

The Role of

Community Music

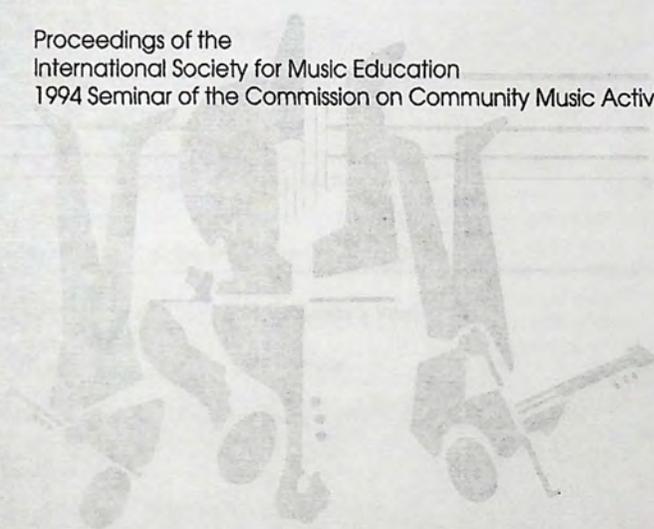
in a Changing World



PROCEEDINGS
1994 SEMINAR OF THE
COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY MUSIC ACTIVITY
International Society for Music Education

THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY MUSIC
IN A CHANGING WORLD

Proceedings of the
International Society for Music Education
1994 Seminar of the Commission on Community Music Activity



JUNE 10-16, 1994
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
ATHENS, GEORGIA, U.S.A.
Mary A. Leglar, Editor

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
—Franklin College of Arts and Sciences School of Music
—Franklin College of Arts and Sciences International Programs

COPYRIGHT © 1996
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR MUSIC EDUCATION

Cover art by Elaine Tate
Printed by Southeastern Color Lithographers / Athens, Georgia

Contents

Preface and Acknowledgments	i
<hr/>	
Session 1 The Seminar Theme	
Setting the Stage: The Mission of the Seminar <i>Tim Joss, United Kingdom</i>	1
Sound Bytes from the Here and Now <i>John D. Drummond, New Zealand</i>	4
<hr/>	
Session 2 A South African Perspective	
Changing South Africa: A Community's Perception of Its Cultural Self <i>Sallyann Goodall, South Africa</i>	18
Structures for Transformation Through Music in South Africa <i>Elizabeth Oehrle, South Africa</i>	29
<hr/>	
Session 3 Tradition and Change	
Community Music in Australia <i>Gillian Harrison, Australia</i>	39
Community Music Networks: Tradition and Change in Ireland <i>Kari Veblen, United States</i>	46
African Slave Descendants in an American Community: The Ring-Shout Tradition of the Georgia Sea Islands <i>Johann Buis, United States</i>	62

Session 4 Training for Change

- The Role of Values and Judgments in the Development of Autonomy
in the Music Teacher and Community Music Tutor
Maggie Teggins and Ben Higham, United Kingdom 71

Session 5 An American Perspective

- Music Education in the United States: The Cultural Imperative
of Community Music
Elizabeth Gould, United States 83
- Community Music in the United States: An Overview
of Origins and Evolution
Mary A. Leglar and David S. Smith, United States 95

Session 6 Collaboration and Its Effects

- Music and Informal Education
Cecilia Conde and José Maria Neves, Brazil 109
- Through Legends to Cultural Learning: A Bicultural Perspective
to the Use of Music-Drama
Morva Croxon, New Zealand 119

Session 7 The Seminar Report

- The Role of Community Music in a Changing World
Tim Joss, United Kingdom 127
- Seminar Participants 133
-
-

Preface and Acknowledgments

The phenomenon of change is one of the oldest problems pondered by the human mind. Philosophers throughout the ages have questioned its reality and speculated on its nature without arriving at consensus. Consequently, the nature of change—if we grant its reality—is quite legitimately a matter of individual perspective. Likewise, the disturbance of the status quo caused by change, whether social or political, must finally be dealt with on an individual basis, and in the context of a given individual's culture.

The papers, reports, and demonstrations presented at the 1994 International Seminar on Community Music Activity represent the perspectives of individuals around the world regarding political and social change and its relation to the music making in their various environments. Some participants sought to illuminate the theme of the seminar, "Community Music in a Changing World," through an overview of growth and change (Leglar and Smith); some have described strategies and frameworks for dealing with change (Conde and Neves, Gould, Oehrle, and Teggins and Higham); some have examined the ways and the means by which cultures have preserved and shared their musical traditions in time of political and social change (Buis, Harrison, and Veblen); some have recounted the role music plays in establishing, retaining, or transforming cultural identity (Croxon, Goodall); still others have reflected on the nature of change itself (Drummond, Joss).

It is the mix of such perspectives that drives a seminar, makes it productive, and effects growth in those who take part. The value of this mixing cannot be overestimated: friendships are formed; cultural understanding and tolerance are nurtured; professional respect is fostered; knowledge is increased; attitudes are modified or reinforced. The papers and the final report, the only preserved evidence of the happening, are but a small sampling of what actually takes place at such a meeting.

In addition to the papers contained in the proceedings, Tim Joss, commission chair, gave an oral report on the Bournemouth Sinfonietta's Community Music Project in Romania; Gregory Broughton demonstrated the evolution and change in the performance practice of African-American

gospel music; and commission member Dave Price, with Tim Joss, stimulated and monitored discussions.

The Venue

The Seminar, sponsored by the Franklin College of Arts and Sciences School of Music, was held at the Georgia Center for Continuing Education on the campus of the University of Georgia in Athens. A community of 90,000 and the cultural center of northeast Georgia, Athens is located just below the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains about 65 miles east of Atlanta, host of the 1996 Olympic Games. Architecturally, the city is known for its restored antebellum mansions, its vibrant turn-of-the-century downtown area, and the elegant Greek Revival buildings on the university's old North Campus. Birthplace of such New Wave rock groups as R.E.M., the community also supports a symphony orchestra, a civic band, a choral society, jazz bands, a barbershop chorus, and a wide range of square dance, clogging, and folk music groups.

The University of Georgia, chartered by the Georgia legislature in 1785, is the oldest state-supported university in the U.S. With over 2,600 faculty, 13 colleges, and more than 30,000 students, the University is one of the country's major teaching, research, and service institutions. The campus, including forestry and agricultural areas, covers over 43,000 acres. In addition, off-campus centers and experiment stations carry University services to all parts of the state.

The Georgia Center for Continuing Education plans and implements educational programs for adults throughout Georgia, the nation, and many foreign lands. The Center's electronic classroom provides distance education opportunities to students nationwide. Other services include cooperative programming with other institutions of higher education; television and film production; print design and production; media library operations, and consultation and supportive services to organizations and agencies.

The Franklin College of Arts and Sciences School of Music has a faculty of 50 full-time members and 30 graduate assistants, and serves approximately 350 undergraduate music majors and 100 graduate students. Baccalaureate, master's, and doctoral degrees are offered in music performance, education, therapy, theory, musicology, and composition. The School supports five choral groups, three bands, a wind symphony, a symphony orchestra, several jazz ensembles, a percussion ensemble, an early music ensemble, and numerous other instrumental choirs and mixed ensembles.

Several faculty ensembles are in residence, including the Franklin String Quartet, the Georgia Brass Quintet, the Georgia Woodwind Quintet, and the Baroque Ensemble. The students and faculty of the School present more than 200 free recitals and concerts each year, in addition to regularly scheduled series and guest concerts.

Acknowledgments

The ISME Commission on Community Music Activity gratefully acknowledges the University of Georgia School of Music for hosting the 1994 Seminar, the Franklin College of Arts and Sciences (International Programs) for providing a grant to publish the Seminar proceedings, and the Yamaha Corporation for providing additional monetary support. Particular mention is due to School of Music administrators Ralph E. Verrastro and Richard M. Graham, and to Clifton W. Pannell, associate dean and coordinator of International programs.

The seminar organization was undertaken by Mary A. Leglar and David S. Smith of the University of Georgia music education faculty. Several members of the performance faculty—Gregory Broughton, William Davis, Ivan Frazier, Theodore Jahn, Dwight Manning, Alexander Ross, David Stoffel, Martha Thomas, and Richard Zimdars—provided the seminar's opening concert of American music. Carlos Coelho, a University of Georgia graduate student from Brazil, translated the Conde and Neves paper from the Portuguese.

Through the efforts of James Dooley of Appalachian State University, seminar participants toured Cherokee, North Carolina, the eastern center of the Cherokee Indian Nation. The city council of Cherokee generously donated tickets to *Unto These Hills*, an open-air community music drama depicting the historical plight of the once strong Cherokee nation. The township of Washington, Georgia, provided a tour of a *Gone With the Wind*-era plantation. Athens community arts leaders hosted a visit to the renovated Morton Theater, one of the earliest black vaudeville theaters in the U.S., and members of the Athens Commission on the Arts presented a lecture on the administration and governmental support of area music festivals and activities. Community music groups (square dance, blue grass, and folk singing ensembles) provided evening entertainments, and University of Georgia students hosted a night tour of the Athens music scene.

Setting the Stage: The Mission of the 1994 Seminar on Community Music Activity

Tim Joss

Chair, ISME Commission on Community Music Activity

About Community Music

Community music is about active participation in music-making. It is rooted in community life and adds to standard music education in schools and colleges. There is a developmental edge too: a commitment to creative music projects, increasing accessibility, ensuring everyone has an equal opportunity to make music, and bringing decision-making about local musical life down to community level.

Community music has a social dimension. Communities can identify themselves through music-making. They can express themselves and grow closer together. They can effect social change, as well as responding to the changing world. Sometimes community music preserves a tradition and sometimes it can renew it. Community music can also break with tradition and chart a new course.

In practice, community music embraces:

- creative amateur activities
- composer-in-residence schemes
- participatory projects to develop indigenous music-making
- community recording studios
- outreach programs by orchestras and opera companies
- local music amateurs
- and much more.

About the ISME Commission

The Commission on Community Music Activity, founded in 1988, is one of seven set up by the International Society for Music Education to investigate, report on, and aid the development of specific areas of importance. Topics so far addressed by this commission include: Adult Music Educa-

tion; Interaction between Professionals and Amateurs; Training Musicians and Music Educators to Meet Community Needs; and Community Music in a Multicultural Society.

The Commission is presently made up of seven members: Tim Joss, Chair, United Kingdom; John Drummond, New Zealand; Te Puoho Katene, New Zealand; George Kidenda, Kenya; Dave Price, United Kingdom; Elizabeth Oehrle, South Africa; and Ingrid Olseng, Norway. In the period 1992 to 1994, the Commission is concentrating on the theme of Community Music in a Changing World and is looking at how community music is effecting, and is affected by, personal, social, and political change.

At the same time the commission is working on a number of practical initiatives such as:

- encouraging the production of documentation of community music activity; the first British Community Music Directory has just been published;
- producing an international handbook on community music activity;
- developing an international community music consultancy
- setting up an international community music network for practitioners to share ideas and experiences, and to collaborate on projects.

The Role of Community Music in a Changing World

These are times of great change. Most countries of the world are living through economic uncertainty. Some are suffering acute hardship. Recent political change in the former Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and South Africa has been dramatic, whilst new problems are continually rising up, demanding resolution.

Change is often painful but can never be ignored. Communities and individuals have come to terms with what is happening, intellectually, emotionally, and spiritually. In response they may work for further change, or they may accept what has happened.

The Seminar here in Athens and the Special Sessions in Tampa will look at how community music helps in this response: how community music is effecting and is affected by personal, social, and political change. In particular it is hoped that the following questions will be addressed:

- What is happening to community music activity in the countries and communities of the world which are experiencing social or political change?

- Some community music initiatives are consciously aimed at achieving change. What examples are there?
- How is music being used to enable people to make sense of change and reorient themselves?
- Community music can empower the disadvantaged and change the perceptions of the wider community. Work on music and the deaf is one example. How are the issues of race, gender and disability being addressed by community music?
- How can community musicians and music educators best respond to change?
- Are providers, supporters and funders of community music activity sufficiently responsive to change? How do their policies and practical programs acknowledge social and political differences?
- How are musical languages used in community music activity changing?
- To what extent does community music activity generate cooperation, mutual respect, understanding, and the resolution of differences?
- To what extent should community musicians and music educators take action to achieve social change through their work?

After considering the above questions during the coming week, the observations, conclusions, and recommendations of the Seminar will be compiled and presented at the Tampa meeting.

Sound Bytes from the Here and Now

John D. Drummond
New Zealand

Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis.¹

Alice had got so much into the way of expecting nothing but out-of-the-way things to happen, that it seemed quite dull and stupid for life to go on in the common way.²

A Lifetime of Change

My father was born into a time when transport was by horse and buggy, train and steamship, though there was the occasional spluttering horseless carriage, and the Wright brothers had recently made the first successful controlled flight. Information was obtained through the print media, from books and magazines and newspapers; personal communication was by letter. Music could only be heard in concerts—although there were a few noisy 78rpm records becoming available.

