place to a certain extent in a standardised musical milieu, but there is no doubt that it also involves a striving toward autonomy and demarcation. The simultaneously ongoing standardisation and individualisation which Adorno (1941/1987), Giddens (1991) and Beck (1992) identify, is applicable to the phenomenon of *shopping*. Adorno, for example, claims that there is a tendency among popular music listeners to speak of music as if it were a property. Such an attitude is also valid for the results of this study, where the adolescents give expression to an ambition to search for music to call 'their own'. However, this searching is experienced as random in certain aspects and contradicts the way music is often exposed in school. Hargreaves (1998) characterises learning in school as strongly dependent on structure, method and progression. Thus, *shopping* does not correspond with learning in schools.

Preoccupied assimilation is a concept that refers to the way learning can occur in a relatively unconscious manner. Some of the adolescents in the study gave expression to a standpoint that learning is intimately associated with focusing and concentration. Yet their discussion also shows that they learn a lot when listening is a background activity, even if they do not think that learning occurs in such a situation. Traditionally, active listening has been the preferable way of listening and in music education it is often thought that music listening ought to be accompanied by different tasks in addition to the listening. This attitude is supported by commentators such as Adorno (1941/1987) and Reimer (1989). However, Benjamin (1937-1938/ 1987) claims that artistic products can be assimilated in a more preoccupied way and his standpoint is confirmed by this study. Maybe it is time to reflect upon the circumstances of learning with the purpose of constructing a definition that better matches the current age.

Content and *form* are two concepts that usually occur in a discussion regarding the school. Some of the adolescents in this study consider the ability to collaborate as the most important knowledge that comes out of music education in school. This attitude can be seen as a move from *content* to *form*, since it does not matter what kind of music the teaching is based on. The only function of the music is to serve as a medium

for training collaboration skills. Foucault's (1974/1993) analysis of the 19th century's school shows that a focus on form has always been present, even if the common conception is that the main task is to transmit cognitive knowledge. Stubenrauch (1983) also pays attention to the governing role of the school and recently Lundahl (2000) points out that there has been a change of focus in education. Collaborative ability, adaptability and self-governmental ability are considered to be as important as cognitive knowledge and content in teaching. The implication would be that the content, in this case different kinds of music, become unimportant in an educational perspective but still important from a student perspective. If no claims regarding the content are raised from the school establishment, an adaptation to local preferences would be possible to a higher extent, which might exert a positive influence on a student's motivation to learn.

As seen in the results, two different *discourses* can be distinguished in the material: *music as a school subject* and *music in school as music.* In the first one, music is seen as a conventional school subject with the focus on an all-round education and the teaching carried out in a formalised way. In the other one, influences of how music is used in adolescents' everyday contexts are apparent. Musical learning turns out to be seen as more free regarding content, form and progression. Furthermore, the teachers' task as a transmitter of musical values - a distinct feature of traditional music teaching - is gone. Instead, the teaching will focus on learning skills and establishing an environment suitable for musical expression.

In one of the group conversations a thoroughly prevailing theme was the incommensurability between different preference related discourses. One of the schools in the study exhibits a dominating discourse, which comes to expression in the fact that the only activity is music making in the popular music genre. This discourse provides a rather deep knowledge in a narrow area and most of the students are strongly motivated, since the content refers to their everyday experience of music. Yet there are some students who consider themselves as marginalised. These students would prefer a broad music education with an emphasis on orientation.

The self-care function is a concept that refers to musical learning as a means to take care of the *self.* According to the themes outlined in the result section, one important aspect of musical learning in the discourse of *music* is the therapeutic function. It also seems that an important end in musical learning to many of the adolescents in the study is to strengthen the *self. Individualisation* and *reflexivity* are two important features of modernity (Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992) and these concepts can easily be adapted to

the finding that learning has a *self-care function*. This is also confirmed by Elliott (1995), claiming that learning understood as music making refers to *life values* important to every human being. If this self-care dimension of musical learning is taken seriously, it will bring implications for music education in school. The fact has to be accepted that musical learning may attract some persons while others may be totally uninterested. This is a form of individualisation of the means to achieve personal satisfaction and happiness. One person can achieve it through musical learning and another through something else. Furthermore, students must have an increased influence regarding the content in the music education, because motivation and interest is intimately connected with music as a self-care activity.

The metaphor *transmigration* refers to the way a modern aesthetic conception occupies a post-modern body. Especially the participants in the music group take the stance that authenticity is lacking in contemporary musical productions. Furthermore they strive for being unique in a musical world where everything seems to have already been done. This uniqueness is not constructed through an attempt to create something entirely new, they rather combine elements from the huge body of music that exists and they also use modern music technology for this task.

Wellmer (1986) illustrates a possible development through the metaphor of *the modern cast its skin* which means that modernity is still alive but it shows a new face. Lyotard (1986) also gives a hint in the same direction through his cryptic statement that anything that can be regarded as modern at first has to be post-modern. His claim can be interpreted through the metaphor *transmigration*: a post-modern body is born, but soon it will be occupied by a modern soul and thereby, sooner or later, it might be regarded as modern.

Conclusion

A reflection regarding a possible future stance on music education in schools can be carried out from the starting point in the concepts and metaphors outlined above. *The value liberal room* can hereby be seen as central. In order to create a value liberal room one has to take several of the other concepts and metaphors into consideration. *Shopping* and *preoccupied assimilation* in certain aspects refer to non-traditional ways of musical learning marking off a move from the narrative of *guided exhibition*. Teachers thereby have to reflect upon the way these changed conditions ought to influence their

teaching. An attention to *the self-care function* of learning will also have implications for music education in school. A humble attitude towards personal choices of objects for self-realisation must be developed, since interest and motivation will be crucial factors. If *form* is considered to be more important than *content*, *dominating discourses* inevitably nourished by the concepts and metaphors discussed above, can be accepted to a higher degree than if a standardised content governs the musical activities in school. The metaphor of *transmigration* suggests that within and between different genres there still exists a desire to categorise music as 'good' or 'bad'. Thus, this is not a new situation aesthetically. In conclusion, music educators in schools ought to consider the above outlined *modernised* conditions for musical learning, and thereby reflect upon what a move from *guided exhibition* to *shopping* and *preoccupied assimilation* might imply for music education.

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Children's Practice of Computer-based Composition[1]

Bo Nilsson

Introduction

Today's children live in a world where music in all its different forms is a significant factor of their everyday life. The view that children are capable of spontaneously creating music by singing or using musical instruments is now widely accepted and based on empirical research (Barrett, 1996, 1998b; Folkestad, 1996; Folkestad, Hargreaves, & Lindström, 1998; Pond, 1981; Sundin, 1998). These findings are consistent with Vygotskij's (1998) view that creativity should be regarded as a basic human function, rather than as a special gift granted to only a few.

Recent technological developments and the increasing impact of the media mean that listening to and creating music constitute a major and integrated part of many young people's lives. It is also true that much musical learning takes place outside schools, in situations where there is no teacher, and where the intention of the activity

1 This article is based on the author's doctoral dissertation thesis *Jag kan göra hundra låtar. Barns musikskapande med digitala verktyg ['I can make a hundred songs'. Children's creative music making with digital tools],* accepted in 2002 by Lund University, Sweden and published as a book by Malmö Academy of Music.

is not to learn about music, but to play music, listen to music, dance to music, or be together with music. Each of these examples typifies situations in which music is experienced and learned, one way or another. Today, this is further accentuated as a result of computers and new technology, and all the musical activities on the Internet (Folkestad, 1998). In a study by Nilsson (1992) it was found that young children, aged 3–6, had their own tape recorders, thus being able to play recorded music on their own. Today many children have their own computers at home, by which they explore the musical landscape in computer games and on the Internet. As a consequence of this, music teachers never meet musically ignorant, untutored, or uneducated pupils (Folkestad, 1998; Nilsson, 2003).

In his study of children's spontaneous musical creativity in the 1930s, Pond (1981) concluded that, to children, musical improvisation is 'the heart of the matter in the development of the innate musicality they evidently possess' (p. 11). Sundin's (1963) study of children's spontaneous singing at two day-care centres in Stockholm, Sweden (reported in retrospect in English in Sundin, 1998), shared Pond's naturalistic approach to children's musical creativity. Sundin was interested in both spontaneous and constructive creative music making. He observed speech, singing and other musical activities, and concludes that creative music making in the early childhood seems to be a way to 'express an attitude towards the world and a way to approach different problems' (Sundin, 1963, p. 141; our translation). According to Sundin (1998), children 'work hard to make the world meaningful, including the world of music' (p. 53). Subsequent research of preschool children's spontaneous singing has much in common with Sundin's study: Bjørkvold (1990) regarded children's songs as basic components of their play, and Whiteman (2001), who studied Australian preschool children's spontaneous singing during free play, found that children used songs for specific purposes, such as communicating with others, accompanying play, experimenting with sound, or just singing for its own sake.

Burnard's (2000) study of 12-year-old children's engagement and reflections concerning their experiences of improvising and composing, indicates that the distinction between improvisation and composing appears to be artificial when studying children's creative music-making. She found that the children in different ways included improvisation in the composition process. Burnard also concluded that 'improvising and composing seemed to be as much about the children's relationship to musical activity as improvising and composing were to each other' (p. 20).

Folkestad (1996) performed a study of 15-16-year-old children's computer-based

creative music making. In the analysis, six qualitatively different ways of creating music, divided into two main categories, horizontal and vertical, were found. Horizontal music *creation* begins by creating the melody, the harmonies and the form of the composition from beginning to end, with or without using the computer. Only after this, is the computer equipment used for arrangement and instrumentation. In contrast, in vertical music creation, the tune is created section by section, and the various sections are completed with all instruments, before moving on to the next section. Hence, in the horizontal categories, composition and arranging are separate processes, whereas in the vertical categories composition and arranging are one integrated process (Folkestad, et al.).

In his study Folkestad (1996) also found three qualitatively different descriptions of how musical ideas arise: (i) the starting point of the creation is an image of a musical idea, (ii) the work starts by defining a musical style, and (iii) the musical idea arises while playing an instrument (p. 188).

When a musical idea arises while playing an instrument, it brings improvisation into the composition process. Folkestad (1998) describes improvisation as 'instant composition' (p. 109) performed by its creator. A composition, on the other hand, is, according to Folkestad, 'a product which can be separated from its creator and performed without the presence of its composer' (p. 109).

Kratus (1989) concluded that only children aged 9 and older are able to compose with form and structure, and that this has developmental grounds. This view is challenged by Barrett (1996) who in her study collected 137 compositions from children aged between 6 and 12, and found that the children used various structural devises such as repetition, sequences, inversion and achievement of closure. Furthermore, the children used alternation between two or more ideas, abstraction of a musical idea from one context to another, and large-scale structures or forms.

As found in Folkestad (1996), children may not always be able to discuss their creative music making verbally, nor the meaning they associate with their musical activities. Barrett (1998b) points out that if the researcher stresses verbal response from the children, this might lead to an 'underestimation of their capacity to respond aesthetically' (p. 60). She maintains that it is mainly through the musical discourse of the children that their aesthetic decision-making can be understood.

It may be concluded that in order to examine children's creative music making, it does not seem sufficient only to interview them about their experiences, nor to delimit the investigations to their musical products. This calls for a research design that inclu-

des both perspectives, and a theoretical framework that makes this analysis possible.

This article is based on a 2-year empirical study of children's computer based creative music making (Nilsson, 2002). The aim of the study was: (i) to describe and clarify the creative processes of computer-based composition; (ii) to describe the musical (products that were) results produced by the children; and (iii) to reach a deeper understanding of what creative music making means to the children. The research method and the theoretical perspective will be described in the following.

An ecocultural perspective

In order to understand the multidimensional character of musical creativity, we apply a theoretical framework called ecocultural perspective, developed in Nilsson (2002). This theoretical framework has its origin and points of departure in four theoretical areas: (i) Gibson's (1979) concept affordances; (ii) orality; (iii) theories of play; and (iv) theories of chance.

The first point of departure concerns learning and creative activities in informal and everyday situations (Lave, 1988), and a view of musical learning as cultural practice (Folkestad, 1998). Gibson's (1979) concept of affordances describes the suggestions of meaning (Qvarsell, 1998) offered to the individual by the environment. On the basis of this, Folkestad (1996) proposes a definition of creativity, or rather of acting creatively, as the ability to perceive affordances.

The second point of departure emphasises that music and speech are sounding phenomena, which only exist as a whole (Ong, 1982). According to Vygotsky (1978), language is our most powerful psychological tool, and oral practice constitutes an important part of a situated perspective in order to understand music, musical practice and musical creativity.

In the third theoretical area, play is considered as a way of creating meaning in musical activities. Play, according to Huizinga (1955) and Caillois (1961), is something we do for its own sake. It is free, separate, uncertain, unproductive, 'make-believe' and yet governed by rules. Play with a lower degree of order is, according to Caillois (1961), associated with diversion, turbulence and improvisation, while play with a higher degree of order is associated with effort, patience, skill and ingenuity.

In the fourth point, these three theoretical points of departure are linked to chance, uncertainty and unpredictable events. Bateson (1979) argued that creative thinking always includes an element of chance. The nature of play is incompatible with an

outcome known in advance, according to Caillois (1961).

Together, these theoretical points of departure emerge in an *ecocultural perspective*, in which learning, improvisation and creativity are seen as taking place within everyday activities, and as a basic human function.

Method and research design

The methodological approach, which is qualitative in character, might be described as inspired by anthropological and ethnographical methods. This approach includes an attempt to study children's musical creativity, with the aspiration of showing respect for, and interest in, the children's musical worlds.

Digital tools offer a way for young, musically untrained children to express their musical ideas. In their creative music making, the participating children were using a synthesiser with a keyboard, together with a professional computer sequencer program. The study was carried out in a multi-ethnic Swedish school over a period of 18 months. All nine children from year 2 in an age-integrated school class were participating in the study. At the beginning of the study, the participants, five girls and four boys, were 6-8 years old.

Each composition process took place in one succession without interruption. The children's creative music making was investigated by collecting different types of data: (i) step-by-step computer MIDI-files collected using the Save As-method (Folkestad, 1996); (ii) participant observations; and (iii) interviews conducted throughout the project.

In the first phase of the project, the children were given tasks, framed as invitations, to create music inspired by pictures related to the themes of Landscape and Water, respectively. The aim of the researcher was to intervene as little as possible during the children´s work and the participants only received instructions referring to the use of the synthesiser and the computer software.

In the second phase of the project, in order to make the invitations to create music more open-ended, the instruction was framed as an invitation to paint a self-portrait in colour, and to create music along with the portrait. The subsequent instruction or suggestion was to create music to a painting by Kandinsky. In addition, at the concluding interview all children were invited to create music without any special prompt.

Folkestad (1996) argues that studying the product separately disconnects the music from the creator, while studying the process puts the creator in focus. He stresses,

however, that the process and the product are 'two sides of the same coin, in an intertwined relationship' (p. 67). Accordingly, the product cannot be left out from the analysis of the process; the musical creative process and the product cannot be studied separately. Instead, it becomes a question of the researcher's approach.

The unit of analysis is the creative process, analysed through participant observations, interviews and the collected pieces of music (data files). By interpreting the saved 76 computer files together with the participant observations and interviews, five variations of the children's creative processes were identified. These variations will be described in the following section.

Results: Five variations of the children's practice of computer-based composition

The results of the empirical study provide evidence of a complex creative music making, full of nuances. Five different variations of the practise of creative music making were identified in the analysis, each with a different object in the foreground of the activity:

i. Putting the synthesiser and the computer in the foreground of the activity;

ii. Using creative music making as a means to express personal fantasies and emotions;

iii. Putting the playing of the instrument in the foreground of the activity;

iv. Placing the music itself in the foreground of the activity;

v. Putting the task in the foreground.

Often, however, there was an oscillation between foreground and background, and therefore the identified variations should not be regarded as excluding each other in the actual individual processes.

In the following section, the five identified variations will be further described. Each variation will be illustrated by a musical example created by one of the participating children. In each example, a young musician's way towards a completed composi-

tion will be followed through the interviews, the field log and the computer files.

In order to communicate some of the methodological approach of the study, the five variations, in accordance with ethnographic tradition, will be presented, if not through a *thick description* (Geertz, 1973), at least through a rich description (Nilsson, 2002).

The synthesiser and the computer

With the synthesiser and computer in the foreground of the activity, the equipment is turned into tools and devices that are to be examined and controlled, and the limitations of which are to be explored. Extensive experiments with sounds and tracks are performed. In the following section we will follow eight-year old Niklas's process towards a completed composition.

"My arm is tired!".Niklas is 8 1/2 years old and likes handicraft and music. Last year his action story about Santa Claus won first price in a writers' contest at his school. Niklas also likes to play soccer. He listens to music on his new CD-Walkman, and sometimes he plays computer games and watches MTV in between. His Kandinsky music was created in a hurricane of activity, demonstrating a creative process that took place during 45 minutes. Niklas and another boy, Linus, both reacted positively to the presentation of the Kandinsky painting. During the creative process, they communicated and gave suggestions for instrument sounds to try out. Through the field log and the computer files we can follow Niklas's 13 steps towards his completed Kandinsky Music (the GM numbers of the instrument sounds in brackets)[2]:

Minutes	Take	
0		Getting started. Niklas starts playing, but doesn't record anything.
5	A	Track 9. A short glissando over the entire

1 The instrument sounds used by the participants in this article are referred to by their General Midi Instrument number (GM-number). General Midi is a standard for synthesisers and digital musical instruments facilitating that different synthesisers provide an acceptable representation of song data written for General MIDI. The names of the instruments indicate what sort of sound will be heard when a certain instrument number is selected on the synthesiser. The sounds available are the same for all MIDI Channels except Midi Channel 10 that has only percussion sounds and some 'sound effects' (Midi Manufacturers Association, 2004). The English instrument names were translated to Swedish in the computer program when possible.

		range of the synthesiser with Fantasisynt (89)
7	B	Niklas adds some drums on track 10. Duration 5 seconds.
11	C	Niklas deletes the drums but keeps the glissando on track 9 and adds a new short glissando with Fantasisynt (89) on track 8.
12	D	– Check out Polysynt (91) ! (Linus to Niklas). A short recording, 4 seconds. Niklas deletes track 9 but keeps track 8.
15	E	Niklas deletes everything.

Niklas' first steps, A-E, could be regarded as a warming up process, during which he 'claimed' the synthesiser and refreshed his acquaintance with the instrument sounds. During the entire process, the two boys, Niklas and Linus, were giving each other suggestions for instrument sounds. Several tracks were orchestrated and all previous recordings deleted. A fresh start!

During the following steps, F-J, Niklas played with a lot of bodily dedication using both hands and several fingers. At one time, this resulted in his earphones falling off.

18	F	Niklas tests the pitchbend control and records on Track 8 Fantasisynt (89).
20	G	Drums added on track 10.
22	H	More percussion added on Track 11.
24	J	A new recording on Track 9 with Polysynt (91). Clusters.

The compositional process turned into a kind of musical 'workshop' and the duration of the recorded tracks, which at start was as short as only a few seconds, now is up to 2 minutes. This development persists and the last recordings, K–N, are even longer; the last one is more than 8 minutes long. Niklas' physical dedication increased, and his head and his right foot were now engaged during the playing. During the last take, Niklas also used the synthesiser controller.

27	K	Track 7, Svepsynt (96). Niklas looks at the computer screen.
31	L	Track 6, Fantasisynt (89). The music has now developed into a thick soundscape. The longest recording so far.
33	M	Track 5, adding Sitar (105).
46	N	Track 4, Metallsynt (94). Niklas looks at the computer screen.
		– My arm is tired, Niklas shouts to Linus.

This last take, N, was more than 8 minutes long, but was not possible to save since Niklas had used so many notes that the program finally crashed! Afterwards, Niklas had a fairly clear picture of the course of events, and said that the piece was meant to have many tracks with different instruments.