When my father died, in his early 70s, transport was by car and jumbo jet and oil supertanker, and Neil Armstrong had set foot on the moon. Information came largely through the audio and visual media of radio and television; personal communication was by telephone. The normal access to music was through FM radio, stereo recordings and cassettes, and CD recordings were beginning to appear.

His lifetime was one of great technological change. It was also a time of great political change. When my father was born Kaiser Wilhelm, the Emperor Franz Josef, and Tsar Nicholas sat comfortably on their respective thrones. He saw a generation slaughtered on the battlefields of the First World War. He saw Hitler come—and go. He saw Stalin come—and go. He was born before the first tank appeared on a battlefield and in his early forties heard the radio reports of the bombing of Hiroshima. He watched another generation slaughtered in the bombed cities and concentration camps of the Second World War. The British Empire he was born into vanished ten years before he died.

My father very rarely talked about change. Doesn't that seem odd, considering how much change happened in his lifetime?

You Can't Step Twice into the Same River: Even the Crocodiles Are Different

There is nothing new about change.

"Everything flows and nothing stays," observed the Greek philosopher Heraclitus in the sixth century B.C.³ Every gardener knows this to be true, as does every parent. The physical world of the planet earth is in a state of constant change, in some areas more quickly and therefore more obviously than in others. Our own bodies are undergoing continuous change and renewal—we don't have last year's fingernails any more; as we live through each day our minds continually receive, process and store away new information. Today's me isn't yesterday's me.

The Survivors Landing at Gate 42

If Darwin is right, survival depends upon the ability to adapt to changes in the environment. Human beings are particularly good at this: in less than a million years (an insignificant length of time in geological terms) we have adapted from life in the habitat of rural Africa to life in the habitat of modern New York City—and some of us can make that shift in less than a day.

Nevertheless, it seems natural to human beings to wish to create stability within their environment. In a world of change we seek certainty. We need the reassurance of the familiar, and we need a mental code by which we can interpret the information we receive. We give value to things that last; we erect barriers against the chaos of the unknown. Even if we don't have last year's fingernails, we are reassured to know we do have something to bite, or hang on by, in times of stress.

Our ability to adapt depends on the amount of change we have to deal with. The body has limits to its tolerance, and so does the mind. But we are very smart animals: we humans have developed the ability to resist change deliberately, on the grounds of a particular belief-system or value-system. Adapting to change is therefore often seen by us as a matter of choice rather than survival; we are clever at devising mechanisms which will allow us to resist change and still survive, at least in the short term. Some of these mechanisms can have the effect of delaying change, which may or may not be helpful; some can have the effect of reversing change, which may or may not be useful; others only have the effect of making us feel better about our resistance.

Responding to change is, therefore, not a simple process. It involves evaluation and therefore easily departs from the rational. One only had to look at television pictures of the recent South African elections to see how wide can be the range of responses to change, from scenes of the aftermath of indiscriminate bombing by those resisting change, to scenes of wild enthusiasm or tearful emotion by those impatient for it. Then there were those people stoically enduring the hot African sun for hours as they waited patiently to use the opportunity given them for change. When we meet change, the trick is to know whether the cost of adapting is greater or less than the price to be paid for resisting. Who does the shopping in your family?

You Hum It, Son, and I'll Play It

The changes in Western society in the past hundred years have been technological ones, or have been driven by developments in technology. Since both music and education deal with information, it is information technology that has most affected our professional work. Some would even argue (Alvin Toffler, to name but two) that the enormous changes in information technology that have taken place during the last few decades are responsible for the collapse of the political status quo in many parts of the world.

My father's grandfather almost certainly could not read. He lived in a pre-literate society, in which information was carried by word of mouth, or by pictures (hence inn signs and logos), or by music (such as street cries and battlefield fanfares). Certainly some people in the culture could read—their parents bought them a literate education—and they had access to the information that was contained in books. But most people survived, as many people do today, without being able to read a sentence. They were not uneducated, of course (unless we define education in terms of literacy), nor were they lacking in intelligence; they learned a great deal by listening and watching, imitating and repeating. You can learn a lot that way—watch any preschool child.

Their music was non-literate too (though not illiterate, in the sense of lacking coherence or meaning), as are the musics of many people today. It was played and sung by memory. Some of it always had to be done the same way, for local cultural reasons, and some of it could be changed every time it was sung or played. It was owned by the community—no one could remember who had composed it.

Who's Ink Monitor Today?

It was during my father's and his father's generations, between 1870 and 1918, that free and universal primary education was introduced into English-speaking countries like Britain and New Zealand, the United States, Canada, and Australia. The process happened rather later in those countries that had been British or other European colonies at that time: education is a dangerous thing, information is power. Universal education aimed to create a literate, numerate population. The technique used was simple: young people sat in rows facing a blackboard. Words were written on the blackboard, and each person had a slate, or a desk large enough to hold paper, on which those words could be copied.

(Parenthetically: if information is power, then universal education strengthens the democratic process: information/power spreads out through the population. Is it accidental or intentional that the classroom is nevertheless autocratic in design? The leader stands, the masses sit, and listen obediently. From truth to propaganda by an arrangement of the furniture? Add uniforms . . . and little pig faces . . . "We don't want no education . . .")

Once the student could read, education became a matter of acquiring information through printed books, and communicating to the teacher by writing things down in exercise books. Outside the school, information was acquired in a similar way, through reading mass-circulation newspapers, or by borrowing books from the lending libraries. The literate culture had arrived; everyone began filling out forms, sending out accounts, writing personal letters. "Put it in writing."

In ordinary people's music, this was the time when the orally transmitted materials of rural folk song gave way in European culture almost totally to the urban songs of popular music, available in print, and to sheet music to be played on the piano. Music itself became a literate art-form. To be a performing musician you learned to read music, and you played the masterpieces contained in the volume of music sitting on the music stand. If you wished to be a composer you learned to write music. If you wished to sing in a choir, you picked up your copy of Handel's *Messiah* as you went in to the rehearsal.

Music teachers slapped your hand if you didn't read the notes correctly. Authority lay in what was written down (even if the composer hadn't thought so). "Keep off the grass." "Nicht hinauslehnen." "Interdite." "Verboten." Welcome to the age of the timetable. "It is written here that the

train leaves at 9:05: if it is still in the station at 9:10 I am faced with two contradictory realities. Please, Benito, make the trains run on time, then we know that all is well with the world."

Subtext

But . . .

While the literate society flourished, a quiet revolution was taking place beneath the surface. Marconi invented the radio—shut your eyes and just listen to the information. Edison invented the phonograph—printing applied to the sounds of music, giving everyone access to musical experiences in their own homes without the need to read. Babbage invented the computer, setting in train a process that would eventually give everyone untrammelled (and untrammelable?) access to huge amounts of information. The Lumière brothers invented moving pictures, allowing us to see, rather than just read about, distant and imaginary places and people—and fragmenting the dividing line between reality and fantasy whose preservation is useful for sanity. Baird invented television (*Ave penates!*), which would give everyone access to audiovisual information—no reading necessary.

And then Techman made videos and CDs and fiberoptic cable and satellites and cellphones and interactive CD-ROM and CNN and Windows, and Techman saw that it was good and it was evening and night on the second millennium, and everybody closed the curtains, switched off, turned on, and settled down to watch *Home Improvement*. Heaven on earth.

WelcomE

Welcome! to the post-literate! society!

Welcome to the Post-Literate Society.

Welcome + to + the + post + literate + society.

welkum to de pos'lit'rut so-sigh-etee

Welcome, everyone, to the first meeting of the post-literate society.

Which font do you think looks best? Should I try caps? Shadow, outline, italic? Supertext?

Switch It Off, It's Too Real

Look around—listen around.

Now we don't write letters so much as we make phone calls. We don't read newspapers so much as we watch television news. We don't borrow books from the library so much as we watch television programs and hire videos (well, you and I read, but are we the last of the race?). A picture is worth a thousand words. We don't perform pieces of sheet music so much as put on our favorite compact discs to listen to.

What happened? Will history remember my generation, and my parents' generation, as the only literate generations in Western culture? Does it matter if we were? Question 12: Is civilization measured by what a culture has written down or by its technological development? (Developing countries please answer this carefully.) Question 13: List the following in order of importance to the human race: A printed copy of Shakespeare's plays; a CD recording of Beethoven's symphonies played on authentic instruments; the collapse of the Berlin Wall; a Big Man. You have thirty seconds.

Realities blur on TV1. 7:25—a murder in Soweto. 7:35—a murder on a Hollywood set. Bodies all look the same. Is Death only a makeup artist? "Excuse me sir (crunch, wham), do you have real blood?" Fact/fiction/faction. Background music at the basketball game, background music at the political rally, background music for the soap opera. Question 14: Explain the difference between the background music in *Days of Our Lives* and Verdi's music for *La Traviata*. Answer: I think the people in *Days of Our Lives* are more real. "And now, music to rape by."

Thanks, Nigel

Mozart sells disposable nappies, and Honda cars, and plastic furniture.

Wagner sells Employment Training.

Delibes sells British Airways tickets to exotic locations.

Vivaldi sells heavy industry—there's nothing to match *The Seasons* if you're into major pollution (thanks again, Nigel).

Who's Doing the Teaching Here?

In the post-literate society it is pictures and sounds that fill our eyes and ears, and spoken words more than read words. In a way, we are returning

to the pre-literate society. Instead of the battlefield trumpet we have the short-wave radio and the cellphone. Instead of the lullaby we have the tape of New Age music. Instead of the street cries we have the television commercial. Instead of the tavern singer we have FM radio and cassettes. What this means, of course, is a new explosion of music in our culture. Books and newspapers do not come with music attached: television does. Access to information at the touch of a button includes access to music at the touch of that button. And it is extraordinary how much music people seem to want to have. Could anyone in the old-fashioned literate society have forecast how much music we would have in our post-literate society?

Research in the mid-1980s disclosed that "at high school graduation, American children will have spent more time in front of the television set than in a classroom" (Dorr, 1986, p. 8) Slightly earlier research, in 1978, showed that two- to five-year-old American children spent an average of four hours a day watching television, while six- to eleven-year-olds spent an average of three and three-quarters of an hour a day (Adler et al., 1980, p. 16). Sixteen years later, add videos and video-games, and pop music stations on radio. How does this compare with the hours they spend in school?

And do we still sit the children in rows facing the blackboard? Where's the background music? A class lasting longer than ten minutes without a commercial break? Hey man, get real.

Mosaic Laws

Reading/writing goes in lines (which direction depends on your culture). Sentences are important: they start and end and make progress en route. Each contains meaning. "The cat sat on the mat." (Good news for tired cats.) Make sure you have a verb in the sentence. Please think this way. Your thoughts must start and end and make progress en route.

"Thou shalt not steal." It's clear enough. Mosaic law always is. So what if the real world allows some people to steal and others not to? Don't confuse me with the facts. If you don't obey this sentence, His Honor will give you another one, like transportation to Botany Bay.

Audio-visual images aren't Mosaic but mosaic. "Coke, it's the real thing." Huh? We can't sort that one out without a major metaphysical discussion. But it's not a hypothesis, or even a meaning-coherent collection of words; it's a sound-burst. It gains more, but not more distinct, meaning when it's sung. It gains real meaning when you see the picture(s) too. So: This

week's project: "Arrange Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* into a series of photo-opportunities." Please provide two 30-second radio ads for *Hamlet*. "Please direct the three-minute pop video version of Beethoven's Sixth Symphony—the girl in the miniskirt and the lipgloss can appear in the storm scene: wet she'll look even sexier."

Read a book all evening—enter a single world. Watch television all evening—experience many worlds. Input is kaleidoscopic, non-structured, non-linked. At last, *l'absurde totale*. "When we return, a full report on the massacres in Rwanda" / "Skippy, skippy cornflakes, we love you." / "Supermodel Elle McPherson wears Bendon lingerie." / "Keep in touch with Telecom." / "Buy Attackalarm today, just call this number, but send no money yet." / "Thursday night, Bart Simpson invites Alexander Solzhenitsyn to judge the school short-story-writing competition?" / "Welcome back. In a moment, full details of the All Blacks match against the Welsh. But first, the massacres in Rwanda. . . ."

Thought for the day (you're only allowed one). Does serial killing give life a structure? De Sade's world was an well-ordered one—neatly organized into abusers and abused. Is the Final Solution the ultimate expression of the Smokestack Economy?

Only to Be Dismantled by Qualified Technician

Toffler (1990) argues that the new access to information brought about by the personal computer (and the international telephone network) means the disintegration of monolithic systems based on the control of information and knowledge. The truth police can be no more. IBM clones mean the end of Ministries of Propaganda. (Don't worry, they'll think of something.) Totalitarian communism collapses. Old-fashioned political parties fragment. Multinationals transform into international networks.

How about the disintegration of monolithic educational systems? Why sit facing the blackboard for six hours learning what someone else says you must learn when you can learn twice as much about what interests you sitting at home in front of your Compaq? (You can earn more money, too.) Mummy, do I really have to wear my school uniform while I watch Educational TV?

The old teacher: gradually imparting useful information to curious students who value both the process and the product. But what if the students have gained, through independent access, more information than the teacher? What if their culture or subculture does not value the process or

the product? The new teacher: learning guidance counsellor? Information applications scientist? Information evaluation analyst? Computer technician?