With the tools in the foreground, the creative process turns into a kind of workshop. The process is full of activity, showing similarity to the state of flow described by Csikszenmihalyi (1990). Selecting sounds on new tracks, recording, deleting and adding demonstrate different ways of handling the synthesiser and the computer in order to gain control over the tools.

Fantasies and emotions

With fantasies and emotions in the foreground, the compositional process becomes a way to get in touch with fantasies, daydreams and memories, and with moods or strong emotions. Deliberate as well as non-deliberate use of memories and various techniques for generating musical ideas are used in the creative music making. The synthesiser and the software are explored primarily in order to realise musical ideas, and the children select the instrument sounds very carefully.

Ninna's gruesome story. Ninna is 7 years old and likes to read and write. She also thinks that math is great fun. When Ninna is not in school, she usually visits some of her friends or stays at home cleaning the kitchen or doing some cooking. She is thinking of taking up handball, since her best friend has taught her a little. Sometimes Ninna plays computer games. She listens to many different kinds of artists on MTV and thinks that

Titanic is the best movie she has seen, but she also likes all of the Disney movies, like *Aladdin* and *Lion King*. Ninna's mother wants her to learn music and she would like to play the flute, like her elder sister does. Piano is also one of her favourites.

During the concluding interview, Ninna composed a song. When she listened to the song directly afterwards, she commented on the music and told a story to go along with the song. The music described below, Ninna's gruesome story, was performed without any special suggestion or prompt provided by the researcher. By comparing Ninna's own comments (in italics) with the saved computer file, we are able to follow her compositional process. She chose the sound Piano (1) for her music.

min.sec

00.00..... *This song is really gruesome and sad and many people die but they wake up again!* The music starts with the first bars from a Swedish song, *Spanien* (Spain). The song Spain originally is in C major, but Ninna played it in A minor.

00.11 ..... *And* [Ninna sings with dark voice] *someone is getting murdered* (giggle). The music develops into jumps at big intervals where a minor fifth creates extra tension.

00.22..... *And then* [Ninna sings again] *this means that it's getting a little better, but* … The music is now becoming more and more tense.

00.41 ..... *but then* [singing in a dark voice again] *someone has been murdered.* Different clusters turn up in the music.

00.52..... *And now everything is all right again!* This part of Ninna's composition consists of a new quotation from the song Spain, this time performed in G major, maybe signalling a return to the normal, well-known and safe, and perhaps to a happy ending.

01.01 ..... *They come to life again and then everything is all right.* Ninna adds a coda to the song.

01.14 ..... *There!*

Ninna's coda consists of a scale movement, first down and then up again. A d# note gives the impression of a modulation from G major to E minor, and the final scale movement up to the note g creates a closure back to G major.

It is not clear if Ninna started to play the song *Spain* in A minor on purpose or not. Maybe she started playing on the wrong note, a instead of c, then continued to play on the white keys on the keyboard, thus changing the key from C major to A minor. In Ninna's practice of role-playing it is quite plausible that elements of chance, like starting on the wrong note, might serve as an inspiration during the process.

When fantasies and emotions come into the foreground, many things may offer inspiration to the children during the creative music activities, such as dolls, invented stories, imagined conversations, memories and emotions. The Kandinsky painting itself might be turned into role-playing with different creatures acting towards each other.

The playing of the instrument

When the playing of the instrument comes into the foreground of the activity, this often produces long compositions where improvising and composing are integrated. The instrument sounds are carefully selected and often only one or two favourite sounds are used. The music is recorded in one succession on a single track where musical formulas and motifs are repeated and varied. In the next section, we will follow one of the boys, Ferhad, and his approach to a long composition.

13 minutes and 11 seconds. Ferhad is 8 years old and likes to play soccer. He listens a lot to music and also likes to play music himself. Most of all he likes to use his hands while playing and his favourite instruments are piano, keyboard and everything that has to do with drums. Sometimes he plays with his hands on a table, pretending that the table is a pair of drums.

Ferhad's Kandinsky music illustrates, as do most of his compositions, his use of form and structure. The field log and the saved computer file allows us to follow Ferhad's creative process through his 13-minutes-long composition.

min.sec

00.00..... Ferhad is warming up for almost 2 minutes, playing with his right hand only.

01.56..... The consistent motif (A) is presented, established and varied in different ways.

02.50..... A second motif, B, is presented, repeated and varied.

03.30..... For more than five minutes Ferhad improvises and mixes his two motifs, A and B, in a long sequence.

During his warming up, Ferhad fleetingly presented his two short motifs, both later frequently used in this piece. During the following 5 minutes, he produced a stream of music without making any pauses. It seemed as if ideas would come and go to be tried out, kept for a while, or rejected. During this part, Ferhad varied his two motifs in different ways.

08.57..... Ferhad presents an entirely new musical idea and now plays with both hands.

He commented on this later while listening to the music and then referred directly to the Kandinsky painting. There was something 'dark and light', 'big and small', he said.

10.07..... Ferhad returns to his original motifs, A and B, which are repeated and varied. The tempo is increased.

13.11 ..... Ferhad develops motif B into a short closure.

Throughout Ferhad's piece, different formulas were repeated and varied through rhythmic and melodical development, sequencing, inversion and the like. Some of the musical ideas used by Ferhad were presented already in this first warming up, and one of them was later developed into a short closure. With the playing itself in the foreground of the creative process, the participant often allowed a phase of warming up to take place within the recording. During the warming up, old ideas could be checked out, new ideas might emerge while playing, or the equipment would be checked out. Playing, with its motor activity, became a significant component with its pulse and

rhythm. The synthesiser and the computer were used as direct tools for an active creative process without much technical experimenting with the equipment. Sometimes accidental mistakes would be converted into new ideas and motifs. The creator often listened carefully to his or her music directly after a finished recording. Musical ideas arose directly from the activity. As one of the boys put it: 'Once you get started, you will hit on something'. Mostly the creative process takes a long time, showing a similarity with the state of flow described by Csikszenmihalyi (1990).

The music itself

With the music itself in the foreground, musical ideas are deliberately brought forth to be used directly or to be revised. Spontaneous ideas are used in a premeditated way together with rehearsals and planning. The participant is aware of his or her own practising and planning, and is able to discuss the compositional processes. Practising and rehearsing, 'to see if it fits', as one of the girls expressed it, does not in any way limit the options offered by the situation. On the contrary, rehearsing and practising seem to enhance both the possibilities and the options in the creative process, and to develop the synthesiser and the computer into natural tools for realising musical ideas. The music is frequently played with several fingers on each hand using only one single track for the recording. If the recording is not satisfying, the creator simply deletes it and commences a new recording. The next section demonstrates how Gunborg created her composition prompted by the Kandinsky painting.

'A long straight'. Gunborg is 8 years old and likes to write stories. She listens to a lot of music and would like to play music herself all the time. Gunborg likes most kinds of music, with the exception of hard rock. She explained that when she had a headache it usually got better if she played some music. Gunborg has tried to play the recorder but thinks it is more fun to play on her own than to take lessons. Her dream is to be on stage – just like Michael Jackson or the Spice Girls.

When Gunborg composed her Kandinsky music, her creative process developed in three steps during 28 minutes. Gunborg started by checking out the percussion instruments, and recorded some music, which she immediately deleted before it was saved. The following part of the process could be regarded as 10 minutes of warming up, while Gunborg tried out different ideas.

Gunborg's warming up resulted in a 33-minutes-long piece with Fantasisynt (89). This first version consisted of a drone in the bass (low c), played rhythmically with her

left hand accompanying a melody on top, and centred around the notes in the C major triad, which she played with her right hand. Gunborg was not satisfied with the piece, though, and deleted it as she thought 'the ending was a bit strange'. Then she started playing with two hands, using several fingers on each hand.

In the second step Gunborg kept the sound Fantasisynt (89) and played for about 10 minutes before the music was saved. This second recording consisted of 23 seconds of an apparently unfinished variation of one of Gunborg's earlier compositions: the bass line moves diatonically upwards from C1 to E1 with the melody on top. Gunborg rejected even this piece since she 'happened to press some wrong buttons'. Before she deleted it, she wanted to 'play it to the end and finish it'.

In Step 3, Gunborg developed a completely new idea. In this 1-minute-long final version, Gunborg was consistent in her use of call and response. She prolonged the last note in each phrase overlapping the next phrase, thus creating a drone. The bass line and the melody were freer than in her earlier compositions. Gunborg was satisfied with her result:

> *I'm very pleased with it … it's almost like a fairy tale. Maybe it starts there and ends over here [pointing in the Kandinsky painting]. The ending is supposed to be like a long straight (Figure 6).*

This final Kandinsky music could be regarded as a development of several of Gunborg's musical ideas combined with new ideas. She had one musical idea based on a structure with a single melody played by her right hand on top of a bass line by her left hand. When she later created her Kandinsky music, she used this musical idea again on her path towards her final composition. The ending and closure of her final Kandinsky piece with a long note is also a development from one of her earlier compositions.

Repetition of musical ideas and developing new ones are not restricted to one composition, but often take place between different pieces. One example was given here by Gunborg, another by Ferhad, above, who already in one of his first recordings developed a special kind of call and response between his hands, an idea he developed in his later compositions.

When the music came into the foreground, a full range of affordances was used where old ideas mixed with new fancies, rehearsals and aesthetic decision making, all facilitated by the options offered by the musical instrument and the computer. The suggestion to compose music was interpreted as a challenge to engage in an aesthetic,

creative process, not perceived as a task, but rather as an invitation to pretend to be a grown-up musician.

The task

When the suggestions to create music are interpreted by the child mainly as a school task rather than as an open invitation, the task itself stays in the foreground. This was the case for most of the children when they were creating music to the pictures related to the Water theme.

If the participants had difficulties creating musical ideas on their own, focusing on a task might help for them to find meaning in the composing. On the other hand, for participants who normally found it easy to produce musical ideas independently, focusing on a task might have a limiting effect.

With the task in the foreground, the creative process might become restrained, since the full range of affordances (Gibson, 1979) in the situation is not perceived. Therefore, when an open-ended invitation to create music was interpreted in a way that focused on the task, this lead to what might be described as convergent thinking. The open-ended suggestion did not seem to contain sufficient explicit information in order to engage participants when they had problems finding a meaning in their creative music making. This might result in attempts to play a well-known song or an established rhythmic figure, or in the choice of a familiar instrument name. This is illustrated by some examples from the Portrait Music: (i) Tanja tried to play a well-known song, *Happy Birthday*, but failed after a few notes and continued her recording with some exploratory notes. She made no attempt to revise her music or listen to it. (ii) Linus made a percussion recording in which he finally decided on an established rhythmic figure (later he explained that he didn't like this piece and that he wanted to make a new one instead). (iii) Diana tried out the percussion instruments (Midi Track 10) but deleted her recording immediately. She decided to use the sound Birds (124) and although she made a recording, she seemed to have lost interest.

The synthesiser and the computer were available during the concluding interview, but this time the participants were not given any suggestions or prompts. Most of the children composed music at this occasion, one example of which is Ninna's Gruesome Song. In a few cases, though, the children wanted to create music but were not able to do so. This seems to imply that the suggestion, the task itself, is important; when no prompt is presented at all, this might in some cases block the creative process.

In conclusion, the result of the empirical study might be described as different phenomena coming into the foreground during the composition process: the computer and the synthesiser; fantasies and emotions; the playing of the instrument; the music; and the task. During the creative music making, a shift between the different variations sometimes took place. Furthermore, the participants created music with form and structure, used repetition and development of formulas, rhythmic or melodic ones. The range in complexity varied from a single motif with three notes, lasting only 6 seconds, to advanced combinations of form and structure that were developed during sequential steps in one composition or through separate compositions.

Discussion

The five variations identified in the children's creative music making might be discussed in relation to the children's earlier musical experiences, the invitations to create music, the children's cultural practise and to the digital tools. These are some of the essential factors or aspects that all together form the affordances (Gibson, 1979) or suggestions of meaning (Qvarsell, 1998) that were perceived by the children in their cultural practice of creative music making (Folkestad, 1998).

The results of the present study demonstrate how the different instructions, or rather suggestions, might all be regarded as invitations to play. Once the invitations were accepted, the children established a frame of play (Bateson, 1987) before the process of creative music making commenced. The perspective of play was found to represent a powerful perspective in understanding the children's creative music making.

The first four variations of creative music making could all be described as different forms of play, where the suggestion to compose music was perceived as an invitation to play and make music. These four variations in many cases bear the sign and characteristics of flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1992) and might be described as taking place in a musical framing (Saar, 1999).

However, when an open-ended invitation to create music was perceived mainly as a school task, as was the case in the fifth variation, this lead to difficulties in using the full range of imagination. Accordingly, creative music making with the task in the foreground could be described as taking place outside the frame of play (Bateson, 1987) and inside of a pedagogical framing (Saar, 1999).

The synthesiser and the computer software represent powerful tools, which facilitate the participants in expressing their musical ideas without being formally trained

in music. The digital tools used by the children represent a medium where planning, improvising and elements of contingency coexist. The different forms of creative music making, improvising and composing, can be understood as representing different degrees of order in the creative process, where improvising represents a lower degree of order, while composing is associated with a higher degree of order.

The findings of the present study clearly demonstrate how young children without formal musical training are able to create music with form and structure. In this respect, these results are found to be consistent with the findings of Barrett (1996) and of Burnard (2000).

Talking with the children about their music gives important insights into the way creative music making becomes meaningful to them. However, as mentioned earlier, it is essentially through the children's musical discourse (Barrett, 1996) that their musical creativity is best understood. Folkestad (1996) makes a distinction between a discourse *in* music and a discourse *on* music. The former concept refers to the music itself and to the way music is played and created, while the latter refers to the way music is verbally discussed. This study demonstrates the children's discourse in music, illustrated by their music and by the way they work with the musical tools.

The present study gives evidence that children create meaning in their creative music making in many different ways. The implication for music teachers may be to take children's musical creativity seriously, at the same time regarding children's creative music making as a form of play, and not as a school task with rules and assessments controlled by the teacher. Based on results from the present study we suggest a definition of a composition as a piece of music that its creator experiences as meaningful.

The assumption made by Hickey (1997), among others, that an open-ended task will result in a more creative musical product, needs to be questioned. The findings of the present study demonstrate that in those cases when the children had difficulties in creating meaning on their own in their composing, they turned the task itself into the meaningful context. This implicates that the teacher in some cases should guide the children by giving a didactic framing to the invitation to create music. Again, children (and perhaps even adults) create music in many different ways. This suggests that the teacher must be prepared to vary his/her methods, and strive to create supportive conditions in order to enhance creative music making for all children.

In Western countries, as stated in the introduction, even very young children gain musical knowledge and competence by taking part in the media world at home, in school, or during their leisure time. Today, young children are able to listen to music without any adults interfering, and by using computer music software that is easy to

handle they can create music of their own, a fact demonstrated by the result of the present study.

Accordingly, further research focusing on the consequences of this development in teaching in general, and music teaching in particular, is of great importance.

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The Oral University[1]

Learning from cultural meetings

Eva Sæther

Introduction

In current discussions on formal and informal learning contexts (e.g., Folkestad, 2006), there is often a hidden text implying a hierarchy between the two concepts. Informal settings, such as learning contexts for rock musicians or traditional folk musicians from different cultures, tend to be described as 'opposites' to learning contexts within Western music institutions and schools. When oral transmission is used, literary cultures seem to diminish the value of the content.

However, as the title of this study implies, there might exist other 'universities' than those of the Western scholarly world. The empirical data for this investigation was collected during many years of fieldwork in the Gambia. The interviews with the Mandinka musicians reveal a structured world of knowledge that might be described as an Oral University. Just as in Western societies, there are different ways of describing and talking about knowledge depending on – among other things – if you are

1 This chapter is based on the author's doctoral dissertation thesis The Oral University. Attitudes towards music teaching andlearning in the Gambia accepted in 2003 by Lund University, Sweden and published as a book by Malmö Academy of Music.

an insider or an outsider in relation to the lifeworld of the educated or intellectuals. Although the analysed data were collected along the Gambia river, the horizon of the study consists of the development of Swedish music teacher education – a development that the author herself has been a part of.

One of the starting points for the research is a course at the music teacher education programme of the Malmö Academy of Music, the School of Music and Music Education of Lund University, called 'Studies in the music of foreign cultures – Gambia' that started in 1992. When the fresh 'Gambia students' return after their three weeks of fieldwork they are welcomed by the veterans; those who have been there, and understand the wordless enthusiasm that the happy bodies radiate. It is not about the vitality caused by the sun, the colours and the adventure. No, this is about something invisible, deeper and more everlasting. Compared to their normal training in Sweden, the 'Gambia students' have experienced a different approach to music teaching and learning. Evaluations of this course called for an understanding of the difference that the students relate to.

The study compasses differences and cultural meetings on multiple levels: between human beings, institutions and oral and literal worlds of knowledge. The methods used are a reflection of these meetings and the results stem from travels that the author and her informant/co-researcher jali Alagi Mbye made to musicians in the Gambia. They also stem from travels in and out of the respective traveller's culture and worldview.

Methodology and design

An essential part of the methodological framework of the present study concerns the discussion on the concepts of 'emic' and 'etic'. Briefly, the emic and the etic represent two contrasting descriptions of a phenomenon. The etic description is the outsider's or the researcher's perspective, which assumes concepts categories and discourses from the researcher's own culture. The emic description, on the other hand, is the one given by the members of a culture themselves. The categories, concepts and discourses might not at all be the same, or even mutually understandable (Baumann, 1993; Herndon, 1993; Nettl, 1995; Nettl, Solbu & Lundquist, 1998).

The problems surrounding the researcher as insider or outsider are many. For example, the way of thinking shaped by the researcher's own culture cannot simply be substituted with the 'emic' way of thinking, no matter how long the researcher has spent trying to act as 'the other'.

The insider, on the other hand, obtains new ideas and influences as soon as the meeting with the outsider takes place. The ethnomusicologist Marcia Herndon (1993) therefore calls for careful use of these clearly divergent categories expressed in headings like 'knowing our limits' and 'limiting our knowing'. In current ethnomusicological research an integrative approach is often recommended, where the insider and the outsider are viewed as two complementary categories, or perspectives, rather than being in opposition (Baumann, 1993). In the present study this integrative approach has been applied. During the process of the fieldwork, the researcher's worldview has interacted with jali Alagi Mbye's worldview.

These two respective worldviews have made different impacts on the interviews made during the fieldwork. The earliest interviews are most clearly related to the etic perspective, while later in the process it is the emic perspective that impregnates the data. Late in the process, the worldviews have become intertwined. In the interview with the Kanuteh brothers in Basse, Alagi Mbye has learnt to act as an insider in the resarcher's culture; he no longer translates the researchers questions, but uses the kora to add the deeper dimensions to the study and puts the questions he knows the researcher would have put, if she only had the emic competence. The researcher, on the other hand, at this stage had the courage to loose control, inviting him as a co-researcher, acting like an insider in his culture.

To work hand in hand with a master of an oral tradition with roots in the 11th century leads to many instructive situations. Some of them pleasurable, others filled with conflicts and confusion. The core of the study consists of observations of, and interviews with, jalis and other Gambian musicians. The methods and the design of the study are based on the theoretical perspectives of multifaceted and incorporating techniques that reflect an eclectic approach.

Mantle Hood (1971) describes field methods as the art of avoiding the question. Behind this description lies the understanding that in meetings between cultures, it is often impossible to put direct questions, as the outsider has great difficulties in knowing what would be the relevant questions to the interviewee.

In this case the prompts that were used to help the interviewees to start talking (Kvale, 1997) have been my dancing and ostinatos played by Alagi Mbye on the kora. Of course, the researcher's dance was a natural response to excellent playing, but it was also a deliberate act to gain confidence. As for the ostinatos, a well-educated storyteller will immediately respond to changes in the kora accompaniment, since every ostinato is connected to a special text dealing with a certain aspect of history or moral.

The choice of technique was inspired by Kvale (1997) who introduces the researcher as one of two types: the 'miner' and the 'traveller', respectively. These two metaphors exemplify completely different theories of knowledge. On the one hand, the 'miner' attempts to wash out of the material – the interviews – the noble knowledge, the objective, everlasting and true. On the other hand, the 'traveller' will construct knowledge in interplay with the co-travellers, the informants. The results of a traveller's conversation leads to new conversations about the results with research colleagues and the external world, conversations that will again give new knowledge. The task, according to this point of departure, is no longer to quantify objective data, but to interpret meaningful relations.

More inspiration along this path comes from Gourlay (1978) who claims that it is not possible to extract either the researcher or the research object as a person from the analysis model. In fact, Gourlay emphasises their inevitable existence. Empirical work does include the researcher, by definition, and thereby follow some unavoidable constraints, personal, situational and universal. The universal constraints in this case are, for example, the researchers own worldview influencing all concepts about aims and methods.

The conversations with jali Alagi Mbye started in 1990, but the first formal interview with him is from 1993, made by one of the students from MAM (Sæther, 1993). In this study the interviews from 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999 and 2001 form the core data. The Gambian musicians were all recorded in February 1998. The questions, translated by Alagi Mbye to the other informants, were on the surface quite simple. We just wanted to know if they thought that it is important for children to learn music, and if so, what they think is the best way of achieving this. The translating process with Alagi Mbye showed that these questions were not directly answered. Still the material was full of information on what is the focus of the study – particularly in terms of attitudes to learning and teaching traditional music.

The interviews have been given titles that consist of quotations, chosen because they indicate the main theme of each interview:

With Alagi Mbye:

> *'I'm having the swords now'. Saturday the 6th of October, 2001, Lund.*
>
> *'Changing ideas doesn't mean that you have to change yourself completely'. (Tuesday the 27th of February, 1996, MAM).*

'A career as a musician I don't think can prevent you from teaching'. (Sunday the 28th of December, 1997.) The interview was made in his home in Serekunda, Gambia, and filmed by Maria Becker.)

'You have to be intellectual in music to satisfy the people'. Aesthetics from a Gambian perspective. (Wednesday the 22nd of September, 1999, Lund).

'When I say the African method I mean my ear'. (Tuesday the 16th of July, 1996, ISME, Malmö).

With village musicians:

'You don't have to talk much' (Interview with Momodu Camara, 'Magasina', Saturday the 31st of January, 1998, in Njoba Kunda).

'This music is the everyday life of the people'. (Lang and Ousman Sonko, Sunday the 1st of February, 1998, Katamina village.)

'It's our duty to teach them'. (Sunday the 1st of February, 1998, Katamina village. The female leader Mai Njie with the title 'nyansinba' is interviewed about the Mamo masque. Mamo dances every year when the rains are to come, and he will give prophesies of the coming year).

'I just loved it' (Interview with Juldeh Sowe, riti-player, Sunday the 1st of February, 1998 in Katamina village).

With the Kanuteh family:

'To know more about ourselves in the future' (Interview with Ahmadu Kanuteh and Kebba Kanuteh, Basse, Monday the 2nd of February, 1998. The whole interview turned out as a lesson in history about the origin of Mandinka culture, concentrating on the most important event in Mandinka history; the birth of the big hero Sunjata Keita. This is embedded in thoughts about teaching and learning).

Results

This section presenting the results of the study is divided in four main parts: 'Inside the jali culture', 'Outside the jali culture', 'The Oral University', and 'Inside and outside the Oral University – the multicultural jali'.

Inside the jali culture

The first part of the presentation of the results deals with the intellectual perspective of the jali musicians and takes the reader to the very core of the Mandinka jali culture, manifested in a meeting between masters. In one of the interviews (the Kanuteh brothers, 2/2, 1998) jali Alagi Mbye takes on the role of co-researcher to the extreme point. In this interview the 21-stringed kora leads the conversation more than the actual questions. This gave the author a perfect chance to practice the art of not asking the question. When the music was allowed to steer the conversation, new dimensions of a jali's tradition were opened – dimensions that would have been difficult to access with a more common interview technique. As this interview can be listened to both as a concert and as an interview, a CD was attached to the thesis published as a book (Sæther, 2003). The full transcription from Mandinka to English is attached in the appendix, hoping to reflect the context and the poetic dimension. All page numbers indicated here refer to the appendix of Sæther (2003).

The interview with the kora starts with the song 'Allah Lake' because this is an important song to the Kanuteh brothers, something which Alagi Mbye is well aware of. When he wants to inspire the older brother Ahmadu to join the conversation he heats up the atmosphere by changing to 'Sunjata Faso'. His comment to this change is: 'Now the whole book is opened'.

After a while Ahmadu starts talking about king Falai who was a hardworking man, stressing that if you want something, you have to work hard for it. He then mentions 'Tutu Jara' and other songs that have been played at important occasions, which conveys to Alagi the idea of changing to the ostinato of 'Tutu Jara'. This throws the initiative back to Alagi, who comments this change: 'I'm having the swords now… Now they are seeing everything because of the songs'.

When the story comes closer to the birth of Sunjata Keita, and the names of ancestors are mentioned, Alagi adds to the tension by changing to 'Sunjata Simbon'. The Kanuteh brothers react with a shout: 'Oh, abaraka' (thank you).

> *Now I put another sword on them. (Laughing). Now he is on the life of Sunjata and this is why I play the real Sunjata…The screaming here is – Kebba said one proverb that 'fire cannot come without smoke. Smoke comes and then fire and the wood burns and then charcoal comes'. (Sunjata is the charcoal) (Alagi Mbye, p.16)*

This point is the climax of the interview. It is the most intense moment, and Alagi's new ostinato therefore also has the function of calming and releasing the previous tension.

> *This is to cool them down after a long talk. (Laughing) And also in that they feel like 'all what we have been saying, this is the witness of it'. That song is the witness of all we have said. (Alagi Mbye, p.16)*

The most evident and most expressed themes in the interview with the old masters from the Kanuteh family are history and identity. Many times they stress how important it is to ask questions about the art of jaliya. When asked what is important to teach a child, the immediate answer was:

> *And this is the necessary question to be asked in the black society. And this is the question that belongs to the whole black society because each and every one of us has inherited something. If you inherit something, and you are unable to say anything or unable to do anything about that thing, I think inheriting is useless. And in Africa, here from our ancestors up to today, there is nothing more important than the jaliya and the tradition. (Kebba Kanuteh, p.133)*

The reason for this is expressed, many times, with the wording 'to learn about yourself':

> *You, the child who is sent to a school to learn about yourself and the cultures of you ancestors, should first of all stay away from all bad things and concentrate on the knowledge you are looking for. (Kebba Kanuteh, p. 135)*

Ordinary schools are described by Alagi with quite a lot of scepticism. They are often referred to as 'colonial'. The same picture is by the Kanuteh brothers:

> *And going to primary ordinary schools should not prevent us from learning our culture…(Kebba Kanuteh, p. 136)*

The Mandinka society is organised according to a hierarchic structure, which gives the jalis a special place. The Kanuteh brothers emphasise the peacemaking function of jaliya:

> *People have not come the same into this world, that's why people are doing different things. Jalis were peacemakers before. (Kebba Kanuteh, p. 138-139)*

In the songs that the women perform before the actual interview, the role of the jali is elaborated, as, for example, in the song Lambango. The horses are often mentioned, leading the thoughts back to Sunjata's horses who helped him to win the final battle against the Suso king. Here the horses are needed to help the world in more general terms:

> *It's not easy to be a jali. I'm calling the horses. Horses are always nice, because I'm afraid of the world. (Assa Koyate, p.1)*

> *I call the horses, horses that have been carrying the heroes all over the world will never be forgotten. Horses have done a beautiful job. (Kundo Kanuteh, p.5)*

The singers are later complaining about the fact that both jalis and kings have forgotten their respective responsibilities; the jalis by neglecting education, and the leaders by being corrupt. This is mentioned several times by different members of the family:

> *Useful people are very (little) few? now. (Kundo Kanuteh, p.4)*

> *But now people with money or many tricks are known as the kings now. But if you give somebody something that doesn't belong to him it's always a problem. (Ahmade kanuteh, p.4)*

> *Female jalis and male jalis we are now not seeing any kings who can leave us in peace. (Kundo Kanuteh, p.5)*

After a while the interview turns into a more focused discussion between jali Alagi Mbye and the Kanuteh brothers on how a jali should act according to traditional values. Are they to be regarded as static, unchangeable and almost holy, or is it possible to be more pragmatic or even critical? For Alagi Mbye this is a crucial point, as he has to break some of the taboos in the jali tradition to be able to realise his dream about a music school for all children. In the beginning of the discussion, the Kanuteh brothers act as strong defenders of the old and real tradition. When you start teaching a child you should start with the ritual:

> *My first answer to that question is to start from the roots how to learn a kora. In the old days people buy kola nuts and go to a village where the kora people are to give these kola nuts to the elders to start the kora. The elders will then distribute these kola nuts to the whole compound and to all the necessary people. (Kebba Kanuteh, p. 134)*

When leaning against the old rituals and rules, the Kanuteh brothers imagine the world as stable and firm:

> *Why are you afraid of the world? Because this world is the same world our ancestors were living before. Still the sun is rising from the east, going down to the west. (Ahmadu Kanuteh, p. 1)*

After a while, Alagi Mbye tries to remind them of things in the tradition that might be troublesome, especially for the students. He is very successful in his attempt to change the Kanuteh brothers' way of talking about tradition. Kebba Kanuteh even refers to this way of teaching as 'slavery':

> *All the women in the compound can also bring out all the dirty clothes of their husbands and themselves and tell you to go and fetch water from the well and wash these clothes. This is your master's clothes. And you have to wash this. After washing they can put you to another working… After doing all this for me, the master, my mind is still on the 30 dalasis you have to bring for me to get some of the secret things here… Even to me Kebba this is like a slavery or overworking the children. This is what I think some of them not getting the exact education they should get. (Kebba Kanuteh, pp. 135)*

Later on, Ahmadu supports his younger brother:

> *I have been through a lot of very big difficulties but I don't even want to say them now. Pounding firewoods and everything, if you see me that time you will think I am the slave of somebody. The day they gave me the kora the first thing I did was thanking God the Almighty for freeing me from the catastrophe. (Ahmadu Kanuteh, p. 138)*

Alagi Mbye probably welcomed this turn in the conversation, but the double message also reflects his own struggle with the conflict between old and new values. Most important – he needs the elder defenders of the tradition on his side.

Outside the jali culture

The second part of the results deals with the perspective of 'village musicians'. Not all musicians have the same education as the Kanuteh brothers and jali Alagi Mbye. I have chosen to call the other musicians, who are still great masters but not so skilled in history and theory, the 'village musicians'. In this section their thoughts on teaching music to children are summarised.

In the tiny village of Njoba Kunda lives bolon master 'Magasina'. It was not difficult at all to get him to play, and after only a few minutes the dance had started. Talking, however, was not so easy. 'Magasina' answered in short sentences, all the time playing his bolon:

> *Starting with a child on bolon or kora or to make music you don't have to talk much. You just have to show the child the exact thing…The teacher has to be very polite to the child. (Momodu Camara, p. 54)*

In Katamina village, not far from Njoba Kunda, the Sonko brothers who play mandinka drums follow the same line; don't talk too much, and don't stop the child from playing.

> *First of all, the most important thing to a child who wants to learn the drum is not to forbid him from what he wants to do. You have to give him courage and also the important procedure for a child is you the elder should support. (Lang Sonko, p. 57).*

The teacher's role is, above all, to play good music and encourage the children, says riti-player Juldeh Sowe:

> *The first important thing for a beginner, a child, is that the child likes the music and wants to do it. Children are not thinking of 'I'm becoming a master' or 'I will get a lot of money', they don't have that sense when they are little. When they see something they like, that is the time to give them courage. (Juldeh Sowe, p.64)*

Though he is a man of few words, 'Magasina' says something about the spiritual dimension of his instrument. He is actually the only one who touches upon this area, even if his topic seems to be present all the time, under the surface.

> *Yes, the more use you make of the instrument, the more spiritual it gets. The more social, the more spiritual. (Momodo Camara, p. 56)*

The body seems to be more important than talking. When the Kanuteh brothers stress that kora music should be listened to seated, it is the opposite to 'Magasina'. He would be disappointed if people sat down.

> *You are a master when people start to dance when you hit the bolon. It is through the dancing you know. (Momodo Camara, p. 55)*

The Oral University

The third part serves as a conclusion of the two perspectives presented above: 'The Oral University'. The two previous sections reflect the emic and the etic perspectives respectively in different ways. The first part, 'Inside the jali culture' is clearly impregnated with the emic perspective as Alagi Mbye does the interview with the Kanuteh brothers, acting like an insider in the researcher's culture and at the same time using the kora to guide the conversation. The second part, 'Outside the jali culture', is more coloured by the etic perspective, since Alagi Mbye merely serves as a translator of the researcher's questions, even though she tries to act like an insider in his culture by, for example, dancing when the music requires dance.

There are clear differences between the themes from inside and outside of the jali culture. While the 'insiders' highlight questions about culture, identity and education, the 'outsiders' talk about 'not talking', dancing and the spiritual dimension. All of the interviewed musicians are highly skilled, as musicians, and some of them also have great skills as historians or intellectuals. This second group, here called the 'insiders', can be compared to the professors within a Western university. They have the highest academic degree, in their case the Mundiato. The first group can be compared to students or teachers at lower levels within a Western university, in their case the Oral University.

Inside and outside the Oral University – the multicultural jali

The fourth and concluding part of the results refers to interviews and conversations with jali Alagi Mbye. These reflect his response to the meetings with a Swedish way of teaching. This last section adds more insight to what is mentioned in the section 'Inside the jali culture', and moves between the emic and etic perspectives, respectively, through the reflections of Alagi Mbye.

In the interview with the Kanuteh brothers, Alagi Mbye uses the word 'universities'. This is not a part of the Mandinka vocabulary, and the researcher was somewhat surprised by his use of it. But to himself this is clear.

> *I use 'universities', relating it to the traditional schools. Because these traditional schools are where all the music comes from. So these are the first 'universities', before we have big buildings…They will feel their home like a 'university', because there has been many, many great musicians who have passed through these old homes. (Alagi Mbye, p.11)*

Alagi Mbye has an inside experience from a Swedish university, from the time he spent one semester as a guest student at the Malmö Academy of Music. That meeting served to encourage him to reflect on many issues, including the use of time.

> *As I start to travel to Sweden to meet Malmö Academy and many times in the school there looking into people, how the people are moving in this building, going up and down, back and forward, it gives me another experience of how busy a school should be and how busy a teacher or a student should be if you are working on music. (Alagi Mbye, p. 17)*

The influences of people outside his own tradition have been very important, even necessary:

> *Before you start doing something you must take ideas, either ideas from people or meet musicians first or different students or different cultures from yours. (Alagi Mbye, p. 25)*

Without them he would not have been able to develop a concept of how to start the school…

> *First of all putting African music in a classroom. (Alagi Mbye, p. 25)*

…or teaching other instruments in addition to the kora.

Instead of the students learning only kora from me, now we have different teachers who are giving lessons on different instruments. That was another experience from having the possibility of being a part of a multicultural society. (Alagi Mbye, p. 47)

As a result of the meetings with other cultures, Alagi Mbye has chosen to develop his own in a way that might offend the old masters. For example, a jali should only teach jali children, according to the rules. When breaking the rules, Alagi Mbye knows that he is taking a huge risk of being excluded or punished.

> *…when I was trying to break in to this tradition there are many difficulties I went through. Some cannot even be explained…You have to take care, or that secret part of the tradition will destroy you. So I went to them to talk to them, to make them change and compare the difference between the old school and what we are trying to do. (Alagi Mbye, p. 13)*

The interview with the Kanuteh brothers was a great opportunity for him to try to convince them of his sincerity and to get them on his side.

> *By letting them remember the overworking of children – that is when they change to the other side. (Alagi Mbye, p.13)*

He knows the strategy and chooses the right topic for the right man.

> *Kebba is a suitable man for me to quickly understand the school questions, but when we come to the tradition I come to Ahmadu. (Alagi Mbye, p. 13)*

The strategy to attract the young generation is to make the kora more flashy and modern. Extra strings and extraordinary style are useful, but trying to approach the politicians seems useless to Alagi.

> *I was working my head off to try to add some extra strings to the kora. It's 21 strings but I'm playing 24 now. On my back like Jimi Hendrix. These are the methods I'm using to put a little society together and stay away from politicians who have not very much interest in what we are doing. (Alagi Mbye, p. 49)*

Alagi Mbye always stresses the important role of the women in Mandinka tradition. This helps him in his advocacy of allowing girls to study in the music school.

> *…but women have a very big role to play in the African music society…But what they told me was that it is not forbidden for a woman to play any of these instruments. It's just a practical thing that has started before. (Alagi Mbye, p. 50)*

He is changing his role – a little – but still keeping some of the functions...

> *So I changed the role of the jali a little, I'm looking in the future and meeting people from different cultures. I'm seeing things that are possible for me to try. (Alagi Mbye, p. 52)*

When talking to the 'village musicians', the actual doing of music is emphasised. In the Kanuteh interview, however, the thinking is stressed. To Alagi Mbye there is no contradiction in this:

> *Yes, thinking and doing are connected in music and it's a very narrow road between them. (Alagi Mbye, p. 43)*

But, according to him, doing is not enough:

> *You have to be intellectual in music to satisfy the people. (Alagi Mbye, p. 40)*

It seems as if it is the connection between the two poles that is the most important to him:

> *There is one old saying: seeing, listening, thinking and doing were arguing who is the oldest. Seeing is the oldest, because before you think something you see it first. And then you will listen and think of it, and then do it. This is a big argument in our society. But I think they are very much connected. (Alagi Mbye, p. 40)*

The striving for a balance between the two poles doing and thinking is not only of personal importance to Alagi Mbye. This issue also leads up to Chapter 7 in the dissertation, where the findings from the study are discussed, starting with a discussion on Western ways of balancing the two poles.

Discussion

The statement by jali Alagi Mbye in one of the interviews that 'you have to be intellectual in music to satisfy the people', carries a lot of information. It highlights the importance of theoretical knowledge in a jali education. In his view it is not sufficient just to be able to play the kora or any other instrument. The context from which his comments are made reflects his African intellectual heritage, which means that he is stimulated by other intellectuals, be it inside or outside his own culture. In this context he is at ease, and able to discuss his views on the Western debate on praxial versus aesthetic philosophies of music education.

It could be argued that this orientation might reflect that Alagi Mbye has been 'westernised' by all his meetings with Western musicians and educators, and therefore more likely to put greater emphasis on theoretical aspects, particularly in his interactions with Westerners. However, it could also be argued that the idea of Alagi Mbye being 'westernised' reflects a 'colonialistic' approach which assumes that there is no theory in the Mandinka music.

There is also a clear 'procedural' aspect of Alagi Mbye's intellectual capacity and heritage, which is most clearly demonstrated in the interviews with the Kanuteh brothers. In these interviews, Alagi Mbye uses the ostinatos in the kora accompaniment

to direct the conversation into the themes that he thinks are relevant, and where the Kanuteh brothers show by their emotional reactions that they appreciate his way of 'directing' them. When the young jali, Alagi Mbye, 'directs' the older experts it is a very brave act. According to the strict hierarchy in the Mandinka culture he should not challenge the elders, but he has to act 'anti-socially' to show his skills and to get the authorisation he needs. This is a delicate act of balance in the power-relationship between young and old intellectuals inside the Oral University.

According to Stubley (1992) 'procedural knowledge' introduces 'a new orientation to epistemology in which knowing is not restricted to words and other symbols, but is also manifested in doing' (p. 13). In most Western cultures there is a tendency to view other cultures as being more practical and less theoretical, combined with a hierarchy between theory and practice. According to this elitist perspective, Western cultures have something to give 'them' and not vice versa. The conversations with the Mandinka musicians show that this idea of the other is not applicable.