How about the disintegration of monolithic musical systems? Why an orchestra? Why not linked chamber groups? Why the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music? (Can you take Grade 8 Busking, or Improvisation?) Why distinguish classical from popular? Why the monolith of analysis—is it possible that the world isn't organized in pitch-class sets? (Music for music's sake is a 19th-century invention: are we really stuck with it?) Will future generations think of Schönberg as the name of the composer of *Les Misérables*? Why sit in a classroom learning how to analyze the music of long-dead people when you can be out there learning to make the music of the living? Is there anything important you can't say in thirty seconds anyway? (Come back, Webern, all is forgiven.)

Why go to the local orchestra concert on Saturday when I can tune my cable or satellite television to a live performance of the New York Philharmonic? Why tune into the New York Philharmonic when I can go to a live performance of Deadhead Misfits at the local stadium? Why go to a live performance of Deadhead Misfits when I can put on my interactive CD-ROM of the latest group out of Seattle, add my own keyboard part and change the whole thing into my music? Why do that when I can put on the virtual reality helmet and conduct Mahler's Eighth? Why do that when . . .

You Mean Beethoven Isn't a Dog?

Access is ownership. Read it and it's yours.
Hear it and it's yours.

Hey, Beethoven man, here's my version of the Fifth. I've added the drumming from my mother's culture and the instruments of my older brother's subculture, and some Indipop because my girlfriend likes it and the oboe solo is now a guitar riff and I know it's not what you wrote, but who the fuck cares? My great-grandfather did the same thing with his music, anyway, so who're you to say just because it's written down it's got to stay the same? Jesus, they even bring out a new translation of the Bible every ten years! (Now you've got me as angry as you.)

New, Improved, Giant Size, Special Offer, Limited Time Only

Trade in your old Toyota for a new one. Can we do the same with our culture? It's been done before.

Ciao, polyphonic madrigal; *saluto, le nuove musiche*. Wiedersehen, Baroque counterpoint; Grüss Gott, classical harmony. Bye-bye tonality, hello serialism. So long waltz, hi ragtime.

Throw away that old harpsichord—buy a new fortepiano from Stein of Augsburg, personally endorsed by Wolfgang Amadé Mozart! Throw away that old Stein fortepiano—buy a new square piano from Broadwood of London, personally endorsed by Ludwig van Beethoven! Throw away that old Broadwood—buy an Erard grand, personally endorsed by Franz Liszt! If it's new it's gotta be better!

Who, Me?

The Global Village? Try Terropolis.

Dubbed, lip-synched, or subtitled, the culture spreads across the globe only slightly faster than AIDS. Here is the action-packed, glossy, CNN/ETW reality, organized for adbreaks every seven and a quarter minutes, with canned laughter available, starring all the world leaders you know and love. (F. W. de Klerk wins an Oscar for Best Actor in a Supporting Role.) Today's news: in a new Treaty of Saragossa Pope John Paul IITM has divided up the known world between PepsiColaTM and CocaColaTM.

The television audience for the Football World Cup Final is estimated to be 1.5 billion. Who's written the theme music? (Imagine the royalties.) Instantly, the music is heard by more people than have ever heard of Bach, Beethoven, and Mozart, never mind heard any of their music, during the past two hundred years.

Next, the global pop concert, played live simultaneously in 143 countries. All performers on this planet wear jeans by Levi and eat at McDonald's. And here come the crossovers—Seoul-Soul, Finno-Funk, and Serbo-Grunge. (Regional break, three minutes.) We're well down the track now, folks: the Second Law of Musodynamics states that all art aspires to the condition of music, and all music to the condition of Country 'n' Western.

And yet . . . A cellist plays, alone, on the streets of Sarajevo.

(Alone, that is, until 20 news photographers come along.)

"In a homogenized, coca-colonized world it is harder to be an individual. One becomes a cypher . . . the furniture of the mind comes to resemble the furniture of everyone else's mind. This may simplify communication, reducing it to an exchange of stereotypes, but it destroys individuality and eats away the sense of personal uniqueness, and hence of

worth. For if one is replaceable, if one has nothing unique to offer, one is not an individual" (Taylor, 1972, p. 142). Somebody pass one a cello.

Wheels within wheels. How many communities do I belong to? Space-ship earth . . . species: homo (occasionally) sapiens . . . birth ancestry: three-quarters Celtic, quarter English . . . culture: European . . . subcultural art-form choice: music theatre . . . subcultural historical choice: late eighteenth-century Austrian . . . national-residence subculture: New Zealand . . . local-residence subculture: small university town . . . gender subculture: male . . . sexual subculture: heterosexual . . . residential subculture: family home . . . And the further I go the closer I come to my individuality. But the wheels nestle comfortably in each other: outer wheels nurture inner ones, inner ones feed outer ones.

I'll Show You Mine If You Show Me Yours

While Yugoslavia was still there, it was possible to be a Croat or a Serb or a Bosnian without feeling the need to murder or rape your neighbor. Is it possible that the umbrella of uniformity allows, even encourages, the expression of diversity? Is it possible that the global culture provides a safe context for the expression of diversity?

If we all agree on some things we can afford to disagree on others (Enlightenment Rules OK). Globality is such a security. Behold the treasure chest; uniform in dimensions (a square), uniform in material (all wood), uniform in texture (not easily broken). Open the lid . . . out tumble the coins and the jewels, the doubloons, pieces of eight, louis d'or, the pearls and emeralds, the silver and the gold. Whoever invented the treasure chest had a good idea: it's great for looking after treasure.

Within the musical terropolis we may relish the suburban jewels. Perhaps it is time to stop saying my music is better than yours. Only adolescent boys and generals argue about whose is bigger. And do we still have them facing the blackboard, to find out who's got the biggest, and which music is correct? Teacher knows best. Thwack.

The challenge is to our own education, our own acculturation. Lou Harrison used to say that everyone should learn to live within at least two different cultures: it does wonders for your sense of perspective. The shift we are dealing with here may be from teaching to learning, from authority to humility, from arrogance to respect, from telling to listening, from noise to silence. Perhaps my father's not talking about change was more sapient than our endless discussions about it.

Once More, from the Top

The confusions of change: Stop the world, I want to get off. We've had enough change, thank you. Are you sure you've given me the right change? (Even if change isn't really bewildering, we are told it is so often we probably believe it by now.) Welcome to Ovid's Newshape Show, in which contestants compete to see who can metamorphose into the most colorful and intriguing flowering plant before the buzzer goes. Market-driven reforms. New political structures. Changing rooms this way. Please use this year's words. I'm sorry, he doesn't work here any more. Our new logo is . . .

Just hold it there. Wait a sec. Pausa.

Can you run that by me again?

Can I take it for a test-drive?

Can I have it on appro?

Can I have it on Sale or Return, no obligation?

Shall we try and draft a proposal?

Every time we see Medea murder her children, we wonder, shivering, what it would be like to do it ourselves. The woman in Munch's painting screams so I don't have to. Listening to the prelude to *Tristan* is quite enough unfulfilled yearning for me, thank you. Aristotle called it catharsis. Kids do it all the time: "Bang bang you're dead, that means you must count to ten before you get up." "It is the theory of the arts as transformed reality: trying out a bit of life (or death) without really living it.

Another theory: music is the continual transformation of sound, and a piece of music is a sound-idea undergoing processes of change. So: only connect. . . . Listen to the music, and experience the processes of change without actually changing.

Ah! So that's why there's so much music—everyone is rehearsing life! Virtual reality isn't new after all. (Next week's topic: Can anything be new?)

Let's try harder. Make music, and make change happen without making change happen. A contemporary New Zealand television ad put out by a firm of business management consultants shows a group of people playing in a chamber music ensemble. The message? "The group that performs together transforms together."

And now, total immersion: the ultimate non-life life experience: create music.

I have three, nearly four children. Whenever my wife is transforming an embryo into a baby in her womb I feel a powerful urge to compose. It is

gender jealousy, of course: my way, with a highly limited biological structure, of trying to compete. It is also imitation (the sincerest form of flattery), the attempt to understand what is going on by doing a version of it myself.

Art imitates life imitating art imitating life . . .

Naisbitt and Aburdene (1990) catalogue the '90s Renaissance in the Arts. Is there some link between this and the changes we have been experiencing in the '80s and '90s? Does hearing music, making music, creating music help us find ways to cope with all the change around us? It is common for human communities to use music to celebrate moments of change in the seasons, and the rites of passage of individuals (Blacking, 1974, p. 42). Is this why there is now so much music? Elevator music: the epitome of the culture of today—music to change floors by.

Canto Ergo Sum

So much music now comes from an invisible source, through a speaker. It is today's Delphic Oracle, with tweeter and woofer; the Unseen Voice, speaking its mysteries from some other dimension. "Immortal, invisible . . ." Is listening to recorded music an act of submission to some divine authority? There is no changing the message; you can argue with the television, but it is infuriatingly unresponsive. And some recordings of Beethoven's Fifth have the wrong tempo every time you play them. Listen, and obey. Like the children in the old classroom; rows of empty vessels waiting to be filled. Put your hand up if you want to speak.

To regain your self, follow these simple instructions.

- (1) Breathe in.
- (2) Open mouth and sing.*

*Alternative models available in areas of: musical instrument performance, dance, personal appearance, theatre, visual and plastic arts, crime.

Note: You may sing alone for maximum individual identity, or sing with others to develop self-in-context, or identity in community.

Notes

1. Attributed to Emperor Lothar I (795–855): "Times change, and we change with them."
2. Lewis Carroll, *Alice's adventures in Wonderland*, chap. 1.
3. Plato, *Cratylus*, 402a. Heraclitus is also reputed to have coined the phrase

about stepping twice into the same river, though not the reference to the crocodiles.

References

- Adler, R. P., et al. (1980). *The effects of television advertising on children*. Lexington Books.
- Blacking, J. (1974). *How musical is man*. University of Washington Press.
- Dorr, A. (1986). *Television and children*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Naisbitt, J., & Aburdene, P. (1990). *Megatrends 2000*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson.
- Taylor, G. R. (1972). *Rethink: A paraprimitive solution*. London: Martin Secker and Warburg.
- Toffler, A. (1990). *Powershift*. Bantam Books.

Changing South Africa: A Community's Perception of Its Cultural Self

Sallyann Goodall
South Africa

Abstract

This paper is a report of the discussions concerning music and change which took place at the University of Durban-Westville in South Africa within the framework of an annual seminar entitled "The Future of South African Music." The question, how people use talk about music and culture to reorientate themselves during a period of change, is addressed through the exploration of a multiracial and multicultural group into their perceptions of themselves and their community.

Defining "South African" music in a pluralistic community, the question "My roots. Our roots. Is maintaining cultural roots compatible with integration?" and the question "Is music an agent for change in South Africa?" are explored.

Introduction

This paper is a community effort itself. It is the result of some of my work at the University of Durban-Westville,¹ in Durban, South Africa, 1986-91, specifically with the third year class of musicology. This class took the form of a seminar on the topic "The Future of South African Music," and part of the assignment was for students to interview people in the community-at-large about their ideas on music in contemporary South Africa and where it is headed.

All in all about 40 students² were involved and about 250 people³ were interviewed. Interviewing had a strongly liberating effect on many of the students, who were, like all South Africans in this period of swift change, exploring their cultural identity in a new way to reorient themselves. The class of 1991 was particularly interested in the possibility of reaching general conclusions about the local community's opinions about music in

South Africa, and I agreed to make an effort to publish our discussion. This paper is, then, the attempt at fulfilling our hope, addressing particularly the question of how people use the discussion on music to make sense of change and reorient themselves during a period of change.

Two of the main questions will be presented here. These are (a) "Is maintaining cultural roots compatible with integration?" and (b) "Is music an agent for change in South Africa?" Most of the interest lies in the discussion itself, and much of this could be considered ethnographic report laced with commentary rather than the accepted academic interpretation, for which it might be rather early.

First, it is important that the definition of "South African" music was often the center of our discussion, and that the two questions presented here were embedded within this. Here we explored our perceptions of the common characteristics of things "South African," in a country where there are three distinct cultures (African, Indian, Western) and several subdivisions of these, and where we have lived racially segregated lives on several levels, which has forced cultural segregation on us to a certain extent.

In our interviews on the defining of "South African music" we encountered three trends every year.

- The first is that South African music is characterized by a *fusion of styles*. One of the respondents expressed the idea of synthesis thus: "We need a sense of common identity in South Africa which is a synthesis of African, European, and Indian cultures . . . only time will dictate what this synthesis sounds like." This was typical of 23 out of 41 respondents in the 1988 survey. A "true" South African music is seen to be an integration of different musics.

People typically name Johnny Clegg's Savuka, Mango Groove, and Friends First as South African music. Clegg has also expressed himself on the term "people's culture," which was in vogue with the Left for a while, considered as "truly" South African culture. Clegg says, "People's culture is when the experiences, the hopes, the dreams and the humor of the vast masses of South Africa's majority is allowed expression and that this expression is carried in a cultural form or a mixture of different forms belonging to our country South Africa."⁴ Clegg equates crossover, fusion and "people's music" with "South African" and maintains that it was because musicians have had access to different styles that they have created the vibrant art South African popular music is today. A future South African music will emerge simply if all musicians have access to all music in South Africa.