In her book on popular musicians learning, Green (2002) states that a global music educational system has evolved over the last 150 years. Most of this education is based on Western models, though many music styles have developed through educational systems that are specific to these styles. Her interviews with popular musicians in England show that they did not define their own informal learning as learning. As a consequence they did not incorporate informal strategies for teaching when they themselves where teaching inside the formal system. On the basis of this finding, Green discusses what music teachers can do to revitalise the formal system with methods from the informal system. The present study adds to her view that the distinction between formal and informal systems seems irrelevant as different systems emanate from various types of socio-economical, technological, geographical and other factors. In terms of the present study, the Oral University could be regarded as one of these systems.

Green (2001) presents a description of what she calls the global music education system that is embedded in the European term University. In Figure 1, Green's catogories are compared to the findings of the present study.

University – in the 'European' music education system	Oral University – in the Mandinka culture
Educational institutions from primary schools to conservatories, partly involving or entirely dedicated to the teaching and learning of music.	Sending boys from the age of 5 to skilled masters, in order to concentrate on the art of jaliya. Girls study with their mother or grandmother, the "jali muso"
Instrumental and vocal teaching programmes running either within or alongside these institutions.	Vocal music is dedicated to the girls' training, while the boys study the kora or other jali instruments like balafon.
Written curricula, syllabuses or explicit teaching traditions.	There is a strict tradition of how to learn and in what order. This, however, is not written.
Professional teachers, lecturers or "master musicians" who in most cases possess some form of relevant qualifications.	The teachers are the jalis who are accepted by the society as masters.
Systematic assessment mechanisms such as grade exams, national school exams or university exams.	The obligatory test-run into the world, where the young jali shows that he is ready for the exam which gives him the right to have his own kora.
A variety of qualifications such as diplomas and degrees.	The highest degree is the Mundiato.
Musical notation, which is sometimes regarded as peripheral, but more often, central.	No
A body of literature, including texts on music, pedagogical texts and teaching material.	Yes, but in the form of orature.

Figure 1: The Western University vs the Oral University

Future research

The results of the study raises new questions: in what ways are the attitudes to teaching and learning in the Oral University reflected in the very methods for teaching and learning? This question refers to the more specific Oral University in the Gambia that has been the focus of this study, but also to the oral universities present in other cultures, for example, Scandinavian folk music, rock music, jazz and even classical music.

This study discusses border culture and border educators. The researcher would like to introduce the label 'border researcher' and asks for more 'border research' by 'border researchers'. There are border landscapes in the field of music education research that need to be explored. What, for example, do we know of the needs for music education in immigrant areas, as expressed by the immigrants themselves? What do we know of the needs in schools in immigrant areas, as expressed by the teachers and students themselves? What do we know about the needs of immigrant musicians in Sweden, as expressed by themselves?

The theme of literacy/orality has also been touched upon. There are many questions yet to be answered concerning the 'paradigm of literacy' and the handicap it might impose on literate musicians: to what extent is literacy a handicap? Is it possible to be literate and oral at the same time, or at least to be able to move between the two poles?

All these questions are left for the future to be answered, the researcher thanks jali Alagi Mbye for letting her cross the borders, hoping that future researchers will have co-travellers like him.

The project in retrospect

The focus of the present study is on attitudes to teaching and learning music inside a strong oral tradition; the Mandinka jali tradition in the Gambia. However, the background of the study is found mainly in the Swedish debate on how Swedish institutions need to change when monocultures are substituted by multicultures.

To the Malmö Academy of Music the multilayered cultural meetings have led to the development of music teacher education courses that recognise the consequences of a multicultural society. Just as the work at the Academy has to relate to society, the present project rested on a number of postulates:

- There is a need for more understanding between people of our world.
- This broadened understanding can be obtained through music teaching.
- To understand 'the other' also helps understanding 'at home'.

These postulates have not lost their relevance. The research projects initiated after the conclusion of the present project are an attempt to continue working with the method developed in Gambia – using co-travellers in the construction of knowledge. One of them, the SIM-project (Social Integration through Music Teaching), includes a music teacher in an ordinary Swedish school in a segregated area. Together with the researcher, the teacher strives to:

- Give voice to those who are affected by music teaching in multicultural settings; students and teachers.
- Develop new knowledge on music teaching in multicultural environments and develop new methods for both teaching and development of knowledge.
- Produce material that can be spread to schools, teachers, researchers, institutions for teacher education and politicians.

This national project is linked to the international project PROSIME, Promoting social inclusion in music education, which was presented in 2006 at the ISME conference in Kuala Lumpur. Co-participants in this project are Universidad Compluense de Madrid, University of Cambridge, Conservatory of Rotterdam, University of Cyprus, Hong Kong Institute of Education and Queensland University of Technology. PROSIME concerns cross cultural issues and challenges.

Postludium: The lost elder

'Who is a lost elder'?

The question from the brave and curious child made all the elders of the village a little nervous. They were all sitting, as usual, under the Bantaba, the big tree. Normally, they considered themselves ready to give advice to all villagers.

After a while one of them tried: 'A lost elder must be someone who lost his way in the forest'. The child shook his head, and said: 'A lost elder is the one who never asked the elders when he was young. That is why I came to you today'.

This little extract from a much longer story was sung, played and told to us by the konting-player Pateh Nbenga in the Gambia, December 2002.

Finally: we both graduated, the researcher got her title, PhD, and the co-researcher got his Mundiato, the wooden stick that is the Mandinka equivalence to the Western doctoral hat.

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The Staging of Learning[1]

Teachers' reflections on their pedagogical work in an artistic context

Els-Mari Törnquist

Introduction

The present study investigates teachers' reflections on their pedagogical work in an artistic context. The title *The staging of learning* refers to the meeting between the artistic and the pedagogical dimensions in the work of teachers. The main aim is to describe the learning in practice, emerging from a collective creative process. The point of departure is teachers' experience of a musical production as part of the pedagogical work in school.

Background, purpose and research question

The work of teachers might be described as being determined by, and resulting from, social conditions and personal intentions (Carlgren & Marton, 2000). The profes-

1 This chapter is based on the author's doctoral dissertation thesis The staging of learning: Teachers' reflections on their pedagogical work in an artistic context accepted in 2006 by Lund University, Sweden and published as a book by Malmö Academy of Music.

sionalism is ambiguous because of the complexity of the commission (Wersäll, 2003; Hargreaves, 1998). An essential problem concerns the issue of *how to learn* and *what* to be learned, and what kind of learning the teacher wishes to impart (Carlgren & Marton, 2000). The educational context has a vital importance to the professional identity and capacity for change.

Lander, Almius and Odhagen (1995) define relations to students, cooperation with colleagues and social relations as important aspects in the shaping of a professional identity. Rewarding aspects are students' engagement and creativity, developmental self-confidence, power of initiative, and response to teachers' emotional engagement in the educational situation, context and setting. Moreover, teachers' own learning is important (Lander, Almius & Odhagen, 1995; Stensmo, 1997; 2000). According to Sandberg (1996), music practice and social community are important factors in music education. He maintains that teachers' notion about the role of music in education is (a) a *communicative view* with musical practice, personal and social development, and (b) an *aesthetic normative view*, emphasizing enduring values and ideals and students' development of musical knowledge. These approaches are not necessarily opposites, but determined by the teachers' personal interests and competence.

In an international perspective, these polarisations are mostly compatible with, on the one hand, a communicative, social and practical way of knowledge, as represented by Elliot (1996), and on the other a normative aesthetic approach, which emphasizes musical knowledge, as represented by Reimer (1993, 1996). Varkøy (2001) uses the conceptions of *heteronomy* and *autonomy*, which demonstrate the opposition between music as part of a broader general education and music as an independent form of art. He stresses that general pedagogy increases at the expense of music pedagogy. This conflict actualises a problem in music education: music as an objective of its own, or music as a general means in education. The dichotomy has its origin in the cultural delimitation between art music and popular music. An aesthetic debate culminated in a broader anthropological and a narrow aesthetic cultural approach, respectively (Sundin, 2001; Olsson, 1993).

The concept of aesthetics is an expanding issue in today's school. Thavenius (2004) maintains that a *modest* (normative traditional) aesthetics is represented in school and he advertises for a *radical*, variable aesthetics, which involves culture as a whole. Sundin (2001, 2003) notes that aesthetics is an aspect of the surrounding world and must be understood in its context. There is a problem of how to define aesthetics in school, and adequate theories are lacking (Lindgren & Folkestad, 2003). Ziehe (1994) and

Dale (1990) are looking for a theory that emphasizes the potential of aesthetical subjects in school. This discussion actualises the problem between the educationalist and the actor (Sundin, 2001). Folkestad (1998) and Saar (1999) define two approaches to musical learning: one informal, *playing music* (musical framing), and one formal, *learning how to play music* (pedagogical framing). Heiling (2000) finds these approaches or framings intertwined.

The National Assessment of the Swedish comprehensive school (2004) describes the present cultural expansion as a cultural revolution. All kinds of music and culture products become resources in school. Students are creative receivers of different cultural products and active in their own musical production of meaning. How do teachers handle this in education?

Tambling (1999) observes the discrepancy between the culture of young people and the mediation of heritage culture. She still disregards that the teachers themselves can be exponents of culture. Bruner (2002) maintains that the meaning of production (the narrative arts) is a neglected aspect in learning. What about teachers' own need of being productive? The issue of the present investigation is how teachers create meaning during a kind of *learning through real world* in an artistic context, and what the outcome is of a collective creating process. The context, as defined by Wenger (1998), is the place, the artefacts, the people involved and the process, all intertwined.

The aim of this study is to investigate teachers' experience of a musical production in school in order to acquire an intimate knowledge about the professional work based on teachers' pedagogical and artistic practise and practical knowledge. Furthermore, I wish to reach a deeper understanding of the process of negotiating meaning in a social and artistic interplay.

Accordingly, the purpose of the study is to describe the pedagogical work relating to art and the teacher's own learning as an aspect of this work. The research questions are as follows:

1. What are the implications of being a teacher in an artistic context?

2. Which role and function does the teacher take on as a pedagogue in this work?

3. How does the teachers' own learning come out while participating in the activities associated with a musical production?

Theoretical framework

The overarching theoretical perspective of the thesis is based on socio-cultural theories of learning. These involve a view of learning where interplay and communication in a cultural context are fundamental (Vygotsky, 1978; Säljö, 2000; Dysthe, 2003). Wenger's (1998) social theory of learning, *Communities of practice*, is used as an analytical tool. According to this theory learning emerges from people's mutual engagement as participants in different activities, where the individual as well as the collective are interplaying resources. Four interconnected components are integrated in the processes of learning: *Meaning* – learning as experience, *practice* – learning as doing, *community*– learning as belonging, and *identity* – learning as becoming. The production of meaning is asserted as fundamental and involves the interaction between two constitutional processes, *participation* and *reification*. Wenger (1998) emphasizes an adequate balance between these conceptions. He stresses that most of the learning in school is about reified knowledge with insufficient opportunities for the individual to participate. The learner and the possibility of negotiating meaning are kept in the background.

Wenger (1998) maintains the importance of the individual *ownership of meaning* and points out the lack of interplay between individual progress and learning in school. In addition to the individual's own responsibility for his/her learning process, Wenger also emphasizes the importance of the environment, meaning the whole context in which the learning takes place.

The participant is always in progress in communities and between communities on different *trajectories*. Wenger's use of trajectories includes a temporal dimension connecting present, past and future, but that does not imply any fixed course. The practice creates both boundaries and connections across boundaries provided by products of reification *(boundary objects)* and their connection to people *(brokering)*. According to Wenger, learning is not merely a product of instruction. He rather sees instruction as a resource in learning. Teaching and learning represent two integrated processes, the planned and the emergent. Some of Wenger's (1998, p. 267) questions are:

1. How can we honour the emergent character of learning?
2. How can we minimize teaching so as to maximize learning?
3. What kind of rhythm and shifts of focus will allow learning and teaching to inform each other?

4. How can we maximize the processes of negotiation of meaning enabled by that interaction?

The concept of *mediation* summarizes the kind of process where human abilities, human beings and artefacts interact (Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1991; Säljö, 2000). The world mediates through people (compare symbolic interactionism and Blumer, 1969) in a sense of indirect mediation. In that process, people use both material and psychological tools (Vygotsky, 1934/1978). It is through action and interaction that people get involved. Cooperation, interplay and learning together are therefore important concepts in the discussion of learning as a participant (Dysthe, 2003). Wells (1999) points out the importance of interplay and learning together through his interpretation of the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1934/1978). He regards this zone as a collective zone of development where cognition, cultural artefacts, the social dimensions and arts are meeting.

The theories of *creativity*, *fantasy*, *play* and *drama* by Vygotsky (1930/1995) are important points of departure in the dimension of creation (Drotner, 1996), where production and the individuality of interplay and community complement the understanding of Wenger's social dimension and his way of talking about fantasy as a capacity for transcendence. Vygotsky (1930/1995) includes all kinds of human creation in the concept of creativity. He also maintains that fantasy is derived from experience and, accordingly, it is an ability that increases throughout life. His conclusion is that adults have more advanced creative abilities than young people. He also points out children's play as fundamental to learning and emphasises the important meeting between emotions, intentions and intellect in the action of the imagined situation.

The concept of *externalization* by Bruner (2002) points to an important part in the understanding of the production process, where the musical production can also be compared to a process of craftsmanship (Tempte, 1982). The craftsman knows every step in the process, all the way from the raw material to a completed product.

The concept of *scaffolding* (Greenfield, 1984; Bruner, 1970) is used as a tool in understanding the architecture of the working process of the musical, and might tie up with Wenger's (1998) learning architectures involving flexibility and interaction between content and form. In the present study, Säljö's (2002) interpretation of Vygotsky's (1934/1978) model of a zone of proximal development has the function of an explorative zone for both students and teachers, with the focus on a musical production as the solution of a problem to which no one knows the answer (Wells, 1999). In the zone of proximal development all participants are both teachers and learners (Wells, 1999), as is also the case in Rogoff's (1995) description of *community of learners*.

In the process of participation, the concept of role is an important tool in comprehending the acting and behaviour of the participants in the community of practice. The approaches of interest to this study include the concept of role-taking (Mead, 1976), Goffman's (1959/1974) thoughts about people's interactions in everyday life from a drama perspective, and Hundeide (1989) who sees interaction like an inner theatre and regards this ability as a competence. The present study is focused on creation and the unpredictable, emphasizing development, framing and change, which determine the possibilities of becoming successful in the formation of identities in the teaching profession.

Method and design

The present investigation, which is qualitative in character, describes the experience from a human perspective, from the relation between the subject and the object as it stands out in the in-depth *interviews*. In accordance with Marton and Booth (1997), the individual is regarded as a carrier of fragments of different ways of experiencing, which means that the analysis of the interviews will result in a description of the variation on a collective level.

It might be argued as problematic using interviews as the method of data collection, that is, talking to people about what they really do. Alexandersson (1994) points out the difficulties in discerning opinions from reflected experience. Säljö (1997) discusses the interview as a problematic method, since the context of the interview situation has an influence on the result. Kvale (1997) maintains that an interview is a socially created linguistic interplay between two persons (note his original title InterViews) and cannot lay claim to any empirical accuracy. Holme and Solvang (1997) argue that one proper interpretation is scarcely possible. There may be many different explanations in spite of tendencies in the data, and there is no formula to follow. The aim of the investigation is to achieve knowledge about 'how the *significations* and *intentions* manifested by unique individuals and phenomena can be understood in a context of time, space and meaning' (Sjöström, 1994, p. 73, italics in the original).

Data collection, procedure and analysis

The empirical study is based on qualitative in-depth interviews with six teachers

(Alma, Anne, Bonnie, Carl, Dan and Emma) all working in the compulsory school. The in-depth interviews are open and semi-structured and based on an interview guide (Kvale, 1997) constructed in accordance with the categories in the results of Törnquist (2000). The subject fields are (a) ways of working, (b) social interplay, (c) experience, (d) learning, and (e) creating. The interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim, and sent back to the interviewees for examination and further reflections. According to Arfwedson and Ödman (1998), a deeper qualitative meaning is achieved when the reflective practitioner (Schön, 1983) gets another chance to reflect. Five steps of analysis were made to identify both similarities and variations:

1. Gaining an overall impression in the subject fields of each interview.
2. Grouping the subject fields from the different interviews to common/unit qualities of areas.
3. Content analysis noting similarities and variations and shaping different themes describing the pedagogical work and the teachers' own learning.
4. The shaping of four categories: the Participant, the Supervisor, the Manager and the Artist, of which the Participant is the superior.
5. Consideration and decision of form for presentation of the result.

Validity and generalization

As pointed out by Kvale (1997), being familiar with the task and the context is an important quality in research interviews. The validity is based partly on an internal subjectivity – which means that there will be a correspondence between the interpretations of the interviewer and the interviewee – and partly on an external validity, which means how the connection between the theory and the investigated phenomenon will be achieved (Lantz, 1993). Kvale (1997) conveys that it is the inner logical line of reasoning that decides what the truth is. That agrees with the *coherence* criterion of truth. Furthermore, the *pragmatic* criterion of truth is represented, referring to its practical consequences.

The aim of generalization, in Kvale's (1997) words, is not *how things are*, but *how things can be*.

Result: The pedagogue in an artistic context

In the analysis, two central dimensions appear: the participation in and the production of the musical including the artistic artefacts. The character of the participation is mutual engagement, interest and the shared responsibility between the participants (students and teachers). The musical production is like a hub in the pedagogical work and the learning process of both teachers and students. The collective structure of the production of the musical appears as a joint phenomenon for both individual and collective learning, where motivation and developmental demands from three target groups appear: teachers, students and audience. This appears in the teachers' thoughts, justifying the production of the musical as being a part of school activities. The target groups influence the creating process in different ways.

Producing the musical partly promotes the teacher's development as an educationalist and artist, and partly the pedagogical work and a broader and more intimate knowledge about the musical issue and the creative educational work. 'The music teacher, the musician and the creator are put together... all parts help each other' (Bonnie, p. 15).

The result is presented in four categories: *the participant, the supervisor, the manager* and *the artist*. The categories describe the teachers' relation to the participants and the creating project, and how they conduct themselves in different roles in the limitations of the pedagogical work. The characteristic of a mutual engagement, a shared interest in and responsibility for the musical production, point out participation as a central aspect of the result, and it will therefore be regarded as an overarching category.

The Participant: As soon as teachers regard themselves, their students and colleagues as participants, the relation between teachers and students begin to change. Partly it provides a deeper personal relationship; partly it changes their position to each other: all participants become both teachers and learners during the process. The teachers talk about this in terms of a converted role: ' they are teaching me' (Anne, p. 10), contributing to a changing teaching situation. 'It's a give-and-take' (Carl, p 8). Another contributing factor is the sense of community, where teacher and students belong to the same thing, and yet another is the distribution of responsibility, where the teacher

expects students to be 'owners' of the production. The spirit of community is a central aspect. In the participating dimension, where connection and deeper personal relations between the participants are made possible: '…it's the type of relation coming about when you are part of the same thing. In other words, some kind of family feeling…' (Carl, p.18).

Musical production and the character of authentic learning are challenging in an artistic and social way. Moreover, the sense of community grows by collaboration between teachers, and provides a thorough experience: 'we simply feel that our lives have been changed by going through a thing like this' (Carl, p.2). Collaboration as part of the experience over time seems to be both a security factor and a refuge for teachers learning and deviating from regular practice. The sense of connection and community forms and changes the professional identity of the teacher.