But when asked what exactly makes music "South African," the answer most frequently given is "African rhythms." Or in the case of research-in-progress (1994) by a student⁵ into the increasing use of the term "Safro jazz,"⁶ the most frequent answer is "the three-chord jam" (the basic harmonic progression in African township instrumental music).

So, although people speak of a fusion, integration or synthesis, what they de facto identify in the music as evidence of South Africanness is the "African" element.

- The second trend of definition is that there is no South African *music*, only South African *musics*.

This clearly does not answer the question of a definition; in fact it is often used as a criticism of the question—especially where the respondent senses that "South African" implies a synthesis, fusion, or integration. The idea that cultures exist de facto side by side is sometimes used to maintain that their separateness is a necessity—this from White and Indian conservatives (for slightly different reasons). This type of respondent usually argues that apartheid living was "good for culture." In other words, the idea of cultures side-by-side is used prescriptively—they *should* exist side by side, and should not fuse because this demeans them in some way. This answer expresses fear of cultural integration on a national level by people who fear being overwhelmed and "losing their culture."⁷

But there is another conceptualization of the side-by-side argument too, one usually held by academics and liberals. This says that people have rights to difference, and that they should not be forced into some sort of "national uniformity." This side-by-side interpretation celebrates diversity and is sometimes also prescriptive—musical cultures *should* be allowed to remain side-by-side.

This view is particularly interesting because those who espouse it usually promote "intercultural" music education too. The term intercultural is favored because it is said to denote cultural crossover or interrelationship, said to be essential for social understanding in South Africa. But when it is pointed out by conservatives that this crossover must promote integration, synthesis and fusion, which is ultimately *against* the idea of culture side-by-side—that it achieves the opposite of what is apparently celebrated—there seems to be silence on the part of the liberals. This discussion has not yet been faced.

- The third trend of definition is that "South African" is a *geographical designation*—it is music found in South Africa which is not found elsewhere. This either means indigenous African music of this region or it

means some form of popular music of immigrant communities after their reaching Africa. "Boeremusiek" (popular music of the Boer or Afrikaans-speaking Whites, often accompanied by accordion), "Chutney" (popular humorous songs of north Indian immigrants describing their daily lives in a mixture of Bhojpuri and English), and various types found around Cape Town are examples cited by respondents.

These three trends are a reasonably concise representation of a complex phenomenon—talk of what constitutes "South African music." What is important in understanding the rest of this material is that "South African music" is perceived very differently by people in our city, and that we do not, as yet, have one understanding of "our" culture as South Africans.

Conceptualization of Cultural Roots

In posing the question "My roots. Our roots. Is maintaining one's cultural roots compatible with integration?" there were three aims for the class of 1991: (a) that students explore their assumptions about culture by exploring the new political situation; (b) that I come to understand how they conceptualize their individual cultural positions from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives; and (c) that I observe whether they uphold the opposition of "maintaining cultural roots" and "integration" or not. It is in connection with these three aims that I report here.

In this discussion the term "roots" was left to the students to define so that they would have to define by means of their own categories.

"My roots" were most often conceptualized in terms of family ("my family background," "the development of me in my family," "my Xhosa forefathers and their rituals," "my family's prejudices"), of religion ("Christianity and western schooling," "my religion and morals—what I'm attached to emotionally") and in terms of geographical location ("my place of birth—my belonging there," "there where I developed"). It was noticeable that African students, in contrast to Indian students, were most attached to geographical location (rural areas of growing up), and that all paid much attention to their religious backgrounds.

The category "our roots" was of special interest because people often talk in terms of "we," "our," and "us" when they speak about music and culture in general, and I always wonder how big anyone thinks the "our" group is.

There were three trends here:

- "Our" as a group defined by religio-cultural characteristics—"Every-

one who has their cultural roots in India," "People who share my king and have relationships with their ancestors like I do," "People who do like me, killing a cow with my bare hands to show my power as a man to the king; but also Christian," "People who have our Hindu values";

- "Our" as a group which shares a common past, particularly a suffering past because of oppression in South Africa—"People like me, what we've been through," "Africans who have the same kind of deprived education like me," "Indians in South Africa who had to adapt after 1927, to our use of English,"⁸ "People with the common heritage of poverty and hard work of our Indian forefathers"; and

- "Our" as a streak of wishful thinking about the future. Two out of ten students said that "our" meant the "values and beliefs of all peoples in South Africa" or "the South African nation," as if these were something that South Africans shared—which they patently did not. One of them said, "Our' roots as the South African nation is something we are working towards." Here a concept usually assumed to have a past connotation is totally reworked to have a future meaning of something hoped for.

In describing "our" to someone of non-South African background, the South African has great difficulty and ultimately falls back on his/her own community, pointing this out as a limitation; or she/he universalizes his/her experience as the experience of the nation.

In discussing the maintenance of cultural roots versus integration, most of the students initially saw these as opposing tendencies. At the same time there emerged a very clear idea that tendencies are desirable. The following student's responses, though, set them thinking that, whereas maintenance and integration seemed to be in opposition, in their personal life experience this had not been the case: "Integration means 'bringing together' as well as 'keeping up the original condition'; it doesn't have to mean 'mixing.' Our differences were maintained because of apartheid, but now we all have Westernization in common. What was brought here has been assimilated to a certain extent already; this means change, means integrating. So we have integrated already and have also kept our roots, and so the two things must be compatible. Integration isn't abandoning, it's communicating. We adapt to coming to university, that's what integration is."⁹ There was general agreement that since maintenance and integration had de facto occurred, they must, logically, be possible. One was able to do both; they had, to some extent, already been done by everyone: "Black society is changed already because of acculturation. I copied other cultures to suit me. Us Blacks took some changes freely." But it was not so clear

what exactly had taken place in our lives. Change and continuity was so close as to be invisible.

After moving from the apparent opposition of maintenance and integration to acknowledging both of them, then the discussion moved to the compatibility of these two elements, and the conclusion was that maintenance and integration actually occur on several levels. One can maintain customs individually (or within the family) that are not acceptable to people one works with, i.e., are not integrable on that level, for example. For instance, a Zulu student in the class felt proud to conform to Zulu standards of a group-killing of a cow to prove manhood—this could be upheld in his family—while he came to study alongside Hindu students every day who felt this behavior was abhorrent.

There seem to be three major social areas in which cultural maintenance and integration can operate, sometimes independently of one another. These are (a) work, (b) social meeting, and (c) marriage. It is fairly easy to integrate at work while maintaining unacceptable customs individually as the example above shows, but it is challenging to integrate social occasions without compromising some traditions. An example of this close to home is the different cultural behavior at music concerts: it is absolutely acceptable for Indian friends to carry on a conversation if they find the music boring—and to leave the theater between items to buy cold drinks or snacks and to return with them in the hope that things will improve. Another accepted norm is that a performance actually begins about 30 minutes after the scheduled time. It is expected of African audiences that they will respond to their likes and dislikes during the performance; uproarious response is highly desired by "traditional" African performers.

When all these people become fellow-students and the audience at the occasion of a Western Romantic lieder recital, the result has to be compromise all round, or else the level of the social challenge leads to great frustration.

But marrying someone of totally different cultural roots is considered by all to be challenging in the extreme in this respect. When imagining themselves confronted with this level of challenge, some begin, at this point in the discussion, to revert to the idea that maintenance and integration are opposing tendencies.¹⁰ One student said, "Maintaining roots is not always compatible because you have to let go of some things"—this was agreed to especially by women who see themselves conforming to the desires of a future husband and the demands of children.

But another said, "Integration depends on the individual. It hasn't

affected me. My culture is in my heart and it's valid for my behavior with everyone." Few were prepared to agree that it was really valid for everyone, since he was the person who was proud to kill a cow with his bare hands, and the Hindus in the class rejected this behavior and thought differently about him after he revealed this participation. He might think it was valid, but it patently was not. Cultural roots are not an entirely private matter. It is also obvious that gender plays an important role in the individual's ability to maintain certain behavior or to make the kind of compromises necessary for integration.

The question "My roots. Our roots. Is maintaining one's cultural roots compatible with integration?" enabled us to explore our cultural assumptions at a fundamental level. It also made us realize, gratefully, that integration, synthesis, fusion in music is a particularly painless, fruitful, and exciting way to experience other cultures at close quarters, and that it has enabled very many South Africans to change their perceptions of people of other races. There were strong feelings in all classes from 1986 to 1991 that music has had some part in changing the political scene because of this.

Has Music Effected Change in South Africa?

This topic was discussed especially by the 1990 class, which began very enthusiastically by asserting that the popular music of fusion groups (identified previously as "South African" by many respondents) had contributed tremendously to the fact that people were more tolerant towards other cultures and that this must have effected political change in some way.

These were typical expressions (paraphrased):

- "Because music expresses hope for freedom and liberation, people react to it. Music changes your beliefs. It talks about injustice too. It reminds people about the situation we're in and they respond to that."
- "Through music we can reach people who are out of reach of the politicians."
- "Through music we can get rid of the ignorance which contributes to the prejudice we have about one another's culture. It changes people's perceptions. Transcultural communication affects all younger people."
- "Because culture has an important molding effect and music is such an important element of culture, music must have the power to change us socially. This effects political change."

However, although these things seemed so obviously, for some, to have

effected change, it soon became clear that if one distinguishes between music as sound and music as text, as we do in Western culture,¹¹ it is usually the text, the verbal message, which is perceived to effect the change. The more we unpicked how music actually effects change (on individual and social levels), the more the initial enthusiasm faded, and finally most felt that it had been a delusion to think that music changes anything at all.

But there was one student¹² who advanced an idea which is plausible if developed further. He maintained that there are three elements which play an important role in social change: (a) literature (meaning newspapers, books—ideas and the written word, and, by extension, plays and films); (b) education (in its broadest sense); and (c) social communication (meaning social relations in general). He pointed out that music plays an important role in all three of these elements; it is linked to literature in the texts of songs and is an inevitable part of artistic expression; it is a medium for conveying messages and is able to touch us at an especially vulnerable spot to educate us in insight and wisdom; and it is valued as a means for enabling social communication, in entertainment and celebration.

Although these categories are so broad as perhaps to make them less meaningful, it does make sense to say that music changes society when it expresses hopes for freedom and liberation—this includes texts which educate us about people's ideas, and about bondage and suffering, and that it often touches us to reflect on our relationship to these things. It also makes sense to say that people who are not reached otherwise are reached because of music's being a preferred means for enabling social communication. Also, we can change our perceptions through music; with music, ideas are delivered to us where we are vulnerable to hearing them.

If we take a closer look at the interplay of these three factors, of text/idea/"literature," "education" and social communication, we could probably come much closer to understanding the role that music does play in political change in South Africa. Certainly we can neither draw the conclusion that it is the cause of all political change, nor that it has effected no change whatsoever. The answer lies somewhere on the continuum between these two extremes, waiting for closer scrutiny.

My own thoughts about this matter center mainly around the performers' and the listeners' contexts. I believe that the sight of a white man, Johnny Clegg, performing equally with Zulus in the band Juluka, was the beginning of many South Africans' revising their ideas on race and culture. There was always the implicit idea in all South African schooling that race

and culture are synonymous (i.e., that both are determined by birth). In some quarters it is said that we are different "nations," blurring the distinction between race and culture. The synonymy of race and culture was promoted implicitly in the non-discussion of these things, and in the use of language generally. But the sight of Johnny Clegg challenged this assumption, and people all over the country wondered about how it was possible that a white person could be so "authentically" African. An African playing a Beethoven concerto would not have created much of a stir; she would have been considered "clever." After all it was taken for granted that Beethoven's concertos are a desirable cultural achievement. But when a white man obviously regarded Zulu singing/playing/dancing as a very desirable cultural achievement, this challenged South Africans' assumptions about what was both desirable and possible culturally.

This was the beginning of several "mixed bands" becoming visual and visible symbols of hope that South Africans could succeed in the cultural adaption needed to live well together. This appealed especially to the youth, the visibility of the bands and the desirability of the music giving impetus (one amongst many) to the already-occurring sociopolitical ferment on several levels.¹³

But the position of the listeners is also significant. When laws segregating public halls were some of the first apartheid laws to be repealed, congregating to hear local music was inevitably exciting and became a good experience of integration. As one student remarked, "Music promoted 'togetherness' and this *must* be good for South Africans." With fusion music and mixed bands the aural effect enhanced the visual one, and because young people were inevitably involved, intercultural communication came into vogue for a large section of South African society. This has to have had an impetus in influencing political opinion. People plan for the future, which inevitably considers the way the world is becoming rather than how it was, and this must involve consideration of the young. Since many of them were taking intercultural communication for granted, planning for integration seemed increasingly sensible and less alarming.

Conclusion

The questions discussed here begin to grapple with fundamental issues on cultural change and on how people come to terms with social change in terms of their talk about music.