The Supervisor: The perspective of the supervisor appears as a change from the traditional way of teaching and as a variety in the educational process. The characteristics of the task are discussing, negotiating and organizing. In addition, the teacher has to be an adviser, a pilot and an instructor – a kind of trigger for the student's own learning process. The role of supervisor involves that the teacher pays attention to the social process of the student. It involves placing the student in the centre and that the teacher 'doesn´t know from the start what will be the result' (Emma, p.6). The unpredictable in the process produces excitement and inspiration in the teacher's work. In the role of supervisor, the teacher encourages sensitivity and more improvising ways of teaching, giving the students a central place in the process of learning, even in the planning of the class. 'I think sometimes it may be a drawback to plan too efficiently because then you'll miss lots of other things happening' (Anne, p.3). This attitude also provides a creative way of working. 'Here I'm much more open to the students' individual creativity, something which has also affected mine. It has, to a great extent, influenced my role as a teacher. I am much less controlling…' (Alma, p.5).

The process appears as the most important feature in the statements of all teachers, and there is a distinction between the working process and the actual result, that is the product. In the collective artistic context there is interplay between two processes - the social and the artistic. The intersection between the two processes lies in the stage performance. According to Anne: 'The process is certainly the most important thing until one starts performing on stage, because by then…the product takes over' (Anne, p.11). The attention is shifted from the process towards the artefacts, which initially comprise all the minor products developing in the course of the work to a coherent scenic production which will finally be presented to an audience.

Two processes emerge in the work of the supervisor: the social and the artistic. It also means paying attention to the expressions of musicians and students by forming and interpreting their music. Both verbal and nonverbal communications are involved in this kind of process. When the product and the artistic process are in the forefront, the supervisor approaches the role of the manager.

The manager: A basic feature of this category is an active responsibility to run a musical activity by leaving room for pedagogic and artistic activities. One characteristic of the manager is a goal-directed will to pursue the educational work by cooperating with other professions and institutions. A room for action is created, reinforcing the relation between music education and musical production. 'The important thing to me as a music teacher is actually working with this performance, because it permeates work in music for a long time' (Dan, p. 5).

The interesting thing about the manager function is that the manager may take an active part. For example, the bandleader, or the conductor, is a member of the orchestra, but simultaneously s/he has the task of being a manager. Through his/her practice the manager therefore becomes a model. On the whole, an *artistic leadership* means that the attention is shifted from the social process of the students to the growing product, where the focus is on the work on expression and performance.

In this context, a teacher directed manager role does not have to imply that the students are not given enough scope. What emerges from the result is that the main task of the manager is to create 'frames of action' for the education. As expressed by one of the teachers: 'Perhaps you dare more and more to fix the frames, and then other things tend to happen inside the frames instead' (Emma, p.7).

The manager of art can be a model of learning, but might also be a leader with the character of an authoritarian. Those aspects are mostly included in the bounds of musical production, where teachers act as directors and production managers. A focusing on the product and the artistic performance is a dominating feature of this category. The process of production is in the foreground – to bring the musical to a complete performance – and this calls for someone taking on the part of coordinator and director. The closer a product gets to a performance, the greater are the demands made by the managers on themselves. The goal comes into view, which in this connection leads to a public performance. The performance should be qualitatively good, so that the students may feel proud of their musical. As they 'walk out on stage they should feel that they have been properly directed, that they have received total support from their director' (Alma, p.11), in this case the teacher.

By that, a new artistic process comes into view, where skill and capacity are being tried out in the work towards a finished performance. In that way the students are given the opportunity to apply what they have learned in their own education, and this proves to be most important even to the teacher; a form of self-evaluation where the teacher may see his/her ambitions realized.

The Artist: In this category the act of creation is in focus. It appears partly as an inherent creative capacity and a need for expression, and partly as doing, producing and performing. Taking part in the production provides the teachers with opportunities to bring their own creative energy into composition and arrangement, but they also use students as tools in the creative process. Personal involvement in music, artistic self-fulfilment and achievement are important aspects in the pedagogical work from the perspective of the artist. Being an artist in a pedagogical context involves a constant process of compromising between the teacher's own creative needs and those of the students. Most frequently emerging from the teacher interviews is the students' need of creative activities, but these prove to be just as important to the teachers themselves. What comes out is that work on the musical production generates a *creative* and *productive* work of the teachers themselves. One example of this is when the teacher is *co-productive* and/or part of the production process.

The musical production seems to provide an opportunity for the teachers' own creative urge and an artistic interplay with free scope for intuition, improvisation and the unpredictable in the teachers' relations to their students. Appearing outside the teachers' own production material is also a *creation through the students:* 'In a sense, I'm a part all the way. Why, I don't exactly create anything myself./…/oh, yes, as a director I do create during the last weeks and then I create through them…' (Alma, p. 15). Alma looks upon herself as creating when she is directing and when working with the production itself, using the students as tools. What is evident too, is how the teacher, in various ways, may appear in the students' own creativity by means of small gestures, facial expressions, guiding.

The musical provides an opportunity for students and teachers to meet in a musical interpretation. They move to a new situation where the music-making itself may begin. 'The children quite often finish with something before they have really worked it through thoroughly…When we know the song is when we may start working; at that point we start creating' (Emma).

Emotions and nervousness are aspects of the artistic life and unavoidable in the context of achievements and different kinds of performances. The musical perfor-

mance is a way to acquaint oneself with this type of problems in practice. Demands for achievement are also part of the teachers' experiences, and the great effort invested in a performance is noticeable. 'I would never in my life have known…to be part of a production like this and to really act…that it would be so physically tough…all those preparations…It's a real kick to see that things we thought up half a year ago during the Swedish lessons have turned out like *this'* (Carl, p. 8).

Teachers' learning

A structure of participation is basic to the four categories. Teachers adopt a variety of roles during the production and these roles are transferred to all learning situations in the pedagogical work over time. They also develop an area of competence based on relations and interactions with the participants of the musical production. The social and artistic characters of the process are always present but their focus is constantly shifting. To act and to enter into different roles as participant, supervisor, manager and artist is a form of role-taking (Mead, 1976). This is a competence important to both teachers and students in their interplay. It expounds a *pedagogical dramaturgy*, where the participants are quite aware of each other's roles and what they can expect from each other. The concept *pedagogical dramaturgy*, devised by me in this context, refers to and describes an interaction, a kind of playing teamwork, partly going on without the teachers control over the process. The participants and their growing product, with the story and different kinds of aesthetic expressions, govern, influence and shape a direction of motion.

Two complementary processes appear in teachers' objectives regarding education: one personal with an individual alignment approach and another one dealing with self-realization and a collective work with a scenic direction. The production of the musical is also an opportunity to apply personal and acquired knowledge. Music education and music production are integrated activities. According to the teachers' idea of musical learning there are two creative processes touching on the *predictable* and the *unpredictable*. These concepts also appear in the teachers' own learning and educational work as a creative and improvised way of educating.

Pedagogical work in the artistic context involves aspects triggering the teachers' own learning process, where they get the chance to learn more *about* and *from* the students, and at the same time even learn more about themselves.

Discussion

The findings of the present study reveal a pedagogical work where learning comes out of active participation and engagement in a joint activity. Participation is partly a kind of action, partly a form of belonging. In the symbiosis between those elements, the individuals construct their identity. The findings describe a *community of practice* (Wenger, 1998). Considering students as a resource in learning is a promoting factor in the teachers' own learning and progress over time. Through the different roles promoted by the musical process, the teachers experience their work from different perspectives.

In this study the teachers stage a context of learning by means of different roles in the educational work, which promote a *structure of relevance* (Marton & Booth, 1997). By learning to experience in a more complex and advanced way, they also learn what the situation requires. In the terms of Dewey (1999), the capability of knowledge is to understand the context that decides the matter of function, similar to Aristotle and the concept of *fronesis*, videlicet the *practical wisdom* (Gustavsson, 2000).

Community of practice

One central point of Wenger's (1998) theory of community of practice is learning as *social* participation, which, as shown in the results, is central in the present study. Complementary findings are also related to learning as *artistic* participation. In the following, the results will be discussed using Wenger's (1998) community of integrative components, community, identity, practice and meaning.

The formation of a community provides a deeper personal relation between the participants and their common relation to the musical production. In the findings of the study the community and sense of belonging symbolize the common collective as represented by expressions like 'familiar feelings' and 'part of the same thing', where the participants feel akin to each other. The participants in the musical production construct shared meanings (Bouji, 1998), which are not obvious in traditional school-work.

The community affords a feeling of safety because of the participants' mutual choice of cooperation (Hargreaves, 1998). The results in fact even show the effect of a forced cooperation: a way of non-participation, according to Hargreaves (1998), and further according to Wenger (1998). In that case the teachers dread the participation

in the musical production. The participants define themselves in relation to the community of practice and in that sense the community of practice is both a boundary and a boundless practice. 'Participation and non-participation are both constituents of their identities in interrelated ways' (Wenger, 1998, p. 171). The communities of practice develop ways of maintaining other practices, something that appears in the relation between the musical production and music education, between the musical activity and the school, and between the school and other institutions and the rest of the world. 'Learning involves interplay between the local and the global' (p. 228). The musical production with the artistic artefacts corresponds to *boundary objects* and teachers and students correspond to *brokers*, the links between different practices.

The individual becomes a resource in the community and the community becomes a resource to the individual (Wenger, 1998). In this study this is enabled by 'role switching' between teacher and students. According to Wells´ (1998) interpretation of the *zone of proximal development* (Vygotsky, 1934/1978), all the participants become learners. This also refers to *scaffolding* (Greenfield, 1984; Bruner, 1970) and Rogoff's *community of learners*.

Practice – meaning

An essential aspect of the present study *is* learning as doing (Wenger, 1998). Bruner (2002) states that artistic means of expression turn out to be decorations rather than fundamental ways of learning. In Wenger's theory practice is learning, which in this study means an experience during a creative process from idea to performance. In this process the teacher takes on the identity of the profession and the educational work is an interaction with the planned and the emergent (Wenger, 1998). This is a time consuming process for both teachers and students.

Dialectical relations between the predictable and the unpredictable stimulate teachers' learning, where the unpredictable is a central aspect. Ziehe (1986) points out the importance of *unusual learning*, which corresponds to Törnquist (2000) and the musical production as producing in contrast to reproducing. The teachers in the present study express the importance of being engaged in a creative process themselves. According to Wenger (1998) participants interact, and engagement in a process of practice creates an experience of meaningfulness. The process of *negotiation of meaning* (Wenger, 1998) summarizes this phenomenon. Negotiation of meaning involves two dualities – *participation* and *reification* and both require and enable each other.

The musical production – the architecture of learning

The musical production works like a *scaffold* (Greenfield, 1984; Bruner, 1970) for the teachers' own learning and the development of the educational work. The musical production itself involves a special way of working, structures of cooperation, and a collective creative process.

There are also a network of tasks and roles organized by cultural models, which demand different efforts on the part of the teachers. Teachers develop their profession by acting within the boundaries of those roles, for example, as production managers and directors, or by being actors themselves and meeting other actors in action.

Mediating learning in an artistic context

The teacher's educational intentions with a musical production, as part of music education, are to convey a real collective, creative and artistic process from idea to performance. In other words, to mediate what learning means in an artistic context. According to Marton and Booth (1997) it is a kind of purpose, an *indirect object*, videlicet what education is striving for.

The process contains aspects like technique, musical interplay and other verbal and nonverbal means of expression, social knowledge and personal development. In the interaction between the social and the artistic, participants, the artefacts of art and the emergent product, are all important aspects of the teacher's mediated ambitions (Wertsch, 1991). The forms of education and context become mediating as well. This symbiosis between content and form is an *authentic* way of learning (Brown, Collins & Duguid, 1989; Rogoff, 1990, 1995; Nagel, 1996). *Situated learning* and *legitimate peripheral participation* are expressions of a similar kind (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

The mediating process in the present study involves psychological, physical and verbal tools (Vygotsky, 1934/1978; Säljö, 2000), but also nonverbal expressions (Wells, 1999). Nonverbal communication might be explained by Merleau-Ponty (1989; 1997) as *bodily knowing*. There is a dimension of a bodily understanding in the process of experience. Carl expresses this by saying: 'to take part in that kind of process…. You can't describe it… It has to be experienced'. Artefacts become integrated and applied in the process as reproductive, explorative and productive means. When producing a musical production, traditions, heritage, culture and innovation all mediate in the process of negotiating meaning. This characterizes learning in a context (Lave & Wenger, 1991;

Wenger, 1998; Hundeide, 2003). According to Leontiev (1986), mediation emerges in people's activities and cooperative behaviour.

The musical production also mediates both individual and collective learning in which responsibility and expectations of the participants are important aspects. All participants are regarded as resources in the learning process. According to Wells' (1999) expansion of Vygotsky's *zone of proximal development*, the musical production is a kind of problem solving activity needing both an individual and a collective effort to solve the problem. According to Kohn (1990) such cooperation means that participants have the same goal, and the success of each participant depends on all the others.

In the present study the predictable and the unpredictable are intertwined in the *zone of proximal development.* On the one hand, the individual is aware of his/her knowledge and wants to show it in a performance (collective dimension), on the other hand, the individual is unaware of his/her knowledge and wants to explore it in a performance (collective dimension). The importance of those phenomena can be explained by *externalization* (Bruner, 2002) and *presentation* (Törnquist, 2000), testifying to the importance of both the social dimension and the product.

The pedagogical meaning of 'staging'

This study draws attention to the importance of applying one's acquired knowledge. According to the *zone of proximal development* acquisition is just the beginning of learning (Vygotsky, 1978; Greenfield, 1984; Säljö, 2000). Molander (1996) emphasizes *knowledge in use.* The musical production appears to be an opportunity to externalize and perform knowledge acquisition in a new context (Wenger, 1998). Achievement is an aspect of performance. In this study the teacher adjusts the demands for achievement in proportion to the student's capacity. With an individual approach there will always be demands, but on different levels.

Working with a musical production gives the teacher a sort of legitimacy of action, both as a democratic supervisor and as a leader with an authoritative and authoritarian character. To act and enter into different roles as participant, supervisor, manager and artist are forms of role-taking (Mead, 1976). This is an important competence for both teacher and students in their interaction. It expounds a *pedagogical dramaturgy,* where the participants are quite aware of each other's roles and what they can expect from each other.

The present study demonstrates the presence of both a *musical* and *pedagogical framing* (Saar, 1999). In conformity with Heiling (2000), I have found these aspects of

learning to be intertwined. Another finding in this study is the importance of teachers' *emotional* relations to students, which is pointed out in the research results by Hargreaves (1998) and Rhöse (2003). Vygotsky's (1934/1978) theories stress the combination of emotions, intellect, artistry, play and fantasy as resources in learning. In this study, the pedagogical work in an artistic context illustrates this combination.

Being on stage means to be confronted with many problems like success and failure and a lot of nervousness that both students and teachers have to deal with. According to Sørensen (1997), the process of learning is a risky venture, which calls for resistance, agony, frustration and happiness. In her metaphoric picture of the pedagogue as an instructor, she points out that the instructor should know the authors well enough to be able to play with their potentials. This study demonstrates those qualities. An important incitement in the teacher's profession is, according to Ziehe (1994), that the teacher makes his/her competence productive in an active way. This has been demonstrated in the present study.

Conclusion

Understanding the musical production in school as a *community of practice* implies that it is not an isolated activity in music education. The musical production develops ways of maintaining connections with other practices and even the whole world (Wenger, 1998). According to The National Assessment (2004) all kinds of music and culture products have the potential of becoming resources in school, though students are creative receivers of different cultural products and can be active in their own musical production of meaning. The collective creating process, as represented in this study, where both teachers and students participate, promotes a balance between *participation* and *reification* in the process of negotiating meaning (Wenger, 1998). Sandberg (1996) points out both a *communicative* alignment and an *aesthetic normative* alignment as important factors in music education. The teachers themselves can be culture exponents as well as the students (Tambling, 1999).

In the present study, form and content were found to be of equal dignity in the learning process. A main conclusion is the importance of an educational design: the way education is designed is a mediating message. According to Carlgren and Marton (2000), and their discussion about shaping *learning environments,* the musical production as part of music education might be one form of symbiotic construction. In this com-

munity, students and teachers meet in a mutual learning process and negotiation of meaning, promoting a deeper understanding of the pedagogical work in an artistic context.

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Bringing Order to Aesthetics in School[1]

Discursive positioning in discussions with teachers and head teachers

Monica Lindgren

Introduction

The issues of this study spring from an interest in how ideals of knowledge are created and preserved through specific control strategies. What is perceived as important and relevant, or unimportant and irrelevant knowledge, respectively, is seen as an effect of the demarcations of these strategies. The specific point of interest in this context is to study and analyse the demarcations being made in connection with the aesthetic activities of the school. This interest stems partly from my own profession as a teacher and trainer of teachers within the field, and partly from the fact that this type of activity has gained an increasingly large scope over the last few decades in texts on educational politics and educational science. In the light of these facts, the study focuses on how teachers and head teachers describe their own 'reality', that is, the school

1 This chapter is based on the author's doctoral dissertation thesis Bringing order to aesthetics in school. Discursive positioning in discussions with teachers and head teachers accepted in 2006 by Gothenburg University, Sweden and published as a book by The Faculty of Fine, Applied and Performing Arts, Gothenburg University.

and its aesthetic activities, and how they describe themselves. In the study, the school as an organisation is not seen as an autonomous institution created beforehand, but as something created through the interaction between people. How teachers and head teachers talk about the aesthetic activities of the school, the pupils and themselves, is thus studied from the way they use speech as a resource in organising the school. However, starting out from this empirically related perspective, the object of the study is also to problematize the field of school and aesthetics from its specific structure as contemporary social phenomenon.

Control, aesthetics and the school: object and outline of research

The background of the study is the recent rhetoric on school control and the aesthetic activities of the school, and the relation between these two discussions. In national as well as international discussions, the Government-controlled school has been called in question more and more. In Sweden the talk about 'the deregulation of the school' is part of this discussion. A decentralisation of power in favour of an increased local control, and thus a greater influence, is said to be needed because of the rapid development of society, and in order for schools to be adapted to this society a flexible school system is required, free from the deadlock of Government control (Carlgren & Marton, 2000). In the discourses on the deregulation of the school, the value of the individual pupil's freedom of choice, and his/her own search for knowledge, is put forward as well. It is seen as important that the school receives the rational and independent child with an attitude of openness regarding individual curriculum and acquisition of knowledge (Walkerdine, 1995). The declaration about school management could be understood in different ways. On the one hand, the 'decentralisation' of the school may be seen as a way of handing over a greater responsibility for the school to the local community and the persons involved in the local school, a way of liberating the school (Lindqvist, Löwstedt & Torper, 1999) and increasing the line of action at a local level. This is the view indicated by the texts dealing with educational politics. Even elsewhere school management is discussed from this perspective (Alexandersson, 1995; Lindkvist & Magnusson, 1999; Carlgren & Marton, 2000). On the other hand, the changes in the school may be seen as if 'the Government increases the distance between itself and the heart of the conflict' (Wahlström, 2002, p. 51), as soon as the Government 'is excused' from taking responsibility for any problems at the local school. A third perspective

assumes that the centralistic system has lost its legitimacy and that the Government, owing to that, has lost control. Thus, one way of regaining control might be to profess concepts like decentralisation, in order to later resume control in another form; for example, by the demand for evaluation (Wahlström, 2002). Within the field of school and aesthetics, Anglo-Saxon perspectives, in particular, have formed the Swedish discourses. The continental perspective on aesthetics and learning (as an example, see Nielsen, 1994) has been pushed into the background by American and English perspectives. Just like in the USA and England, the concept of aesthetics and the school could be said to issue from two perspectives. On the one hand, the concept has kept the more traditionally exclusive and narrow meaning where activities are linked to expressly artistic subjects. Here, the discussion is carried on from a media-specific perspective. On the other hand, the concept is constructed from a broader media-neutral perspective, where aesthetic aspects may be read into any situation of our everyday lives (Sundin, 2003). The tension between the two educational-philosophical movements of the twentieth century, the child-centred pragmatism inspired by Dewey and the knowledge-centred essentialism, respectively, is reflected in the discussions on aesthetics and the school as well as in the professional research within the field. In Swedish studies on the identities and occupational socialisation of music teachers, two conflicting identities are brought up as an effect of these different educational traditions and trends. However, the polarisation between the musician identity and the teacher identity is criticised for being derived from a social context that is too narrow (Kruger, 1998; Buchholtz & Hall, 2002; Woodford, 2002; Olsson, 2005).