Since my return to the field in mid-1993 after a two-year absence, it

seems that this research reflects a particular "window" of time in our sociocultural history towards the end of the apartheid era, when the youth were eager to be proud of the particular culture they sprang from in a way which had previously been taboo. There was an element of protest in this pride. After Nelson Mandela was released from jail in February 1990, there was a time of great hope in most communities, and it was in the midst of this hope that I left the field.

In 1994, immediately before the elections, the time of protest is over and the task of building has already begun. Increased violence has destroyed the lives of many—and not only of those who have died. In the face of the reality of integration, of homelessness, of 50% jobless, of a crime rate 30 times that of the USA, of affirmative action, and of a chaotic education system, many are not as optimistic as they were three years ago. For some, their optimism lies in the fact that they will at last have the vote, not any more in what it will achieve for them.

For many of the youth of my experience there is now far less emphasis on pride in cultural roots. Not that one is not proud of these things, only that now the emphasis has shifted to the "new South Africa" and this means, first and foremost, survival *together*. The cultural obligations of the "new South Africa" are already evident, with everyone perhaps more eager to show preparedness to fuse, synthesize and integrate than previously. And like all good cultural trends this one will happen paradoxically, by celebrating diversity. Now there is to be a whole new round of celebrating diversity and interrelating on a new level of the cultural-historical spiral. The new key term in "South African culture" is to be "access."

To put it paradoxically, the woolly thinking of the liberals and academics will probably be accurate. Cultures will have the right to exist side-by-side, and at the same time we will have intercultural music education. It seems as if the discussion on side-by-side cultures in South Africa will have to be renewed.¹⁴

Notes

1. Perhaps it is important to know that this campus was originally created for Indian students, and that the campus population is now approximately 45% Indian, 45% African, and 10% white/so-called "coloured" in terms of race, and probably about evenly distributed between Christianity, Hinduism, and Islam by religion.

2. 75% of them third- and fourth-generation Indians, 25% of them African.

3. Evenly distributed by race.

4. J. Clegg, *The people's culture*. UDW Language Laboratory; UDW SRC Cultural Festival '87, 02.08.87. Several papers read at this festival are preserved on audio-cassette at UDW and remain unpublished.

5. Deon Krishman.

6. A term which comes from the Cape.

7. Such as the slogan "One nation, one culture," which was promoted by the ideological left at the student arts festival on my campus for a while. Even those who express pride in fusion music and "one nation" very often will now not accept the idea of "one culture." So there is a line drawn somewhere in the fusion argument too.

8. This refers to the so-called Cape Town Agreement, where it was "agreed" on the opinion of a respected Indian educationist that diaspora Indians should be educated in the language of the countries to which they had emigrated, in this case in English. This meant that Indian South Africans gradually lost their Indian vernaculars in order to get an education, to succeed economically, and this led to a loss of Indian culture generally.

9. Simi Pillay, June 1991.

10. This is particularly true of Indians, who tend to think of culture in terms of a glorious past which should be preserved, and easily identify future with degradation. It is easier for Africans of my experience to be hopeful about the future—perhaps because their worldview accommodates a close interaction between the ancestors and the living.

11. This is not done in many African cultures.

12. Naresh Veeran.

13. I believe that the visual image of the performer Johnny Clegg was as significant to the changing of South Africans' relationship to music as the impression of Javanese music at the Paris Exhibition on Claude Debussy was to the changing of Europeans' relationship to contemporary western music.

14. I acknowledge the financial aid of the Centre for Scientific Development towards my travel to the Commission Seminar.

Structures for Transformation Through Music in South Africa

Elizabeth Oehrle
South Africa

Abstract

South Africa is finally changing. Two structures at the University of Natal are involved in the process of change. Ukusa aims to provide musical experiences which were not available in the past for so many South Africans. NETIEM aims to promote intercultural education through music in Southern Africa.

Ukusa, a Zulu word meaning sunrise and symbolizing hope, is a community music project. Any person interested in music from the age of sixteen upwards has an opportunity to learn about aspects of music which interest them. Students are primarily from Durban's townships. Violence in the townships prohibits the relocation of this project from the university to the townships, but community outreach projects from Ukusa are now developing.

NETIEM is a research project begun in 1992. Two issues of Talking Drum have been published. The second includes a database of people primarily from South Africa who are interested in intercultural education through music, though response has also come from six African countries, Norway, and the United States. In progress are lists of composers, teachers, performers, researchers, places, and programs involved in working with more than one music, and lists of written material relative to music in Africa. Plans are to eventually establish a Resource Center.

Introduction

Sweeping, drastic, and long overdue changes are occurring in South Africa. Attitudes regarding these changes differed vastly before the election. Picture two South Africans sitting on a park bench discussing these changes. One is an elderly white man; the other is an elderly black man.

When discussing the past the white South African looks over his shoulder at the past with longing for things "as they used to be." His black brother, however, looks at the past with sadness, despair, and deep resentment. When their discussion shifts to aspects of the future of South Africa, however, attitudes shift as well. Now the black African raises a gentle smile and speaks with an air of hope, excitement, and anticipation. His white brother speaks with fear and anxiety, and depression. Only the subject of violence generates similar reactions of distress from both.

Ukusa

Because of the violence in townships, the University of Natal hosts for a sixth year a weekend music program called Ukusa. Ukusa, the Zulu word for sunrise, is the name chosen for this program by students from our townships because sunrise brings hope of a new day. One student revealed that Ukusa is the one event in his life that he can be certain will happen each week. Everything else is uncertain in his township at present. Students agreed that if this program were located in the townships now, for one reason or another, it would be forced to close. Apart from political tension between groups, marauding gang or taxi wars, there seemed to be a force at work which fans the fires of violence and discontent.

One day when speaking with Sipho, I asked why he didn't bring his saxophone to Ukusa any more. With downcast eyes, he said that his saxophone was in his home the evening it was burned to the ground by about 20 men. Who were they? No one speaks. Why did they do this? No one speaks. This was the climate in which we lived before the election; thus, students agree at present that Ukusa should be located at the university.

How did Ukusa begin? In 1988 the Community Arts Workshop in Durban made contact and spoke briefly about the idea of establishing a music program to be financed by Shell. My initial reaction was one of reservation about receiving funds from Shell, a company targeted then by anti-apartheid groups overseas. After lengthy discussions with community organizations, I decided to take on the task of laying the groundwork for a music program with the following provisions. First, we must be able to establish a program in consultation with the students which would meet their needs and desires. This was agreed. Group discussions took place; questionnaires were distributed, and meetings with students representatives were held. Second, we must be able to put quality of music education

before quantity or numbers of students and classes. We must begin in a small way to build a meaningful program together. This too was agreed.

Ukusa began in 1988 with a staff of 6 and a student body of 50. Today we have a staff of 18 and a student body of 400 initially; this dwindles to 200 within a few months. The students are 16 years of age and upwards. One reason we are working with older students is to enable them to initiate music programs for the youth in their own communities. Because of extremely large classes at Ukusa and unstable conditions in the townships, it was necessary to evolve a few basic policies. One is that the more advanced students help the less advanced in larger classes. This is essential when you think of teaching a class of 15 saxophone players, all at various levels, some even asking to borrow the teacher's horn.

A second is that students who are absent are requested to explain their absence to their teacher. There are many reasons why students find it impossible to attend every Saturday, the most common being work, distance, violence, and funerals. The decision was taken by the Student Representative Council to allow students to remain in their class even if they have been absent for several weeks, but absent students are responsible for making up the work which they missed. Other students are encouraged to offer them assistance, but classes will not be held back for such students. A third is that the more advanced students will eventually teach the youth in their communities. This recent development is the beginning of our outreach program.

A two-pronged program evolved which offers theoretical and practical aspects of music making. The theory is Western music theory. The practical includes voice, sax, trumpet, clarinet, flute, guitar, drums, double bass, and keyboard. Students come to our keyboard classes having traveled long distances on several buses with their own battery or electric keyboard under their arms. In addition, movement and drama or the scripting and production of plays is offered. One of the groups which students work hard to join is the jazz band, and other small instrumental groups are also beginning to emerge. Students are taking the initiative to form groups. Those who are able purchase their own instruments, and Shell pays half of the monthly rental for the first six months. At the end of six months students must either buy or return their instruments.

No mention has been made of African music in the Ukusa program. At this stage there is only one class of African music. This is a neo-traditional type of music played by Zulu-speaking migrant workers called *maskanda*. This word comes from the Afrikaans *musikant* and means music-maker.

Our modern-day maskanda can be seen walking along the street strumming his guitar. He plays to keep himself company and to make the road a shorter one. Listening to a maskanda musician, one can hear the strong tradition of storytelling that is a part of this style, a tradition that reminds one of the minstrels and troubadours. This is the only class offered which students did not request. Realizing that our students know little about various kinds of African musics around them and assuming that they will be interested in learning, I elected to include maskanda.

With respect to African music and the Ukusa program, an interesting situation occurred. A young white South African student, who developed an interest in the music of Africa, went to Indiana University to study the flute. While at Indiana, he also became very involved in learning more about African music through their fine ethnomusicology department and in teaching others the little he knew about aspects of music making in Africa. When last in Durban, he conducted a workshop using Ugandan pipe music with our Ukusa students. Approximately 100 students elected to attend his workshop. During the workshop seven groups were formed. Each person was given a pipe, and Alain taught each group how to play and move to their particular rhythmic and melodic patterns. Students took to this music like ducks to water. The sounds they made and the way they danced brought a host of interested spectators who were enchanted with what they heard and saw. End result? The enthusiastic students experienced enjoyment and surprise that this kind of music existed, and they requested more experiences of African music making. This reinforced my initial assumption that Africans who attend our program know little about aspects of African music but are interested in learning. Via the media and through education, their musical orientation has been Western music. This also supported my plan to initiate more experiences dealing with African music making.

Results of a questionnaire returned in June 1993 show that the majority of our students have no formal musical tuition before coming to Ukusa, whether at school, at home, or in the community. The musics they prefer to listen to, in order of preference, are jazz (some say Afro-jazz), gospel, Western classical, fusion, blues, rock, opera, soul, pop, Indian classical, reggae, light music, and mabaqanga, a blend of traditional and urban music into township jive. Though most say that they are learning to play an instrument, about half do not have their own instrument nor do they have a place to practice during the week. With one exception, all said that they are able to use what they learn at Ukusa in their home, church, and/

or community. Some have started bands. Others help gospel groups, give workshops, and help church choirs. One gentleman started "The S.A. Peace Ambassadors," a choir which rehearses twice a week at a women's hostel in Durban. Students are urged to write songs about peace to be performed by our various groups.

As we are initiating community outreach programs through our advanced students, these are some ideas from students about how this might be done. Find a school, church hall, or cinema and teach music to the young people; provide workshops for advanced students to learn how to teach others; take performing groups to the community schools and outdoor concerts; promote small festivals; perform on the steps of the Durban city hall at lunch hour concerts; work through the educational branch of Durban's Performing Arts Council.

A few advanced students have begun teaching in their community. B. J. Mthembu located a school hall and will begin teaching the youth in his area. We have still to discuss what he will do, as he has virtually no equipment. Four years ago B. J. came to Ukusa with only the burning desire to play the saxophone. He had no musical background and no instrument. Initially he had to borrow his teacher's horn at the lesson. Then he found a second-hand sax. He has had three horns since then, each a little better than the last. To earn a living B. J. is doing what he most loves—playing his horn. He is a full-time busker. "I play all day long," he told me. "Each morning I practice my sounds." Improvising is the way "to show your inside out." When asked why he preferred the sax, he said because it is a romantic instrument. "You fall in love with it." B. J. smiled, saying that when playing "everything is visible but invisible. Even the scales are beautiful depending on how you play them and use them." The first time I realized he was busking was about a year ago. My steps through the dingy parking of a nearby shopping center were made lighter by the sweet sounds of a distant sax. As I approached the player, I was amazed to see it was B. J., as I had no idea that he had become such a fine player in such a short time.

In 1994 I had to raise R50,000, as Shell withdrew half of their funding. This will also be necessary for the years to come.

The democratic process is used to determine process and policy at Ukusa through the Student Representative Council. This was Ukusa's policy even before South Africa adopted the democratic process, because the democratic process empowers the students to develop their own process and program of music education.

NETIEM

While discussing Ukusa one point which emerged was that there is a preference for Western music among Africans, and that many know little about music making from Africa. This is but one of the issues which gave birth to the idea of a network for promoting intercultural education through music in Southern Africa (NETIEM) in 1991. Several significant events led up to this. In 1985 the first National Music Educators Conference open to all South Africans at the tertiary level was held at the University of Natal. The aim was to take a broad and critical look at our contemporary South African music education scene. We explored the potential for developing music programs that reflect the diversity of musical life in South Africa. It was the first conference of its kind, insofar as it cut across barriers which distinguish university and training colleges, those of race, and those which separate what was then the Republic from the so-called homelands.

Arising from this first intercultural meeting of music educators was the establishment of a new organization—the Southern African Music Educators Society (SAMES). Membership is open to any person involved in, or concerned about, music education in an undivided South Africa, without any restrictive qualification of race, political or religious belief, academic or musical qualification, or resident/citizenship status. One of the primary aims of SAMES is to promote intercultural education through music. In 1991 the Ethnomusicological Society also voiced their support for intercultural education through music.

In 1992 limited funding was made available for the establishment of a network for promoting intercultural education through music (NETIEM). There was unanimous agreement from all who expressed interest in NETIEM that the purpose should be to promote intercultural education through music. You may well ask: Why "education through music" and not the usual words, "music education"? Music education has little credibility in the minds of most people in so-called Western countries. It is not thought of as being part of the core of education. We are all aware of the endless attempts which have been made to enlighten people about the value of the arts. Sadly, we are also aware that these attempts have no effect when economies begin to falter. During economic depressions America, England, and South Africa save money by phasing out music education in schools. Too many minds have been set against music education to change their conception of what it is or could be.

Far better to initiate a phrase which will allow people to take a fresh

look at what education through music means, and thus realize it must be part of the core of education. There are three additional reasons why preference is given to "education through music" rather than "music education." First is it stresses the importance of educating the whole person through the process of music making, rather than stressing only the importance of transmitting knowledge and skill relative to music. Second, it stresses what it means to educate. Synonymous with the word "educate" are these words: edify, enlighten, illuminate, uplift. Thus to educate is more than rearing individuals in their own particular sociocultural ways, though this is important. To educate emphasizes the very serious purpose of opening the mind and heart of the educated to be better able to sift out the truth of matters, thus nurturing the "reasoning heart" which our Maori colleague spoke of two years ago. Third, education through music is relevant to music making in Africa. John Miller Chernoff writes in *African Rhythm and African Sensibilities*: "Music is essential to life in Africa. . . . The development of musical awareness in Africa constitutes a process of education; music's explicit purpose, in the various ways it might be defined by Africans is, essentially, socialization" (Chernoff, 1977, 154).

Thus, the preference for the phrase "education through music" rather than "music education" aims to move us away from the narrowness of meaning that the vast majority of people associate with music education to a much broader concept and understanding. The challenge facing all South African musicians in formal education today is to demonstrate the vital role that music, indeed all the arts, can play in bringing a balance into a reconstructed system.

Two issues of NETIEM's newsletter, *The Talking Drum*, have been published. The first issue included replies to questions relative to the establishment of the philosophy and process of NETIEM which were widely circulated. Along with unanimous support for the purpose of NETIEM—to promote intercultural education through music—was an extensive list of those for whom this aim has significance. The list includes administrators (educational directors and cultural advisors), musicians (composers, performers, teachers, researchers, and technicians), community music makers, curriculum developers and planners, ethnomusicologists, organizations like Fuba and Funda, policy makers, private writers and researchers not affiliated with institutions, rural communities and squatters to improve the quality of life, and students.

Having established the aim of NETIEM, the second issue of *The Talking Drum* set objectives with respect to people and resources which will

enable us to begin to realize the promotion of intercultural education through music.

1. PEOPLE

- Build up a database to enable contact to be made among those who support the aim of NETIEM. To date this includes people from South Africa, Namibia, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Kenya, Ghana, United States, and Norway.
- Stimulate teacher cultural awareness and promote cultural sharing in the classroom through *The Talking Drum*, workshops, and seminars.

2. RESOURCES

- Establish a database of composers, performers, researchers, and teachers active in intercultural education through music.
- Establish a database of places and programs which include more than one music.
- Create an annotated bibliography of books, articles, theses, scores, tapes, and videos related to intercultural education through music, music of Africa, and music of South Asia.

All of these are now in progress. Patricia Shehan Campbell said of the second issue of *The Talking Drum*: "It has truly become a database and a resource on publications and people in the know on issues of intercultural education."

The third and latest issue of *The Talking Drum* was published in April. Along with expanding the information about available resource materials for intercultural education through music, an "Ideas Bank" and "Experimental Network of Teachers and Materials" have been introduced. The Ideas Bank is a new category of resource materials which includes successfully initiated courses of relevance, and the Experimental Network is a way of gathering classroom materials, using them, thinking and commenting on them, and building up a source of suitable ideas. Future plans include the publication of a series of user-friendly booklets which teachers of intercultural education through music can use in class. Researchers will rework relevant materials for this series. Videos will also be included as resource material.

Eventually the establishment of a Resource Centre for the promotion of intercultural education through music will (1) provide broad resource collections of African, South Asian, and Western musics; (2) supply information for specific needs and users; (3) support and encourage a history of

music practices in southern Africa by collecting information about the lives and daily musical experience of people, and by making known effective methods of others in this area; (4) focus on philosophies of music making in southern Africa.

Currently NETIEM is an information-gathering center. Information is distributed by means of *The Talking Drum*. For greater access to information, NETIEM has become a LAN user. We are also beginning to disseminate information by means of computer networks with the realization that very few have access to this facility. For this reason, printouts of updates of resource materials are made available on request. One other link being considered to enable greater contact with community organizations is SANGONET, a network of non-government organizations.

One basic assumption is that the promotion of intercultural education through music will aid in developing a culture of tolerance. In 1993 questionnaires were completed by 46 of the 80 students (57%) at the University of Natal Music Department. The first question concerned musics which were familiar to the student before coming to the university. The second concerned musics which were introduced to the student for the first time at the university. The third and fourth questions concerned students' changing attitudes. To the questions listed below students were asked to respond in one of four ways: great extent, moderate extent, little extent, no extent. Numerical results follow each question.

1. To what extent have your experiences with new musics given you increased knowledge and understanding? Great extent, 19; moderate extent, 21 (40 of 46).
2. To what extent has your increased knowledge and understanding resulted in changing your attitude or behaviour? Great extent, 13; moderate extent, 24 (37 of 46).
3. To what extent has your change of attitude or behaviour resulted in:
 - (a) crossing cultural barriers? Great extent, 16; moderate extent, 16 (32 of 46);
 - (b) crossing class barriers? Great extent, 11; moderate extent, 16 (27 of 46);
 - (c) greater awareness of our interconnectedness? Great extent, 15; moderate extent, 17 (32 of 46).

Thus more than 50% of the students in the department expressed a positive change as a result of learning about new musics.

A multicultural children's literature research project concluded that multicultural children's literature can serve as a tool to enhance under-

standing concerning the cultural diversity in society, which in turn will contribute towards understanding among all the children of South Africa (duPlessis, 1993). My hypothesis is that intercultural education through music will do the same.

South Africa reflects the rich diversity of creeds, cultures, and languages. The political policy of the last 40 years has brought about a society in which alienation, distrust, and conflict prevail. Fundamental changes are occurring. Amid all these changes, a broadened South African identity must be attained. The value of intercultural education through music and its potential to bring about understanding and acceptance with regard to the rich cultural diversity in South Africa is a field of research which has not been explored up to now. NETIEM is one means of helping us to move in that direction in southern Africa.

References

- Chernoff, J. M. (1979). *African rhythm and African sensibility: Aesthetics and social action in African music idioms*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- duPlessis, C. W., and Bester, M. (1993). Evaluating multicultural children's literature. *South African Journal of Library Information Science* 61(2), 90-96.
- Lucia, C. (Ed.) (1986). *Proceedings of the first national music educators' conference*. Durban, South Africa: University of Natal.
- Shehan Campbell, P. (1971). *Lessons from the world: A cross-cultural guide to music teaching and learning*. New York: Schirmer Books.

Community Music in Australia

Gillian Harrison
Australia

Abstract

Community music has existed as an integral part of the cultural life of the original Australians for thousands of years before the term was coined. Whilst European settlement brought the practice of community music in many and varied forms, its legitimacy and value have only more recently been accepted. Since the late 1970s in Australia progressive arts policies, embracing the principles of access and equity, have supported the development of musical skills in the context of social change and cultural democracy in a way that would have previously been deemed unimaginable—and in many cases, inappropriate. Such policies are of course not easy to implement in a multicultural society. The range of problems which have arisen require constant review. However, the experiments have yielded models which promise major achievement and long-term benefit. As the base of community music broadens and education policies also change, new possibilities in Australia are currently being explored.

For Aboriginal Australians, the original owners of this land, song, music, and dance were, and in many areas still are, integral to community life. They are the means of telling stories of community history, kinship, tradition, and law. They accompany every stage of an Aboriginal person's development and are an important part of the education process. The Aboriginal band Yothu Yindi from North-East Arnhem Land in the Northern Territory, whilst performing internationally in the mainstream popular music industry, always operates from the strength of its members' community base. The selection of their material, permission to perform or record traditional songs, is arrived at only through extensive community consultation and discussion with their elders. Even where traditional cultural life has been mainly destroyed, Aboriginal people will tell you that they all have musicians in their families and that music of a range of styles and influences is played and enjoyed as part of family or community get-togethers.

We are all aware that the few long-term survivors in non-Aboriginal Australia of community music activity and organization—such as the brass and highland pipe band movements, the few remaining Eisteddfods, and musical societies—were all once part of a more active community life and culture. Domestic music-making declined as television took the place of the piano in the lounge room. The costs of instruments and tuition also were, and still are, factors in determining who has access to music education. It is no accident that the Yarraville Mouth Organ Band, established during the Depression (and unlike the many similar bands around Australia then, still going strong) and that our early folk performers used cheap guitars and home-made instruments, nor did they necessarily do so by choice. The motivations of these early folk performers and collectors were sometimes political, sometimes sociological, but in general a response to the “cultural cringe” and a determination to preserve and tell the stories of real people in Australia—be they of heroes or ordinary lives. As the trade union movement supported the early efforts of Australian writers such as Frank Hardy and Dorothy Hewill to publish their works, they also supported Australian jazz and folk performers and people's choirs by organizing tours and making recordings in the 60s. The beginnings of rock'n'roll in Australia were very much in the context of a community base, with the proliferation of garage bands and groups starting out in local pubs full of their peers, friends, and relatives.

Migration of course brought to Australia the music of many different cultures, which in the 50s and 60s was generally avoided, as was the different food, or just simply ignored. Our music comes from so many different places and consists of so many different styles which continually cross the lines of amateur and professional practice.

The issues, for people working in community music, are the context and the principles of community development, as much as the styles and forms of the music itself. The generally accepted principles of community music are based on the right of all Australians to have access to all means of musical expression and participation; to the development of skills to their full potential within or determined by the community context regardless of style, form, or cultural origin; and to delivery through programs at community level. They also have a right to have access, within their own communities, to high quality performances of music of artistic excellence, but the choice of the type of such high quality performances must remain the prerogative of the community.

Whilst levels of community music-making may have declined in the 50s

and 60s, it certainly never stopped. For many of us growing up in those times, particularly in country towns, there was always some local music-making around which may or may not have been relevant to our lives. When arts funding authorities began to look at the nature of their support to music development, and to consider the principles of access and equity, they found that some communities provided a wide range of musical opportunities and had solid musical organizations and traditions. A few had a satisfactory range of opportunities, but in the great majority of communities they were sadly lacking.

Under the directorship of Dr. Richard Letts, the (then) Music Board of the Australia Council, the federal government's arts funding authority, initiated community music and music education programs to address the objectives of access and equity, acknowledge the cultural diversity of the Australian population, and broaden the Board's programs of support which were otherwise primarily for professional music activities at the peak of Australia's musical life. It was understood that community music development had an important role to play in the growth of Australian cultural life through broadening the skills and participation levels, by supporting local content and innovation, in audience development, and in the nurturing of a musically aware and informed society.

The Music Board has provided funds for community music coordinators since 1978. Their grants were dependent on co-funding from other sources—in some cases this came from state arts departments, or local governments, and/or Education Centers of TAFE (Technical and Further Education) colleges. It must be remembered that a few community arts officers and trade union arts officers had been working with funding from the Community Arts Board of the Australia Council before this time. Some of these officers organized community music activities as part of their programs. In fact, the vision, policies, and programs of the Community Arts Board must never be underestimated in terms of their support for community music coordination and projects to be funded by the Music Board. Programs the Community Arts Board supported certainly served as role models and examples for people working in community music.

The Community Arts Board also pioneered initiatives to achieve cultural democracy that were to become integral parts of Australia Council policy, such as the Art and Working Life Program (early 80s) and Multicultural Arts Programs. Both of these areas were to develop as significant fields of community music development in Australia.

At national level in Australia the willingness of the Australia Council to

initiate progressive policies, and to tie some of their grants to a co-funding arrangement, slowly led to change within state arts funding areas. In some places local government came to learn that community music development had a large following and made a valuable contribution to community quality of life.

In the early 80s there were only a handful of funded community music coordinators in the country. By 1985 there were enough of them to link up with their colleagues in 15 community music centers and organize their third national Community Music Conference. People worked in a wide range of situations, from a coordinator based with the Combined Mining Unions in the Pilbara, a remote mining area in North-West Australia, to a coordinator working at the Perth Ethnic Music Center, or at the Turkish Music Center in Sydney.

Two years later, community music workers would also come from Alice Springs, two regions in Tasmania, the Broome Musicians' Aboriginal Corporation, the Brisbane Ethnic Music and Arts Centre and the Australian Council of Trade Unions, to list just a few. Musicians and composers who had worked on community projects attended these conferences too. Most of the coordinators were musicians who regularly used their musical skills as part of their work.