In the light of the above statements on the control of the school and its aesthetic activities, this study is based on questions about the reason why certain statements from contemporary contexts relating to educational policy and science about the school is being produced, in what way they are presented, and under what conditions and circumstances they are produced. In this study, they are seen as part of the discursive demarcations carried out today in connection with discussions on the aesthetic activities of the school. However, what is lacking is a more detailed analysis of the personal understanding and knowledge of teachers and educational leaders concerning the field of aesthetics and the school. The way they label, problematize and categorise the aesthetic activities is, in my view, one element in the construction of the field. For this reason the empirical factor is limited to statements by head teachers and teachers in compulsory school. The starting point of this study is that the field of aesthetics and the school is created by linguistic interaction, and that these linguistic statements are

controlled by certain rules and regulations. From this prerequisite, the object is *to identify and describe current discourses relating to the aesthetic activities in compulsory school, and to problematize these with regard to power and control.* Accordingly, a more comprehensive object is to increase the understanding of how the aesthetic practice of the school is created and legitimised by means of power and control. Furthermore, by a critical examination of the aesthetic field of the school, the study aims at giving a stimulus to a development that benefits both pupils and teachers within the field.

The object is attained by means of the following research questions:

- How do teachers and head teachers construct legitimacy for different ways of pursuing aesthetic activities in compulsory school?
- How do teachers and head teachers construct themselves and the pupils within the field?
- What is the function of the constructions from a perspective of power and control?

Construction of knowledge: a theoretical framework

The theoretical basis or framework of the study originates from the central function of language in educational contexts. Pupils, educators, head teachers and others of the school staff interact and communicate daily with each other, and as to all other individuals in our society communication turns out to be the condition for existence in everyday life. Man constructs his nature (Berger & Luckman, 1967) and pertaining to this study it means that he creates himself as well as the aesthetic activities of the school. Thus the basis of the theoretical framework of the study is that language creates rather than reflects our environment, meaning that the usage is studied in its social context and interpreted from the implications and effects produced in the interaction between people (Barker & Galasinski, 2001; Billig, 2004; Hall, 2004a; 2004b).

From this linguistic point of view, knowledge is seen as being tied to cultures and social practices. Different kinds of knowledge are classified and created from a variety of specific preconceptions about man and the world. (Burr, 2003; Popkewitz, 1998; Foucault, 1978/1991). These preconceptions are controlled by the ideas of the

past, which are constantly renegotiated in the present. The relation between control and preconceptions, *governmentality* (Foucault, 1978/1991; Hultqvist & Petersson, 1995; Dean, 1999), is essential in understanding the problems concerning the exercise of power. Foucault's (1972/1986; 1974/2003; 1976/2002; 1984/1987) and Potter's and Wetherell's (1987) problematization of the relation between the subject and the object of knowledge is of interest to the study, as this relation is central in connection with school and education. Here, the idea of 'objective' subjects and objects of knowledge, respectively, is questioned from theories of *power* and *control*. By emphasising the *normalising* implication of power (Foucault, 1974/2003; Hörnqvist, 1996; Rose, 1995; Börjesson, 2003), which controls subjects and objects at school, attention is drawn to the aspects that form the basis of the control of the school's aesthetic activities. This *liberalism as control* (Rose, 1990; 1995; 1999) binds power to a positive knowledge of the behaviour of individuals. The opportunity of *resistance* against power lies in attempts to equalise the power relations (Hörnqvist, 1996), that is, to challenge the prevailing power structures. (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985; Torfing, 1999).

In the present study, people's identity and social life are seen as constitutive in discursive practices. The discourse concept positions itself between a micro-sociological perspective, where the rhetoric organisation of language is studied and analysed in an action-related context (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wetherell & Potter, 1992; Edwards & Potter, 1992; Edwards, 1997; Parker, 2002), and a macro-perspective, where the notion of discourse in relation to power forms the basis (Foucault, 1984/1987; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). Accordingly, in this investigation *discourse* is seen as *a social practice where objects and subjects are created through interaction and action by way of specific power techniques.*

The empirical investigation: methodology, realisation and analysis

In the present study, the linguistic usage at school is studied as an empirical phenomenon. This means that the study aims at investigating how language breaks down into structures, and how concepts are relative for the purpose of exposing the rules demarcating apparent 'truths' in the aesthetic practice of the school. The text is *deconstructed* (Derrida, 1983/1991; McQuillan, 2000; Lenz Taguchi, 2004) as predominant patterns of thought are destabilised. The deconstructive work of the analysis is chiefly inspired by discourse theory (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985; Laclau, 1990; Torfin, 1999) and the discourse psychological model DAM, 'Discursive Action Model' (Potter, Edwards

och Wetherell, 1993, p. 388 ff.). Additionally, in the latter phase of the analysis, inspiration is drawn from the theories of Foucault regarding power and knowledge. In this phase the analysis is principally concerned with the forms of identity produced by the discourses, and the search for 'absences and silences' as well as 'resistance and counter-discourse' (Carabine, 2001, p. 281).

In total, 55 teachers and head teachers from seven compulsory schools are included in the study. Three of the schools are designated as 0–6 schools, two as 7–9 schools, one as a f–9 school and yet another one as a 6–9 school. The selection of the participants at each school was made as a result of an inquiry about discussions with 'the head teacher', 'one of the school's working parties' and 'the representatives of the school's aesthetic activities', respectively. The starting point in the group interviews and focus groups, conducted between the years 2002–2004, was a discussion concerning 'the aesthetic activities of the school'. The participants themselves mainly directed the course of the discussions. In those cases where I, as the interviewer, directed the discussion by putting a question or commenting on a statement, my remarks are included in the analysis as well.

The aesthetic activities of the school: a presentation of teachers' and head teachers' constructions of legitimacy

The results of the study show how the field of 'the aesthetic activities of the school' is legitimised from certain ideas taken for granted and centred on a number of essential concepts: *compensation; needs; balance; being whole; practicalities; fun; reinforcement; education.* These concepts put the discourses, seen as significant to the field, in focus, and by means of various rhetorical techniques these discourses are afforded a status of credibility. The following discourses have been identified concerning *the construction of legitimacy surrounding the aesthetic activities of the school:* (i) Aesthetic activities as compensation; (ii) aesthetic activities as balance; (iii) aesthetic activities as 'having fun', (iv) aesthetic activities as education; (v) aesthetic activities as reinforcement. *The construction of legitimacy surrounding the aesthetic competence of the teachers* – that is, the teachers' and head teachers' presentation of themselves - is seen in the study as a direct consequence of the discourses. The kinds of identity positioning emerging from the results are: (i) the teacher as an adult; (ii) the teacher as a therapeutic educator; (iii) the teacher as a non-theorist; (iv) the teacher as a subject specialist; (v) the teacher as an artist.

As described previously, the starting point of the study is that the school and its aesthetic activities are constructed by means of language as an action. In the results is shown in what way the different kinds of discourses and identity positioning are developed, how they are given credibility and how they produce a certain type of knowledge. This knowledge achieves a normalising effect since it relativises and creates hierarchies, includes and excludes, from an established norm. The basis of this *normalisation* involves the presentation of the school's pupils, teachers and activities from what is considered as normal and not normal, respectively, with the intention of creating a sense of meaning. This contrasting function occurs from binary oppositional pairs: A pupil cannot be seen as musical if there are no unmusical pupils; subjects cannot be seen as practical if there are no theoretical subjects; a whole individual implies a disrupted individual; activities at school cannot be described as fun if no dull activities are believed to exist. The dichotomies are used in developing certain credibility in the argumentation, and by means of a certain demarcation of what is 'normal' there are reasons to strive for an adaptation to them, and to cope with anything that does not fit into this norm.

By means of different types of aesthetic activities the pupils are supposed to approach the norm of normality. The question is whether pupils should get more or less time for aesthetic activities – as a *compensation* for failing to deal with the specific needs of the problem child or children in general. By contrasting, the teachers and head teachers find a way to adapt to a discourse, and at the same time it becomes a technique of maintaining and perhaps even increasing their own activities and thus strengthening their own position at school. For example, in the discourse of 'having fun', to present the problem children as having a greater talent for aesthetic subjects gives credibility to aesthetic activities that are legitimised from educational-therapeutic factors.

> *Märit: And those children who don't get on so well in a classroom setting, we see that they get on just fine with us – well, then let them be with us! Let them be with us and feel that they are successful.*
>
> *Karin: Yea, that's it.*
>
> *Anette: You see this joy in the children, and even the children who the theoretical teachers complain about - how trying they are, and so on. And I don't recognise*

> *that at all – what ? Is he really like that? I just can´t recognise it. I suppose that´s the way it is: children with problems - they like practical things like these, don´t they? Well, I shouldn´t say practical, but rather artistic-aesthetic subjects, you know. Why, that´s plain to see, isn´t it?*

In this discourse, the discourse of 'having fun', subjects are set up against each other, in some cases by placing them in a hierarchic order. The subject of music is presented as 'more fun than maths' and aesthetic subjects as 'the liberating subjects' in contrast to 'the other subjects'.

Correspondingly, in the discourse on *balance*, pupils are described as becoming 'whole' when theoretical work is integrated with practical and aesthetic work. In the discourse on education, pupils lacking in self-confidence and those not humble enough are given the opportunity of becoming 'better individuals' by means of aesthetic activities. Here, the normalisation is based on an idea of some change of personality where the transition from a less good to a better individual is supposed to happen by means of the school's aesthetic activities. Even within the construction of aesthetic activities as *reinforcement*, the rhetoric is developed around children with different types of learning disabilities and/or motor problems, who are expected to achieve normal results when provided with more time for aesthetic activities.

> *Interviewer: What is your objective with music teaching in secondary school?*
>
> *Kajsa: The overall objective is perhaps to…or let me put it this way… that they will be good parents, that they will be decent human beings. And what are decent human beings? Perceptive and cooperative, respectful towards each other, recognising others as human beings. That´s on top. And with this in mind I see the potentials of the subject, and that is the reason why we have always been playing and singing and creating a lot together.*

Most of the statements achieve credibility through generalisation. The teachers in the study sometimes talk about the school in general terms. In these cases a normal school is set up against a not normal school based on a rhetoric surrounding theoretical /practical; fun/boring and subject separated/subject integrated. In the light of this general picture of the school, even children are described in general terms: Children are seen as being disruptive; refugee children are supposed to be in greater need of aesthetic

activities; recreation instructors uphold 'the aesthetic quality'. In the remarks where a specific individual is mentioned, the statement takes on a function of strengthening the plausibility of an assertion about a group of individuals.

The construction of categories is a way for those active within the aesthetic field of the school to legitimise, not only the aesthetic activities, but themselves as well. The constructions emerging in the analyses of the legitimacy surrounding the aesthetic activities of the school are also reflecting the teachers' self-presentations. The teachers and head teachers use speech in order to construct themselves and other people by taking an attitude to their own group and other ones. This is accomplished by means of rhetorical techniques such as categorisation and contrasting. The construction of the teacher as a *therapeutic educator* marks out an affiliation to one's own group, and the qualities ascribed to it are founded on a greater care for the children. The therapeutically inclined educator contrasts herself with other teachers who are thus represented as being less inclined to care and attention. The identity of '*the teacher as an adult*' performs the function of legitimising the aesthetic activities of the school from a certain perspective. The adult is put in relation to the child (in contrast to the teacher who is put in relation to the pupil) and finds a role more directed towards social training in connection with the aesthetic activities at school.

Interviewer: Does anyone of you play an instrument?

Ulla: I don´t. Barbro plays the guitar tolerably well, I suppose.

Erika: But she doesn´t use to play, does she?

Ulla: No, she doesn´t. She sings well, though. I don´t do that either. (Everybody laughs.) But I love singing anyway. I suppose if the children have any sense of rhythm – which I don´t have…then if I teach them the wrong melody they will probably learn the proper one later. (Everybody laughs.)

Siv: Yes I´m sure they will (comforting). Joy is the most important thing.

Ulla: Yes, indeed, joy is the most important thing. And to show that even the teacher doesn´t know everything, or that neither do the grown-ups - and it doesn´t matter. You just give of your best. Yes.

In this example, the adult achieves her/his legitimacy by being older than the children, in contrast to the teacher who achieves legitimacy by being more knowledgeable than the children. By constructing the aesthetic activities as 'fun', credibility is attained in the rhetoric about what is presented as ignorance in a subject like, for example, music. Though many of the teachers convey that they 'know how to play' (an instrument), still, in this connection, they describe themselves as musical novices whose primary goal is to make sure that the children 'have fun' during the musical activities. The fact that this is done at the expense of what is understood as the musical quality is expressed as perfectly legitimate since the children are supposed to be fully capable of acquiring musical knowledge 'later on'. The teachers identify themselves more as 'adult participants' than teachers, the adult taking part on equal terms with the children. 'Adults' at school have no strong educational and subject-related demands on themselves. Since they are present at school anyway, their lack of competence is legitimised from the discourse on 'fun'. In the pupil's own search for knowledge the adult may be of assistance with educational 'tricks', such as showing one's own ignorance. For example, to risk showing one's own ignorance is presented as a good educational point. The *teacher as a non-theorist* is based on the discourse on balance and the categorisation of the pupils as being in need of both theoretical and practical-aesthetic activities. Here, credibility is achieved by the talk of pupils (individuals) and activities being split up in a practical-aesthetic and a theoretical part, respectively. Some subjects are seen as theoretical and others as practical-aesthetic. The former ones are seen as being too dominating at school, something which is thought to be of consequence for the pupil's learning and well-being. Even within the subjects, a ranking of different elements is done, stating the importance of practical work in preference to theoretical work. The teacher as an *artist* is legitimised by the construction of herself/himself and the pupils as being autonomous and free in relation to the norms and regulations of the school and art education.

> *Anette: I feel that we are inspirers and a bit like attendants. They receive the material, they get inspired by something in the first minutes, and then I'm simply their attendant. Other teachers would probably think I was crazy if they saw me here – I mean they seldom have to clean up or anything (laughter). It´s a lot like that. But I really enjoy it when it´s such a small group – so why not? And I have told them that it won't be the same with a supply teacher. I'm just so happy when I see them working and creating, so I don't mind if they… Sometimes it gets*

> *really messy, though. But it just doesn't feel right to begin by telling them they have to clean up afterwards. Then you lose interest. You don't take out the clay and this…and then everybody has to help out a bit, you know. But anyway… I run around changing the water and… I don't mind taking care of the brushes myself just to keep things in order. I'm sure I do lots of mistakes in that way.*

By relating to the less free attitude of other teachers regarding both subjects and pupils, credibility is achieved for a construction based on the notion of the free, authentic individual. One of the teacher constructions, the teacher as a *subject specialist*, may be said to position itself from a different perspective than the rest. This teacher credits herself/himself with a sound knowledge of the subject, and in the argumentation this teacher places herself/himself as a subordinate teacher in other subjects than the aesthetic ones. The rhetoric is based on the strongly expressed assertions about the discriminating position of the subjects and the subject specialists at school, and credibility is achieved by descriptions of everyday events at school.

Basic to the normalisation of the field of 'the aesthetic activities of the school' is the construction of rhetoric around the *functions* of the aesthetic activities. The teachers and head teachers quite often dwell on the benefit of aesthetic activities. It is taken for granted that the school should be aimed at an effective function. The functions are described partly from the subject, as, for example, when Sara says: 'What I mean is that music is very important to learning…when they are taught a letter we use to sing a song about that letter'. Correspondingly, the aesthetic activities are constructed from the function of educating good citizens or active people.

On the other hand, the functions within the field are described from the view of the child and its needs; a child that, for some reason, feels bad may be compensated by getting more time for some type of aesthetic activity. It is taken for granted that the children will 'have fun' in connection with aesthetic activities, since the rest of the activities at school are seen as less fun. The functional is focused on the *doings* within each subject, respectively – doings in the form of specific *activities*: singing songs, playing music, painting pictures, embroidering, knitting caps, building pieces of scenery, exercising, making cookies. Activities like 'playing music' and 'painting' sometimes turn into means of acquiring knowledge with therapeutic overtones. Since children are believed to have needs based on categorisations such as disruptive or whole, passive or active, the aesthetic activities are turned into occupations where the actual playing or painting become useful to the children's well-being. Here, the function of the activity

originates with the pupil, establishing aesthetic activities as activities with the function of creating mentally and socially 'normal' and 'healthy' children. The concepts of the rhetoric within this discourse deal with the health and social needs of children (balance; needs; therapy; care). Thus, the constructions within the field may be said to alienate themselves from a media-specific rhetoric with terms and concepts from its own field. Instead, the legitimisation of one's own activity is centred on concepts of a more general educational type.

In other words, the function of the aesthetic activities is emphasised as being primarily *a form* for learning based on the *normalisation of the child*. This function may be considered as hegemonic in the discursive field of aesthetic activities at school. At this level, no actual antagonistic discourse exists in the sense that different constructions or identities are blocking each other. The aesthetic activities of the school are legitimised from the actual doings related to a function springing from the view of the normal child. In the creation of this normal child the form of 'aesthetic activities' will serve its purpose.

If so, which aspects within the aesthetic field of the school are overshadowed by this hegemonic discourse on form and function? What are the teachers and head teachers not talking about? If one chooses to see the concepts of aesthetics and art as part of a (alternative) discourse centred on the content of the school's aesthetic activities, this discourse seems to be silenced. The hegemony surrounding the activities, first of all in the form of doings, does not invite to any discourse centred on a discussion about the object itself, that is, the content that is the object of the learning. In the first place, the discourses invite to a discussion about the pupil/ child, and by means of the aesthetic activities pupils and teachers are expected to move towards the norm of the normal child and the normal school, respectively. The categorisations and contrasting being made are seen here as rhetoric techniques in the struggle for one's own activities and position at school. At the same time, this rhetoric implies a way for the teachers and head teachers to adapt themselves to a discourse that may be seen as acceptable to the school and the society – and which, accordingly, creates a meaning.

Aesthetics and liberation: Discussions on the construction of the activities and the pupils

The normalising power techniques identified in this study are based on a dichotomised rhetoric (Derrida, 1967/1991). From binary contrasting pairs as, for example, practi-

cal-theoretical; whole-parts; reality-unreality; children-adults, the field of school and aesthetics is normalised. However, these contrasting pairs should not be understood as being real in the sense that they reflect how things are. Instead they are seen here as part of Western thinking and its sedimentation of certain dichotomies of normality (McQuillan, 2000). To make differences visible is a condition for linguistic man's systematisation of existence and understanding of the world.

Implicit in the statements by the teachers and head teachers is a notion that the school, to the greatest possible extent, should imitate 'reality', that is, life outside school. To prepare oneself for this reality and the future might be considered as the general basis for the legitimization of schools in our time (Rose, 1999). Life outside school is presented as non-subject-separated, legitimising thematic work at school. Correspondingly, life outside school is expressed as being more focused on practical work, legitimising more of practical work at school. At one of the schools in this study, art and handicraft subjects are named 'art' and 'design', respectively, being presented as 'real activities'. The rhetoric suggests that reality is one and that it has a moral right of precedence, which entails that the legitimization of the school's aesthetic activities demands a conceptual rhetoric taken from the world outside school.

The presentation of aesthetic activities as 'fun' is essential in the statements of the teachers. The discourse on the pleasurable aesthetics is also brought up in connection with other studies in the field of school and aesthetics. Thavenius (2003) sees the discourse on the pleasurable aesthetics as part of the school's far too uncritical attitude. Saar (2005) interprets the talk of pleasure as part of the field's subjective side, which, according to him, contributes to a displacement away from learning in art. However, the talk about aesthetics at school as 'fun' could be problematized from its rhetoric function as well. In the statements, the teachers are contrasting the fun activities of aesthetics with the rest of the activities at school that are less fun. Having fun is described as a necessity for the pupils – not least the pupils with problems – in order to cope with their everyday life. The categories of children and pupils with problems are used as a powerful instrument in the legitimization of aesthetics at school. Ranged under the category of 'children with problems' are all the conceptions and issues taken for granted about problem children emerging in the exemplifications of the teachers ('refugee children'; 'children with a diagnosis'; 'disruptive children', etc). These exemplifications have an amplifying function in the rhetoric work of categorisation and are useful in lending credibility to the statements (Potter, 1996). The categorisation of children as problem children can not be said to be specific, neither to our time nor to the field of school and aesthetics (Foucault, 1974/2003; Walkerdine, 1995; Börjesson & Palmblad,

2003). During the whole of the 20th century teachers have evaluated the cognitive and emotional development of the child through diagnosing and categorising. However, in the present study this evaluation is made in the name of freedom. From rhetoric about what is best for the pupils and from an evaluation of their individual 'needs', the aesthetic activities of the school are said to realise the prospects of a harmonious life.

From a governmentality perspective the normalisation of the pupil/child may also be understood as a rapprochement between the private and the public. The desired type of individual within the school's discursive field is based on an idea that maintains a relationship of dominance, where the message is that children and adolescents must, in the first place, be moulded into better persons, and, in the second place, into better pupils. Aesthetic activities are seen as ways of acquiring human characteristics such as 'humble', 'harmonious' and 'calm'. The idea of the inherent power of aesthetic activities to alter a person's character and capability of leading a 'good life' may be said to fit in well with a time of striving for free and harmonious citizens in tune with an accepted social behaviour (Börjesson & Palmblad, 2003).

With social implications: A discussion on teacher positioning

The starting point of the study, and the discussion about teachers' subject positioning, is that identity is established in social interactions (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). This implies that teacher identity cannot be problematized from a model of socialisation described as a polarised state of tension between aesthetic and social aspects (Roberts, 1991; Bouij, 1998; Bladh, 2000). On the contrary, starting out from the teachers' positioning of themselves – both from the existing discursive framework and from the rhetoric actions on a micro level appearing in the discussions – will, in my opinion, open up to a less narrow analysis.

When the teachers and head teachers establish their identities, it is not done arbitrarily. The establishing of one's identity is accomplished from the circumstances presented by the situation and the context. The starting point is that identity is defined relationally. It is always contrasted with other identities and in self-presentations we define ourselves 'negatively', that is, in terms of being different from other people (Edley & Wetherell, 1997; Buchholz & Hall, 2005). The teachers in the study take up their positions by placing and categorising themselves, and sometimes even their group connection, beside other teachers and groups of teachers. The category of 'the

teacher as an artist' positions herself/himself against the art teacher; the teacher as a subject specialist against the class teacher, and so on. This distinction becomes a way of, momentarily, establishing one's identity, a way of realising oneself as a subject.

From a wider power perspective the subject positioning of the teachers might be construed as being based on more comprehensive discourses significant to our time (Rose, 1990; 1999). It is about nurture towards liberation and exercising social control. In the present study this nurturing and control are done in the name of aesthetics. By means of aesthetic activities the pupils may be adapted into capable citizens from rhetoric about care of the individual pupil. By designing reality as being full of risks, the teachers are steered into minimising the risks to the most vulnerable, that is, the 'problem children'. By watching them closely and by offering them extra time for aesthetic activities, they can be liberated. This control of people's individual development has become an essential task for today's modern organisations (Rose, 1990). A teacher needs a sound judgement of character. Knowing how to judge and diagnose people's mental and physical health, and their emotional and social competence, is necessary since the need of each individual is seen as essential to the design of the aesthetic activities. Accordingly, from this message the teachers are not presented as more or less competent professional people, but rather as free and exemplary persons.

The controlling assertions of the discourses and subject positioning to know what are the pupils' 'greatest needs' call for a number of questions regarding the consequences of an aesthetic practice at school. Who is to decide about the individual pupil's special need of aesthetic activities, and what qualifications should this person have? In this case it is not about pupils' need of more or less time for aesthetic activities based on a judgement of knowledge within the field. It is rather about needs of a social, psychological and emotional character. Who will decide when the pupils have achieved the required qualifications and how this judgement should be done, are other essential questions to a practice organised in agreement with the constructions revealed in the results of the present study.

The idea of developing each and everyone's unique character and the teacher as someone guiding and supporting, seems to have a somewhat different starting point than the progressive liberation pedagogy of the 1970s. The aesthetic liberation educator of the 21st century builds his identity to a greater extent on a disassociated leadership in combination with judgements on the emotional and social development of the pupil. The task of the aesthetic teachers of today – to mould the individual pupil into an independent, humble, free and well-adapted citizen – cannot be seen as wholly

identical to the task of the teachers of the reform pedagogy, where work to a large degree was aimed at stimulating pupils who were basically curious and eager to learn.

Concluding remarks

From a legal concept of power, the Swedish school's new system of responsibility and control could be said to imply liberation for the practicing staff at school, in the sense that the superior party, the government, has transferred the power to decide about the aesthetic activities of the school to the inferior party, the local school. However, in the present study I have tried to show that the school, like many other institutions in society, is an arena of normalisation where dominating discourses set the terms for the scope of action of both teachers and pupils. The new system of responsibility and control, 'the liberation' from the comparatively strict government control, does not imply liberation from power and control as seen from a Foucault-perspective. The aesthetic activities of the school are legitimised from a control by way of certain preconceptions about aesthetics, children and school, which on many points, paradoxically enough, are founded on the ideas of liberalism about the questioning of the actual control (Rose, 1999). From notions concerning the needs of the individual and by means of rhetoric about personal wellbeing, a number of subject-positions are offered to teachers and head teachers.

Foucault is more often than not accused of presenting a paralysed subject incapable of resisting the supremacy of power. What does it mean to the results of the present study? Should we think of the teachers within the aesthetic field of the school as being pinioned, lost and obliged to use the knowledge produced by the authorities? In my opinion, that is not the case. In the description of people as subjects there is the possibility of changing even that which is seen as necessary and natural (Deacon, 2003). Yet this does not imply a deliverance from normalisation. 'Protecting' the child from normalisation techniques and so uncovering the 'free' child, is not seen as a possibility from a Foucault-perspective. The dream of the pedagogy to liberate children has been in existence since the early progressive movements of the 1920s and 1930s (Walderdine, 1995), but there is no 'free' child in the sense that it may escape normalisation and so return to a completely autonomous state outside the abodes of power. However, I have hopes that problemising the normalisation and categorisation of the school's subjects and objects within the field may have a positive influence on the development

of aesthetic activities. A deconstruction in itself opens the door to criticism and, accordingly, to alternative actions otherwise invisible in the existing assumptions taken for granted at school. What I regard as both interesting and essential in the development of the field, is a more systematic examination of this method with the aim of opening up to a greater awareness of what limitations are involved in the control of power. I see, for example, great potential in the development of a critical reflecting pedagogy as an intellectual basis for the creation of an independent teacher identity. In my opinion, one very interesting research object to go on with, in both training and further education of teachers, is intellectualising and theorising aesthetic teacher practises and teacher identities from a perspective of power and control, as a type of action-directed and participant-oriented research.

Central to governmentality research is the question of how the constructions about aesthetics and the school rest on historical circumstances in the form of control and regulation of social practices. The present study, however, has been marked off in order not to comprise a genealogical analysis. I found it necessary at this preliminary stage to acquire knowledge of how the field is constructed, and only after that, in the following research on aesthetics and the school, I will take a step further towards the issue concerning which structures, practices and ideas from the past have lead the aesthetic discourses of the school to where they are today. Correspondingly, the view on children as neutral beings might be the object of further research. In the thesis, the construction of the children has not been problematized to any great extent. This may be regarded as a defect, but also as yet another essential demarcation. However, the field of school and aesthetics is an area charged with, for instance, gender-related connotations, which may be discerned even in these results. Therefore, to proceed from a more pronounced focus on the subject of children's and adolescents' creativity in connection with aesthetic practises, is something I find very interesting.

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Education and the Performance of Music[1]

A retrospective view

Graham F Welch

Introduction

The first impression of this compendium is of diversity; the second, of how the ingredients are a microcosm of a wider world of research that represents both Scandinavian as well as broader geographical interests. Whilst the range of investigations presented in this Malmö Academy of Music volume can be seen as an outcome of the contested meanings associated with the terms 'education' and 'music' in a particular place over a period of time, it is also an accurate reflection of the inherent diversity and complexity (and perceived reality) of our field internationally. Notwithstanding several thousand years of published textual commentary on the nature and importance of music, we continue to seek to understand what is significant, what might be mainstream and what might be marginal (at least for the present) in music education. And whilst we may be unclear sometimes as to which of these is which in our research, it is important that we encourage and celebrate the curiosity of individual researchers, as is the case in Malmö with this compendium. Both individually and collectively, these researchers

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demonstrate that our mission is to investigate the nature and importance of music in human activities. They undertake this in the belief that such an understanding is a vital correlate to our related effectiveness in enabling the realisation of individual and collective musical potential, whether in formal educational settings or outside. All the narratives exhibit a strong, moral commitment to evidence-based investigation, understanding and the potential for positive change.

As part of the investigative process, there is a recognition that new media, embracing technological and methodological innovations, can impact positively in broadening and deepening our understanding of the diversity of musics and musical practices that characterise the human condition. Whether through advanced, field-based recording media or specially designed computer-based analyses, the researchers employ modern tools in data capture, such as exampled in the studies of children's computer-based creative music making (Nilsson) and the video and audio recordings of pianists (Hultberg).

The research is representative of the relative explosion of media-enabled knowledge in recent years that is being used to generate new intrapersonal and interpersonal insights into the place of music in our lives. The impact of new imaging techniques over the past decade, for example, has seen a huge and increasing interest from the world of neuroscience into the bases for musical behaviours (cf Peretz & Zatorre, 2003; Weinberger, 2004; Parsons et al, 2005), not least because neuroscientists believe that research into the internal bases for music provide critical insights into something that is central and unique about human design in general.

> Playing and listening to music are remarkably complex, culturally conditioned, and yet natural human abilities. The study of these processes promises to uncover fundamental properties of human neural function. (Zatorre et al, 2007, p. 556)

Moreover, musical behaviours are seen as being closely linked to our capacity for language (Brown, 2000; Patel, 2007). Furthermore, several recent studies have demonstrated how musical training is associated with changes in brain anatomy. This emergent neurological evidence base is also revealing the multi-sited, complex nature of the brain's musical processing that is related to the internal neural networking that underpins music perception, cognition, emotional response, the processing of acoustical

features and musical structures, related motor responses and social communication (cf Zatorre et al, op.cit.). This relatively hidden world continues to intrigue, particularly when we seek to scale up this activity at a cellular level to the challenge of understanding actual musical behaviours in real world settings.

Socio-cultural contexts and the realisation of musical potential

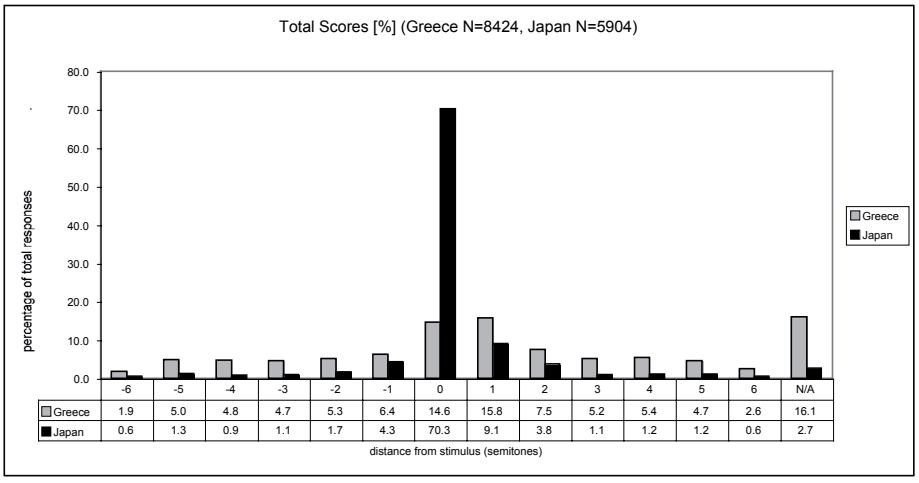
In contrast, the Malmö based researchers have tended to approach research in music education from a more social (and socio-psychological) perspective. This perhaps reflects a particular Scandinavian interest in musical enculturation across the lifespan, as well as their curiosity about the links between individual behaviour and development in social contexts, as evidenced for example in the chapters in this volume by Sundin, Heiling, Karlsson, Ericsson, Nilsson, Sæther and Törnquist. In this, the researchers are reflecting a current conception that 'musicality appears to be integrally bound to the human capacity for culture, not as symptom but as partial cause' (Cross, 2007: 14). Perhaps also, a closer researcher connection with actual musical practices (such as evidenced in the narratives of McPherson, Heiling, Hultberg and Nilsson) has been fostered by the tendency for music education research in recent decades to be based in Scandinavian music academies full of performing musicians rather than university departments of musicology (Jørgensen, 2004).

In addition, it is clear from the work of the authors in this volume that theory and theory building is a prime concern, both in the sense of seeking a structured explanation for observed phenomena and in the methodological application of the emergent theoretical constructs of themselves and others, generated within and without the world of music and music education. In particular (but not only), the extensive doctoral studies that underpin the majority of the chapters in this volume demonstrate a powerful commitment to the development and application of theory and to the generation of new insights. All chapters seek to increase our understanding, whilst also presenting evidence-based arguments as to why the findings are likely to generate a call for action and a need to review, rethink and change pedagogical practices.

At the simplest level, to be musically educated implies some form of understanding of the nature of music, expressed either through musical behaviour (being able to make meaningful musical gestures) or in being able to 'make sense' of auditory stimuli as customarily available to the individual within a particular musical culture. Further-

more, the process of music education can be identified as being located somewhere on a lifelong continuum that extends from the interweaving of the informal with the formal, dependent in part on the degree of external agency and organisation inherent in the educational experience.

Although being musical is integral to human design (e.g. Welch, 2001), what counts as salient in our experience of music is flavoured by individual subjectivity, maturation and biography, as well as being framed and shaped by interactions within particular socio-cultural contexts. Three recent examples of the interweaving of these various elements are offered as illustration. Firstly, there is new evidence that absolute pitch (AP) abilities (including the ability to recognise and name a heard pitch) are distributed unevenly between different cultures. AP is commonly found in less than 0.1% of the normal population, rising to around 5-7% in trained musicians. Figure 1 presents the degrees of accuracy in AP responses from groups of participant undergraduate musicians in Japan (n=82) and Greece (n=117) on a 72-item AP experimental test. The data is presented as the degree of error (distance in semitones) between the source pitch and the participant's written response by the participants' country of origin. The Japanese participants were significantly more accurate ($t(195)= -15.67$, $p=0.025$), with a large majority of their responses (70%) being correct (no error) compared to their Greek peers (15% accuracy) (Vraka, 2007). Related factor analyses suggested that the Japanese students had experienced extensive and sustained instrumental practice in a



	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	N/A
Greece	1.9	5.0	4.8	4.7	5.3	6.4	14.6	15.8	7.5	5.2	5.4	4.7	2.6	16.1
Japan	0.6	1.3	0.9	1.1	1.7	4.3	70.3	9.1	3.8	1.1	1.2	1.2	0.6	2.7

Figure 1: Distance in semitones from stimuli between undergraduates in an AP perception test of 72 items by 117 Greek students and 82 Japanese students (Vraka, 2007)

supportive environment from a young age. Furthermore, it was clear from discussion with the Japanese tutors that AP ability is valued within the culture and is often taught as part of the music curriculum in specialist instrumental classes for young children.

A second example of how individual musical development is shaped by socio-cultural context concerns Japanese research into popular song learning. When different groups of young people were asked to learn a Japanese pop song (J-pop) by listening

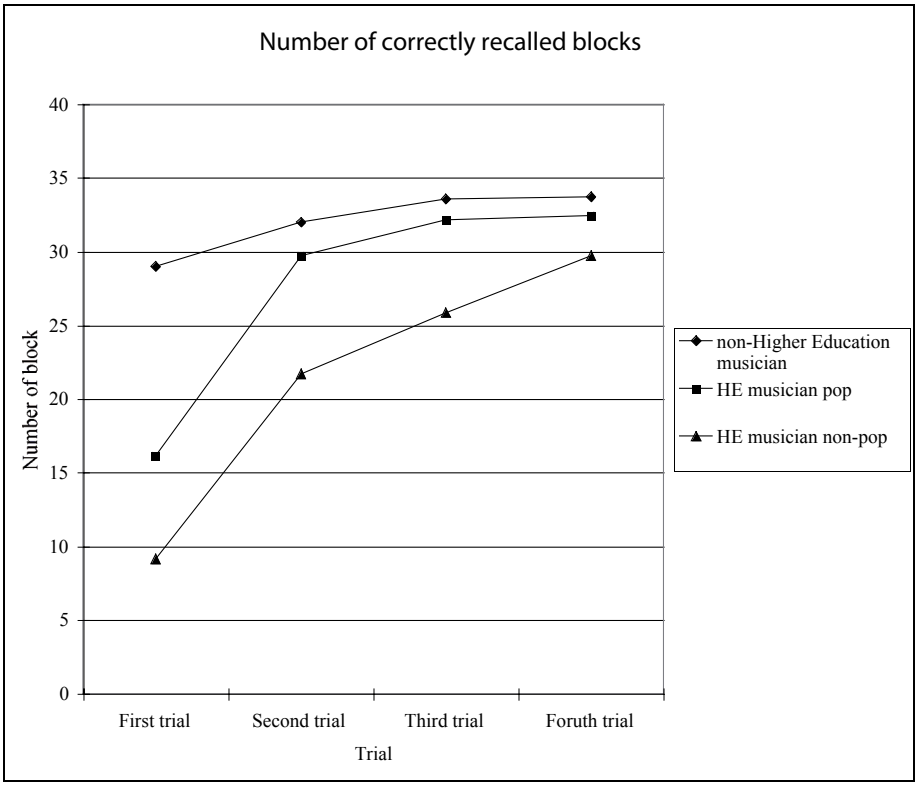


Figure 2: A comparison of the number of correctly recalled blocks of melody by three groups of Japanese undergraduates (total n=21) across four trials, namely those with no higher education experience (labelled as 'non-musician'), compared with their peers who were studying instrumental performance and listened to popular music ('musician pop') and a similar group who did not listen to popular music ('musician non-pop'). Each trial consisted of ten minutes practice listening and practising to the target song without using any musical notation.

and singing along, but without the support of notation, undergraduates with no formal musical experience in higher education were much more successful initially than their highly accomplished instrumentalist peers (Mito, 2005). The task for each individual was to listen to the target song, practice alone for ten minutes and then reproduce the song against a karaoke accompaniment. Figure 2 demonstrates the relative accomplishment of the non-higher education musicians in their accuracy at remembering the pitches of the target melody. These young people ('non-Higher Education musicians' in the Figure) were much more accurate in remembering the melody compared with two other comparison groups of skilled musicians, namely those who, like them, enjoyed regular listening to J-pop ('HE musician pop') or those who rarely listened to such music ('HE musician non-pop'). The basis for the differences between the three groups appears to relate to regular exposure to this particular type of music.

Those with no advanced musical skills reported that they had considerable experience of listening to popular music and of singing in *karaoke* bars. This relatively informal music education proved to be an ideal preparation for this particular musical task. By comparison, their colleagues who were highly skilled performers of 'high art', Western classical music found themselves to be relatively disadvantaged by this 'everyday' music task and less musically accomplished (although they did improve on successive trials with more practice).