Coordinators and musicians alike, we had all started our jobs or projects with no specific training, resources, or information. With no background briefing we were thrown in at the deep end to make everything up as we went along. We had to learn about submission writing, community consultation, budgeting, lobbying, publicity and promotion, coordination of volunteers, copyright issues, and assessment of musical skills or repertoire outside our own training, on the job.

Whilst in the early 80s we received much support from the Music Board in terms of advice, information and encouragement—after all we were out there implementing their policies on untried ground—we often faced hostility in other quarters. Community music at many levels—and in later years in some sectors of the new Performing Arts Board—was often deemed an inferior level of music activity. For local government there was sometimes reluctance to move from established annual funding rounds to consider the merit of programs which would involve new sectors of their communities. At state level it was often felt that Australia Council priority programs were imposed on them, along with a reluctance to shift from their stable of funded music organizations and to embrace new ideas.

The notion of "excellence" reared its head with frequency at grant

assessment panels at all levels. It is only more recently that grant committees have included musical expertise from people of non-English speaking backgrounds. There are still arts-funding committees in some parts of Australia which are decidedly monolingual and monocultural in outlook.

The notion of excellence raises many questions. Excellence on whose terms, in whose musical language or form? How does one assess the excellence of musical culture different from one's own, particularly in the context of community music programs considered well outside the mainstream? Excellence in terms of musical skills cannot be the sole criterion for selection of people to work in community music activities. There must also be a capacity to communicate with different sectors of society, to work often with people of varying skill levels, to move outside one's own musical background and culture, to interact and learn. Our national arts-funding system, which is strongly supported by both the arts community and the general public, operates at arm's length from government, with grant decisions being made by peers. In a multicultural country like Australia the appointment of peers, according to requirements for representation covering gender balance, geography, different cultures and art-form styles, can never provide the full range of requisite expertise. In some cases experts in particular music areas are consulted, but their opinions may not always be appropriate.

An ethnomusicologist specializing in Vietnamese classical or traditional music may be outraged by the new music young Vietnamese Australians are developing in their own language, in traditional musical styles but incorporating electronic instruments and sounds. It may be that funding for such musicians is refused despite its being a valid, real, and in many cases highly skilled form of musical expression for the people involved—who have a right to their share of the taxpayers' dollar.

These problems, at least, are canvassed frequently for analysis and review. Information about arts funding is starting to be distributed in languages other than English, and some organizations which can help people prepare submissions are being supported.

The challenge to achieve true access and equity is an enormous one. However, special centers such as the Brisbane and Perth Ethnic Music Centers and the Footscray Community Arts Center, which has long had a community music officer and a multicultural arts officer, have provided invaluable assistance to large number of musicians from other cultures.

Community music programs have often been the sole providers of a support base, advice and necessary information for musicians from other

cultures whilst they look for their place, other musicians, as well as work in their new country. The Community Arts Centre in Footscray, an inner Melbourne suburb with a large migrant population, ran a music program at one of the main migrant hostels in 1986.

In the knowledge that people from other countries arrive with a strong sense of their own culture, and often a need to practice it as part of the resettlement process, there was no shortage of participants. In both the music and craft workshops people with no common language worked together. The Arts Center provided them with a cultural base, some activity or work when they moved from the hostel. The long-term benefits of this program are still being noted in 1993. These musicians return to the center to perform as professionals or share their skills as they find regular work in the mainstream music industry to which they would otherwise have gained access only with much difficulty.

One could write pages about the funded community music programs which have radically changed people's lives. There is little documentation of the valuable work that has occurred through the work of many volunteer organizations. Whether it be programs involving a multilingual Mexican singer-songwriter working with migrant women in the textile/clothing industry in Perth; a big band development project with workers at a dockyard in Melbourne (where the positive outcomes were social as well as musical) or the interaction of Aboriginal and Latin American musicians and actors in a cultural program to commemorate 500 years of Resistance, progressive policies have undoubtedly allowed a range of possibilities in community music that would previously not have been thought possible.

As government arts agencies become less able to meet increasing demands, we have found that the funding base for community music has expanded to include charitable foundations and many other organizations which have added cultural activity to their agenda and budgets.

Australia's new Training Reform Agenda, which includes competency-based assessment and training, recognition of prior learning, and flexible delivery of training, is currently providing exciting challenges in music education. Flexible delivery means that a community center can be a valid venue for accredited training and that experienced musicians, who have little or no formal training, can become "legitimate" trainers through recognition of their skills. The assessment process, the establishment of competency-based standards to acknowledge the unique skills of Aboriginal musicians and those from other cultures is the mammoth task we are just commencing. Pilot music training projects are at this moment being

undertaken in situations as varied as youth detention centers, remote Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory, and in centers for street kids in Melbourne. We have yet to review their progress but have high hopes for the results.

Community Music Networks: Tradition and Change in Ireland

Kari Veblen
United States

Abstract

This paper investigates a network of organizations which promote traditional music in Ireland and influence contemporary transmission of Irish traditional music. Based on the writer's dissertation work in Ireland, some 23 organizations were investigated over a nine-month period, 1989-1990. Views of organization members and informed participants were recorded with observations of lessons, competitions, recitals and other events. Findings indicate that organizations seem to be trying to create or re-create a community music playing context, but the context they create reflects a more self-conscious, changing community. More efficient and explicit modes of transmission are evolving as organizations set up structures to accommodate large numbers of learners. Organization-sponsored events, particularly the rounds of competitions, have catalyzed a high level of technical excellence among young players and encouraged unprecedented numbers of participants. These events also create a new context for the music and new standards.

Introduction

Organizations promoting traditional music have formed at an unprecedented rate over the past 40 or 50 years in Ireland. Similar developments in other countries suggest that these new networks reflect changes in the community as older, more informal structures dissolve. How do they influence the transmission of traditional music? This paper examines the emerging role of Irish organizations in defining, promoting and transmitting traditional music.

The formation of organizations which promote traditional music appears to be a contemporary phenomenon occurring worldwide. Organizations

vary in form from private groups and clubs to government-sponsored organizations and national folk troupes. Goals and aims vary widely. While several studies in the ethnomusicological literature refer to traditional music and its relationship with supporting organizations, only a few full-scale studies focus specifically on sponsorship, with cursory attention to transmission.

Nettl (1985) examined the impact of westernization upon traditional music in different parts of the world, finding several instances of groups created to "preserve" or "revive" indigenous music subsequently altered the context of performance practice and musical content in order to attract a larger audience. Fujie (1986) examined local and government efforts to preserve religious instrumental festival music of Tokyo, which was on the verge of disappearance following World War II. Modern trends such as competition and standardization of musical content, as well as professionalizing and secularizing influences on performance practice, are linked to governmental designation of favored groups as cultural properties. Noll (1986) traced forces and processes shaping Polish traditional music, including government sponsorship. "Peasant music practice" is "not the result of a collective and unchanging 'tradition' that is anonymously and impersonally passed-on." Instead, it is "highly personalized" and localized. Sponsorship, through a centralized socialist state after World War II, diversely affected musical customs. "The peasant ritual wedding sequence . . . survives only in a fragmented and perhaps temporary manner." Blustein (1993) reflects upon the workings and re-creation of community in his discussion of the old-time fiddling revival in the United States.

Henry (1989) contrasted a contemporary Irish organization, Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann, promoting traditional music with the Yugoslavian governmental arts organization (Forry, 1986). The orientation of music-making has evolved—in Ireland to competitions, in Yugoslavia to entertainment. Henry concludes that CCE's sponsorship has promoted participation and refinement in the music. Other community efforts in the British Isles to preserve and perpetuate traditional music are documented in Cooke's (1986) work with fiddle styles in the Shetland Isles and Shoupe's (1992) investigation of Scottish musical societies.

Although research in this area is limited, it suggests that organizational involvement more tightly defines traditional music. Such sponsorship seems to standardize repertoire and create unprecedented teaching and performance contexts. The study reported below documents corresponding

aspects of this in Irish traditional music. This paper will first survey organizations, with a closer look at those promoting music learning and their effect on community music-making.

Organizations Which Promote Irish Music

There is an informal network currently promoting traditional music in Ireland which has largely originated since the 1950s. Groups committed to promoting traditional music include government agencies, archives and museums, university or other education affiliates, broad or special interest groups, and media-oriented organizations (Figure 1). All of the organizations examined in this study share a common aim, the preservation and promotion of Irish traditional music. However, they promote traditional music in a variety of ways, often with overlapping activities (Figure 2).

Many of the groups share overlapping interests, functions, and members. Ireland is a small nation. People with common interests share in a variety of ways. For example, a government employee may be an active member of a specific interest group which promotes the harp. This harper may teach workshops through one or two organizations and perform on radio, make records, and attend scholarly lectures. Therefore, although this hypothetical person is allied with a governmental agency, he or she may interact with six or more other groups with ease.

Certain government agencies, such as the Arts Council, promote music and other arts by funding deserving programs, setting up archives, encouraging formation of special interests groups such as *Cairdeas na BhFidiléirí* (Association or Fraternity of Fiddle Players), collaborating with other groups such as Claddagh Records and Raidió Teilifís Éireann, and provoking the Department of Education to action.

The Irish Traditional Music Archive, the University College Dublin folklore archives, and archives maintained by other organizations preserve and disseminate materials, and often collect and record music in the field. The Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, Bunratty Castle Folk Village and other museums and restoration sites frequently feature dance demonstrations and musical performances as part of their exhibits. Such presentations may be geared for tourists, but they provide a vehicle for local musicians and dancers. These museums may also maintain archives.

University-affiliated or educationally oriented groups such as *Cumann Cheol Tíre Éireann* (Folk Music Society of Ireland), University College Cork's Irish Traditional Music Society, and music or folklore departments at

various other universities promote scholarly analysis and interactions concerning all aspects of traditional music and lore. Media organizations seek to promote traditional music by dissemination and access. The national broadcasting system *Raidió Teilifís Éireann* (RTÉ) and local radio stations air a number of programs of traditional music. Their television affiliates often cover local musical events. *Gael-Linn's* main goal is to promote the Irish language, but it produces Irish music records and sponsors *Slógadh* events for schoolchildren which feature music. The commercial Claddagh Records distributes music by popular Irish groups and collects and records less accessible forms of Irish traditional music.

Organizations of a more general nature include *Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann* (Association of Musicians of Ireland) and summer schools such as the Willie Clancy Summer School (*Scoil Samhraidh Willie Clancy*). There are several groups which focus on one aspect or instrument (see Figure 2). The folk theater troupe *Siamsa Tíre*, located in Tralee, brings together dancers, storytellers, and actors as well as musicians for performance collaborations. Both general and special interest groups promote music by setting up work structures and through events such as exhibitions, fetes, competitions and performances.

In summary, the surveyed organizations promote Irish traditional music in complimentary ways. These range from sponsorship by funding or legislative initiatives to archival preservation to promoting teaching and learning to educating through public events to dissemination through recorded media.

Reviving Musical Genres

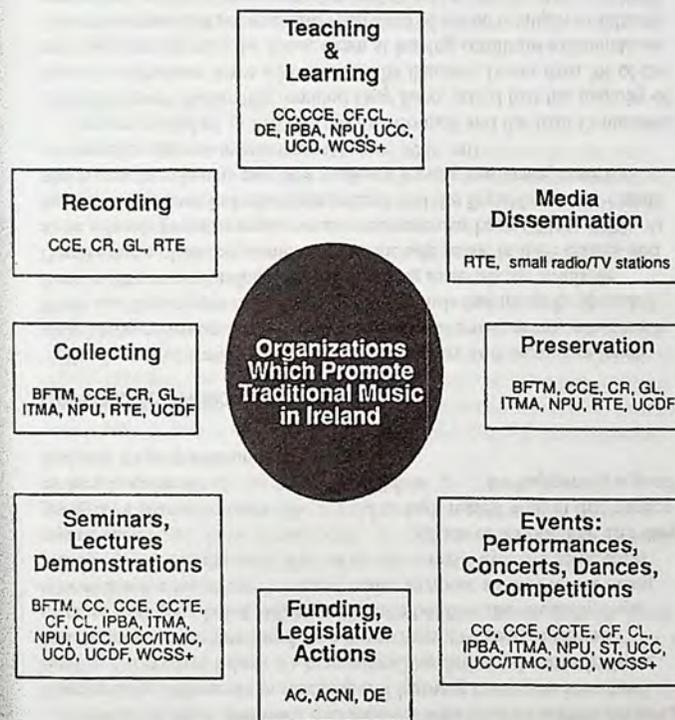
The Irish network formed in response to a perceived need in the traditional music community. This need was often portrayed as extreme, i.e., "the music was dying," providing impetus and drama to the organization's role. Members considered that such groups allegedly "saved" Irish music by their sponsorship and thus have had a major effect on transmission and repertoire. Some informants were philosophical in contrasting modest changes induced by organizations against the worst possible case scenario of losing "the music." Some organizations felt that revitalization of specific instrumental and vocal genres is part of their mission.