The third example concerns an ongoing national research project in the UK that is investigating the nature of music learning and teaching in higher education. The *Investigating Musical Performance (IMP): Comparative Studies in Advanced Music Learning* project (Welch et al, 2006) is researching how aspiring and established professional musicians deepen and develop their learning about performance in undergraduate, postgraduate and wider music community contexts. Funded by the UK Government as part of the Economic and Social Research Council's Teaching and Learning Research Programme (TLRP) , the IMP project grew out of the TLRP *Learning to Perform* project (e.g. Burt & Mills, 2006). IMP seeks to provide complimentary insights into aspects of higher (and post-higher) education teaching and learning in music across musical genres. As such, it is also seeking to address the need identified by Folkestad in the opening chapter:

> By studying musical performance as a learning activity, the gap between these two major parts of higher music education [learning to perform and learning to teach music] might be bridged.

The IMP project is a two-year multi-site study (Institute of Education, London; Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama, Glasgow; University of York; and Leeds College of Music) that embraces four different musical genres (Western classical, popular, jazz and Scottish traditional), as well as learners and their teachers at undergraduate and postgraduate levels in higher education – including those who might be considered to be 'senior learners' (cf Bruner), in the sense that they have opportunities to both teach and be taught as part of a portfolio career in the wider community. Two or more genres are represented at each research site.

Amongst the emergent data from IMP participants (n=244, aged 18-62 years), there are major (statistically significant) differences between musicians related to their prime musical performance genre in questionnaire survey responses. For example, classical musicians began to engage with music at a mean age of 6.7 years and began

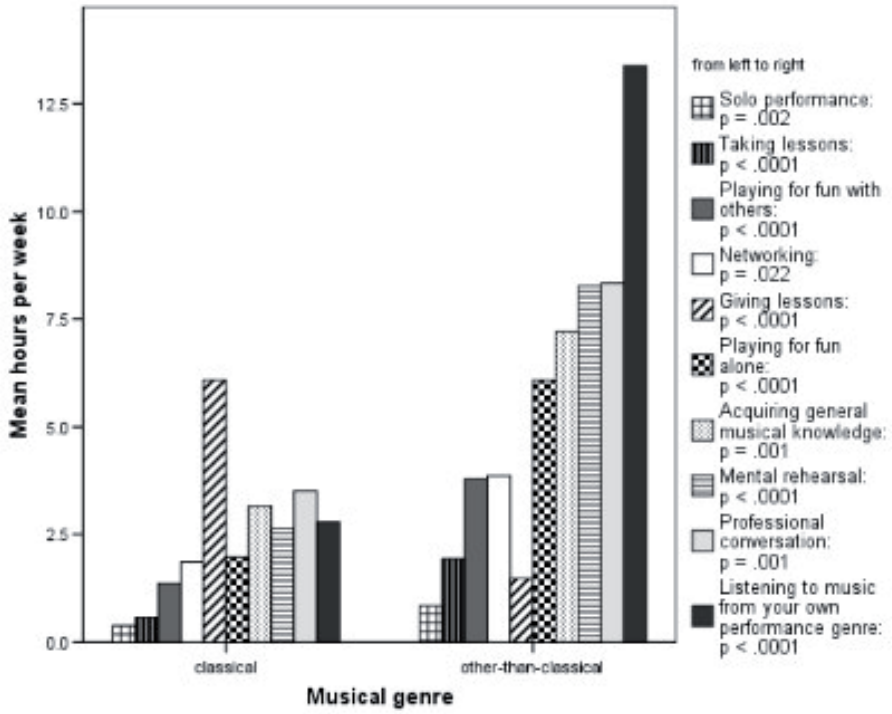


Figure 3: Significant differences between classical and other-than-classical musicians (Scottish Traditional, popular and jazz) in the time spent in an average week on different types of musical activities (n=244, aged 18-62 years)

learning on their first study instrument at a mean age of 9.2 years. In comparison, other-than-classical musicians (Scottish Traditional, popular and jazz) began to engage with music significantly later (mean age, 8.3 years) and also began learning their first study instrument later (mean age, 11.9 years). Furthermore, the choice of instrument for the classical musicians was likely to be determined by local availability and parental encouragement. In contrast, other-than-classical musicians were more likely to have begun their instrumental learning informally with peers and instrumental choice being linked to hearing the performance of some well-known, star performer on that instrument.

With regard their use of time across an average week, the classical musicians were far less likely than their other-than-classical peers to play for fun (either with others or alone), or to engage in professional conversations, or to listen to their own genre music (see Figure 3 – and see Creech et al, 2007 for more detail). Nevertheless, all musicians irrespective of genre spent approximately similar amounts of time in preparation, group performance, practising alone and with others, and listening to music outside their performance genre.

These similarities and differences between different categories of musicians in the three examples above are illustrative of the diverse interactions between socio-cultural contexts, group behavioural tendencies and the processes of individual musical development. Other examples within this Malmö volume embrace a plurality of realisations of these interactions and processes, such as how:

- musical creativity is evidenced in the diversity of young children's other-than conscious early explorations in their singing and why these should not be defined in adult-centred terms (Sundin);
- a series of studies on the importance of undertaking research from the child's perspective enables us to understand more clearly the impact of an individual child's self view concerning music and musical learning on their development (McPherson);
- the ways that the musical knowledge of an amateur brass band are developed and recreated in a social process (Heiling);
- pianists' reproductive and explorative approaches to notation are linked to their knowledge of expressive performance conventions (Hultberg);

- motivation is significant in young people's music learning and in their deconstruction of musical experiences (Karlsson);
- the metaphor 'shopping' can be used to explain how participant adolescents developed musical preferences (Ericsson);
- young children without formal musical training are nevertheless able to create music with form and structure (Nilsson);
- the sharing of 'insider' and 'outsider' interpretations enables ecologically valid insights to emerge concerning the structured knowledge world of indigenous musicians (the *Mandinka* musicians in Gambia) (Sæther);
- student and teacher identity and learning can be nurtured and developed through an active engagement in joint artistic activity (Törnquist);
- the ways that myriad linguistic interactions shape participants' sense of identity and control in their school's aesthetic activities (Lindgren).

Collectively, these studies are also a powerful reminder of the interactive and interdisciplinary complexity of music education and of the common necessity for researchers to engage in an iterative process between theory and data that requires time and patience.

Theoretical reflections

The theoretical models that underpin these various researches appear to be based on a wide range of ontological, epistemological and methodological approaches. Nevertheless, there is a sense of an overarching theoretical perspective across the investigations reported in this Malmö volume that is representative of much contemporary research in music education. This perspective derives from a common interest in understanding how individual musical development reflects a human 'agency' that combines maturation allied to experience (including enculturation); in turn, development is constructed

and deconstructed within socio-cultural settings, including the influences on development brought about through membership of various groups.

Generic theories that support such a perspective include those of Bronfenbrenner (1979; 2005) whose social ecology theory (embracing micro-, meso-, exo- and macro-systems) offers an explanation of how human development is nurtured and contextualised within a set of nested collective relationships, with the family, school, and peers

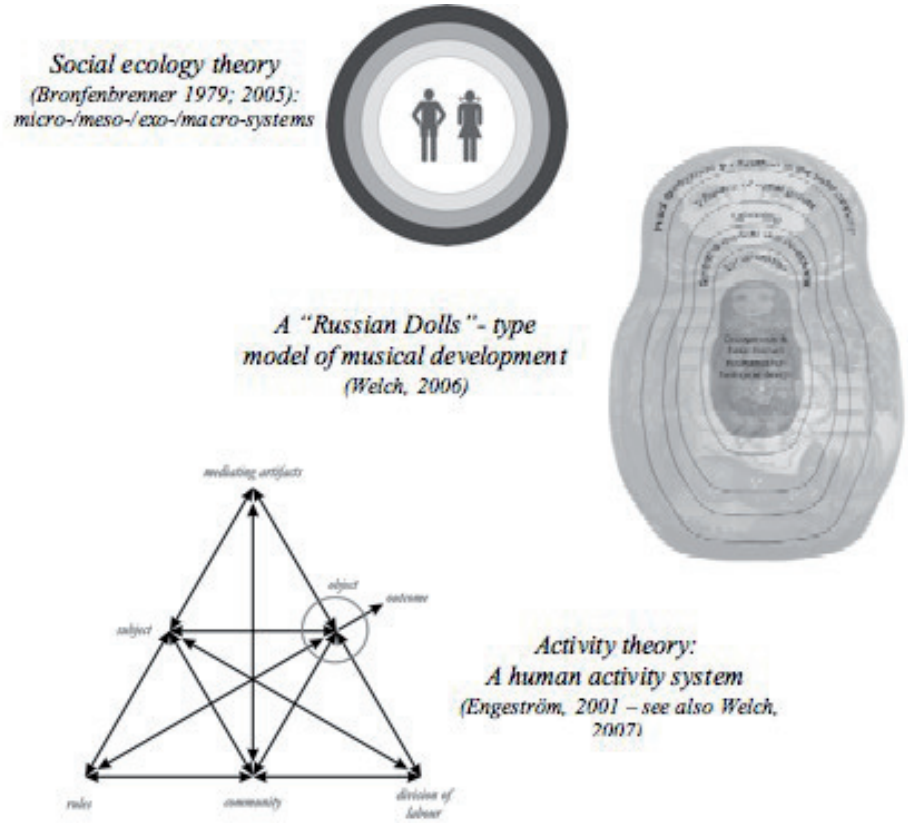


Figure 4: Three theoretical models that offer complimentary conceptual frameworks for the process of individual musical development within socio-cultural contexts

at the centre and the wider culture on the outside. A central focus in this model is in understanding '…a pattern of activities, roles and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given setting with particular physical and material cha-

racteristics' (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p.22). This micro-system is nested within other systems (such as the workplace) that may impact indirectly on the child and key people in the child's micro-system (see Figure 4).

From a more directly musical perspective, Welch (2006) has offered a similar nested conceptualisation of development in his 'Russian Dolls' model (Figure 4, middle). This suggests that musical behavior is a product of each learner's basic neuropsychobiological design (being related to the hard-wired integration of nervous, psychological, and biological processes) that has its function shaped by musical enculturation and by the acquisition and development of generative (creative) musical skills. Both enculturated behavior and skill development arise from interactions within particular socio-cultural environments derived from the individual's membership of social groups (such as family, peers, gender, social class, age, ethnicity, musical genre) and the effects of education (on a continuum ranging from formal to informal) within a wider [musical] community, collectively providing encounters with a diversity of musical forms and processes.

It is also possible to draw on activity theory, as developed by Engeström (2001), to understand the process by which individual learning is mediated by cultural artefacts and membership of groups within a wider community. Learning and development are conceived as the product of inter- and intrapersonal behaviours that are shaped by cultural artefacts (e.g., literature), alongside tools (including psychological tools, such as language and other symbol systems), expectations, 'rules'/conventions and norms. The internalisation of artefacts is seen to facilitate the agency of the individual, such that artefacts themselves become modified through personal use, enabling the possibility of consequent change within the culture. Thus, there is an ongoing mediation process in how the individual interacts with the world around them (a principle that is evidenced in other theoretical approaches, such as Piaget's notion of individual conceptual development through 'accommodation' and 'assimilation'). Engeström (2001) articulates five basic principles for activity theory as follows:

- The prime unit of analysis is '…a collective, artifact-mediated and object-oriented activity system, seen in its network relations to other activity systems' (op.cit. p. 6). The activity system is the set of relationships between elements (see Figure 4, lower element).
- Activity systems are 'multi-voiced' (op.cit. p. 7), embracing multiple viewpoints, traditions and interests. 'Participants carry their

own diverse histories and the activity system itself carries multiple layers and strands of history engraved in its artifacts, rules and conventions' (ibid).

- Activity systems take shape and are transformed over lengthy periods of time, suggesting a concept of 'historicity' (ibid). History embraces both 'the local history of the [particular] activity and its objects', as well as the wider 'history of the theoretical ideas and tools that shape the activity' (ibid).

- Change and development arise from 'contradictions' that are 'historically accumulating structural tensions within and between activity systems' (ibid).

- Activity systems are subject to 'expansive transformations' (ibid). These are the product of the 'aggravation' of contradictions, such as when individuals 'question and deviate from established norms' which 'escalates into collaborative envisioning' towards an alternative collective viewpoint.

One of the principal contributions of the activity theory is that it enables a psychological account of individual development to be integrated with a socio-historical account of the evolution of culture.

An application of activity theory to music education (Welch, 2007) has been useful in making sense of how various interrelated elements have combined to enable female novice choristers to be inducted successfully into the established, centuries-old, all-male musical culture within UK cathedrals. Rehearsal format, repertoire, distinctive acoustic spaces, ritual, performer hierarchy (with senior, junior and novice chorister roles enshrined in performance behaviours, peer management expectations and designations) and collective choral activity combine to shape the desired singing behaviour. Longitudinal empirical data indicate that female choristers can learn to perform the required repertoire with equal skill as males and are able to produce a customary boy-like vocal timbre, both as soloists and as a group (Welch & Howard, 2002). Nevertheless, at the same time, the introduction of young females into the all-male tradition is having a transformative impact through this innovation on all the participants, as well as on the culture itself. In this, the processes of cultural tradition and transformation are observed to be concurrent.

Activity theory has also been applied in a recent Brazilian study of adolescent listening preferences (Soares, 2006). This also explored whether such preferences might influence their use of new technologies for composition. Interview, survey and technology-based compositional data were collected from adolescent participants (n=210, aged 13-16 years) drawn from two specialist music schools in Minas Gerais State, Brazil. There was a bias in the two schools' curricula, with one tending to be focused on classical music, the other on the study of popular genres. On average, students reported that they listened to music 2.38 hours per day. Questionnaire responses and subsequent factor analyses suggested that listening preferences were in one of three main categories: Brazilian folk-type music, Classical music or Brazilian Rock. Those students who spent the most time listening to music at home and who also had internet access tended to listen to Rock music and to study instrumental performance in a popular genre (learning either the keyboard, guitar, electric guitar, bass or drums). In contrast, those studying Classical music tended to bias their home listening towards the classical repertoire. Their main instruments were the piano, flute, violin and recorder.

A subset of the participants (n=28) volunteered to engage in a computer-based composition activity. An analysis of these students' compositions revealed that there was no evidence that listening preferences for a particular group of music had any decisive influence. However, a comparison of the time spent within each identified phase of the composition process revealed that students with a background of composing with computers at home spent more time on generating ideas, whereas their less experienced peers spent more time revising their initial ideas. It would seem that those adolescent participants relatively familiar with music software were not constrained by the demands of the technology provided and were more able to focus on the development of musical ideas.

The Brazilian research data can be modeled in an activity system (cf Engeström, 2001, bottom of Figure 4) to provide an overview of the compositional process for these adolescents (as Figure 5, Soares & Welch, 2007). In this system, the activity of the subject (the adolescents) is directed towards the object (the creation of music) and is transformed into outcomes with the help of a physical tool (a computer), as well as related IT and music language. The subject accepts or appropriates rules (codes of musical genres, musical conventions in the music school curriculum, as well as conventions established by engineers and programmers) to work in a community (in this case, a music school located within a socio-cultural or technological context). In the com-

munity, there is a division of labour (between the teachers, the researcher – in this case – and the adolescents) with an allocation of tasks, power and responsibilities that are shared between the participants of the activity system after a process of negotiation. As an overview, the application of the activity system is useful in understanding (i) the interrelated external elements that influence the musical behaviour of these adolescents during the computer-based composition activity; and (ii) the internal elements that

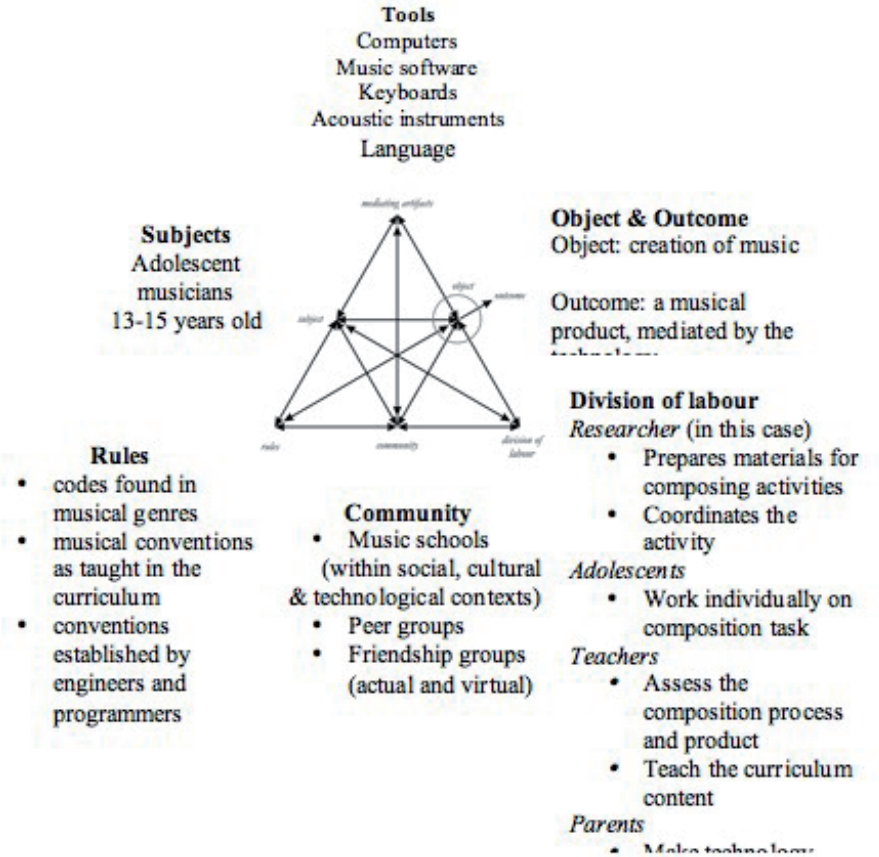


Figure 5: The theorised activity system that provides the framework for the computer-based composition activity

influence the outcome of the computer-based composition activity (the composition or musical product).

Collectively, these theories suggest that our research in music education is also part of the mainstream, both drawing on and extending useful explanations of how [musical] development occurs in contemporary social settings. At the same time, the contents of this volume are an explicit recognition of how, in recent years, various theoretical advances have allowed us to understand more clearly the multi-dimensionality of the educational experience. This has included Folkestad's identification in the opening chapter to this volume of:

> …a shift of focus, from *how to teach* (teaching methods) and the outcome of teaching in terms of results as seen from the teacher's perspective, to *what to learn*, the content of learning, and *how to learn*, the way of learning. This perspective on music education research presents the notion that the great majority of musical learning takes place outside schools, in situations where there is no teacher, and in which the intention of the activity is not to learn *about* music, but to play music, listen to music, dance to music, or be together with music.

A central challenge for music educators, therefore, is to understand how each individual's existing music learning biography can be extended and nurtured within the constraints of a more formal curriculum setting. In an ideal world, the experience of music across all the various learning environments should be seamless, positive and complimentary.

Concluding remarks

It has been a great pleasure and honour to have this opportunity to engage with, and reflect on, the work of these particular music education researchers in Malmö. Their detailed insights are extremely valuable in extending our understanding and horizons, not least by offering a sense of what might be possible if their research-based knowledge were applied to contemporary practice in music pedagogy. The researchers

exemplify the power of sustained intellectual curiosity in a structured and supportive environment – in the Malmö case, sustained by the doctoral students' full-time funded status and regular availability for weekly collective meetings as a team. Both individually and collectively, these narratives are worthy additions to the world of music education research internationally. They are also a testament to the strength of the emergent music education culture in Malmö across its first decade and of the leadership provided by Göran Folkestad and his colleagues. One of the lessons for us is how the field of music education is becoming a worthwhile research endeavour in its own right globally.

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