Pipe-playing organizations have been particularly strong in promoting and evolving Irish traditional music. Several people perceived a lapse of

Figure 1
Organizations Which Promote Traditional Music in Ireland

- Government Agencies**
 Arts Council
 Arts Council of Northern Ireland
 Department of Education
- Archives / Museums**
 Irish Traditional Music Archive
 University College Dublin folklore archives
 Ulster Folk and Transportation Museum and others
 other archives maintained by other organizations
- University Affiliated / Education Oriented**
 Cumann Cheol Tíre Éireann
 University College Cork Music Department
 music departments in other university colleges
 Irish Traditional Music Society/UCC
 An Cumann le Béaloideas Éireann
 local societies
 local educational facilities such as the Cork School of Music
 programs such as Teastas i dTeagasc Ceolta Tíre
- Interest Groups**
 (General) Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann
 (Fiddlers) Cairdeas na bhFidiléirí
 (Harpers) Cairde na Cruit, Cláirseóirí na hÉireann
 (Pipers) Na Píobairí Uilleann, Irish Pipe Band Association, Armagh Pipers Club
 Willie Clancy School and other summer schools
 (Theater) Siamsa Tíre
 (singers) various
- Media Oriented**
 Claddagh Records, Gael-Linn, Clo Iar-Chonnacht, Camus Productions
 Raidió Teilifís Éireann, Raidió na Gaeltachta
 local radio / TV stations

Figure 2
Organization Interviews: How Organizational Sponsorship Influences Irish Music Transmission



continuity in this genre. Jackie Small, archivist and music collector for the folk music section of the UCD Department of Irish Folklore, worked with recordings of older pipers: "Twenty years ago [uilleann piping] was in a state . . . in which its expressive potential . . . [was] much much poorer than had been thought by 70 or 80 years previously. A great deal of . . . musicianship . . . had fallen by the wayside." Harry McGlone, secretary registrar of the Irish Pipe Band Association, remarked that many pipers contend that the bagpipes were in Ireland before Scotland: "In the north of Ireland . . . the king of Dalriada, Fergus Mac Erc, in the fifth century went across to Scotland . . . and it was thought that he also brought pipers. . . . Even in the time of pre-Christian kings in Ireland, there was reference to pipers." McGlone cited the variety of bagpipes found throughout Europe, particularly in Celtic areas, and then discussed the relatively modern development of uilleann pipes: "There is a consensus of opinion that the uilleann pipes came into being in mid to late 17th century . . . to circumvent prescription that was put on the playing of the bagpipes. . . . [The English ruling class] realized that the pipes did give life to the soldiers. . . . Pipes were actually banned. . . . A player of the pipes could be sentenced to death." The Irish Pipe Band Association seeks to return bagpipe playing to its original status. Liam McNulty of Na Píobairí Uilleann (Association of Union Pipers) compared modern session playing with the older custom of solo playing, which "allows for greater interpretation and much finer ornamentation." Na Píobairí Uilleann, as a matter of policy, promotes solo playing of uilleann pipes in an effort to continue the tradition.

The harp similarly inspires present day advocates. Janet Harbison, chairperson of Cláirseoirí na hÉireann and curator of music at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, noted that the harp "is a revived tradition [through] . . . the cabaret, the stage, the music promoted by the Irish tourist industry. . . . In the early '50s . . . many of these Irish harpists were sent off to the states to win the hearts of Americans." This dubious use prompted organizations to work to legitimize the harp's place in Irish traditional music circles.

Other efforts to restore aspects of instrumental traditions include the recent revival of Donegal-style fiddle music by Cairdeas na bhFidléirí (Association of Fiddle Players). This organization consciously set out to create or re-create local venues and occasions where the music was featured (McAoidh, 1990; McLaughlin, 1990).

Vocal genre tradition, particularly solo singing in Irish, have similarly

galvanized revitalization efforts. Mícheál Ó hEidhin, school inspector for music, described the establishment of Irish singing classes: "Sean-nós singing . . . was dying out and we now have twenty-four classes going in Connemara and we've started eight classes down in Kerry. . . . They are packed out. They are full, full to capacity. And so you have young kids from four to eighteen . . . learning traditional singing and doing it very well. . . . [Sean-nós singing] was a dying art. But it has revived again and it has status as well from the way we handled it."

Ríonach Uí Ógáin, professor and archivist with UCD's Folklore Archives, discerned the differences in teaching and learning context in sean-nós singing: "Nowadays I think it's [transmitted] by dedicated active learning and it's much more structured than it was then. I've seen in Connemara . . . singing being taught to children because the situation there now is that the songs aren't sung at home anymore so they're not being picked up . . . in the same kind of spontaneous way . . . some local organizations . . . have classes now . . . outside of school time and they get again a sean-nós singer who is held in high regard with in that particular area to come along and teach the children. . . . It's happening a good deal and it's very encouraging."

Networks for Music Learning

The formal education system at the elementary and secondary levels makes little provision for the study of traditional music or any other music. While the Department of Education recommends that music be included, there is little or no funding and few teaching materials are available. Despite these obstacles, some teachers include music in their classes and some schools promote music on an extracurricular basis (ITMA, 1989). At the secondary level in both North Ireland and the Republic, music exams, which may be taken as part of a student's leaving certificate, cater for players of traditional instruments (Herron, 1985, vii).

A report published in 1985 by the Arts Council and the Irish Committee of the European Music Year, entitled *Deaf Ears?*, stated that the majority of Irish schoolchildren leave school musically illiterate. Fewer than 3% of the students opted to take the music exam at leaving certificate examinations. Since this report did not examine what kind of music is taught in schools, one cannot establish how accessible traditional music was (Herron, 1985).

Dermot McLaughlin of the Arts Council discussed the role that sponsoring organizations play in music education, traditional and other, in Ireland:

the musical network outside of school can fill the gap left by the educational system, "up to a certain point. . . . No child in this country is deprived of an education in mathematics by the state—whereas most children in the country are deprived of very, very, very elementary introduction to the arts of any sort. Music education is very low down that list as well" (McLaughlin, 1990).

Opportunities to study traditional Irish music exist at higher levels of education. University courses in traditional music form part of the B.Mus. and B.A. in Music degree courses at several colleges (ITMA, 1989), notably the innovative music program at UCCork, where traditional musicians provide instruction on their instruments and courses are offered in both classical and traditional genres. In addition, there is an on-going program for collecting traditional music at UCC (Ó Súilleabháin, pers. comm.).

Course work is offered at Regional Technical College, Waterford, UCDublin, and St. Patrick's College in Maynooth. Students working for the diploma in music education at UCGalway take courses in traditional music, while the study of singing in Irish forms part of the College's B.A. degree course in Irish. There are opportunities to study Irish and other traditional musics at graduate levels in music in many of these institutions, including postgraduate degree courses in ethnomusicology in the Department of Social Anthropology, Queen's University Belfast (ITMA, 1989).

The Department of Education, in conjunction with Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann, offers a week-long summer school certification program for traditional music teachers called Teastas i dTeagasc Ceolta Tíre. TTCT was formed in 1980 to "establish standards in the teaching of Irish traditional music" with a diploma recognizing qualification for traditional teachers (CCÉ, 1989). Micheál Ó hEidhin, who designed and directs the Diploma Courses, notes that "once a fee is charged, there is a duty on somebody to see that the parents get a level of satisfaction for the fee they pay for the children. . . . We're not that interested in standardizing [teaching]. . . . We're there to expand the knowledge and to try and give them better methods."

Approximately 20 traditional music teachers are admitted to the week-long TTCT course. The TTCT curriculum consists of lectures on aspects of Irish music, tutorials, and teaching practicums which offer practical teaching methods. Ó hEidhin contrasted present standards of teaching with past: "If you went back, I suppose, thirty years, teachers came into classes with one arm as long as the other. They didn't come in with anything prepared." Ó hEidhin advocates the proper use of technology for teaching:

"Music is an aural thing and . . . they should teach it by ear. Only use [notation] as an aid to remembrance . . . a tape recorder would do the same thing."

The TTCT Diploma Course concludes with a written and aural examination. Students may be awarded basic or honors certification for teaching beginning and/or advanced students. Most participants achieve diplomas (Ó hEidhin, 1990).

Teaching and Learning

With the advent of organizations, coupled with technology, the way people learn music is changing from casual and circumstantial contact to formalized instruction. More efficient and explicit modes of transmission are evolving as organizations set up structures to accommodate large numbers of learners. Likewise organizations have helped to standardize and streamline teaching and learning.

As instruction shifts from informal to more overt structures, several key changes emerge. Movement from individual contact to a class setting sets up predictable social contexts for learning. Students may be given individualized attention, but within a group context of lessons arranged at regular intervals. Curriculum may be arranged in a sequenced order, from easier to more difficult pieces. There may be more expectations of developmental abilities and more uniform expectations.

In former times, repertoire was geographically bounded, based on personal contact. Opportunities for musical experiences were limited to community functions. By contrast, the modern learner now has access to an expanded repertoire of tunes from many regions, including older versions and contemporary compositions.

Teaching aids such as tape recorders and printed music facilitate group learning. These present music in a convenient form, allowing the learner to master the material at his or her own pace. Paddy Ryan, teacher and official in CCÉ, contrasted the amount of time his pupils need to spend to become proficient musicians: "Going through what I went through is a very long awkward process. With regular weekly classes, you can . . . make much more progress and get there quicker. . . . These youngsters have it handed to them on a plate. A lot of them don't appreciate that."

The ease of tune learning may have its drawbacks. Changes in learning context can signal changes in attitude as well. The late Denis O'Brien,

formerly a teacher through CCE, articulated what he saw as a move from a way of life to an acquisition of musical skills: "The actual technical standard of music now is far far better than thirty years ago . . . and it's consistently better and it's improving all the time. . . . But at the same time, the older musicians . . . did have an appreciation of different styles and a great understanding of what they were doing. . . . Before they picked up the music by the fire, from house to house and it was more a part of what they were. . . . It's gotten now in a classroom . . . and I don't think it's appreciated in the same way. It's now a skill. It's not a musical heritage anymore. 'Is it difficult? Can I do it? Is it a tune I like to play?' That's where it starts and ends."

With this new framework for classes the roles of teacher and student are accentuated, more formal, more explicit, more professional. Through organizations, individual teachers reach more students and extend their musical influence in the community more widely. Many more learners can be accommodated.

Community Contexts for Music Making

Another notable change in transmission is the conscious re-creation of a community context for music. Many organizations sponsor sessions for musicians to play together which include group playing or performances. This reflects a more urban, aware community than that of former times, a self-conscious and changing community.

Organization-sponsored events, particularly rounds of competitions, have catalyzed a high level of technical excellence among young players and encouraged unprecedented numbers of participants. This new context models competitiveness rather than cooperation, creating new standards. The issue of competition, however, invites polarized views among musicians, teachers, and community groups. Liam McNulty described the rationale for the policy of Na Piobairí Uilleann this way: "We are totally, absolutely opposed to competition. We believe that first of all it sets people against one another, but probably a more realistic or a more fundamental reason is that there are styles of playing and, where you get to the stage where people are excellent, two different styles are both excellent. How do you say . . . which is better?" Tom Munnely, scholar and song collector employed by UC Dublin, alluded to sean-nós singing competitions: "I do think that the competition focus . . . at these fleadh cheols, where they have thrown it into a sport and the perceptions of

usually very ignorant adjudicators do color the performances—they color the perceptions of people who are involved. I think of it as being very detrimental."

Several teachers argued that children benefit from these incentives to practice. O'Sullivan commented: "Kids have to have something to work for. . . . They have a chance of winning the All-Ireland or winning the county championship. And that's why they work at it." Josie McDermott added that "some of them love . . . to get a medal. . . . I'm going to go through fire [and] water to be good enough to get a medal and that's something that it helps. You have to have a goal." Kathleen Nesbitt endorses group competitions "because I think it's good for weaker players. I don't so much promote the solo, the star player. I like to put in a whole group and the good ones will help the not-so-good ones." Likewise some instructors noted that competitions are the major musical outlet for children in their rural locality, offering reinforcement for lessons and opportunities to hear others.

Discussion and Conclusion

Teaching and learning of Irish traditional music is accommodated through a network of organizations functioning outside of the regular education system. Why then do these organizations take on tasks more often associated with formal schooling systems? The reasons for this seem to be complex, perhaps residing in the interplay between formal and informal transmission. One might speculate that Ireland's educational systems have been shaped by contact with Great Britain and that the current situation is deeply rooted in power relations and socioeconomic structures. Traditional music is valued differently from European classical music, reflecting different aesthetics from ones espoused by educated people. Or perhaps this music represents containing subversive elements to those in authority.

The unprecedented rise of sponsoring organizations has accelerated differences in musical context. Evolution has been spurred by the highly charged mission of many organizations with limited knowledge of previous practices, varying perceptions of historical context, and nebulously defined assumptions about teaching and learning. Further, changes in setting, more explicit instruction, sequenced curriculum coupled with teaching aids such as notation and technology seem to subtly shape contemporary teaching and learning of Irish traditional music.

Acknowledgments

Thanks to Michael Tubridy, Maire O'Keeffe, Professor Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin of University College Cork; Nicholas Carolan, director of the Irish Traditional Music Archive; Carla Washburn; and all those who patiently answered my questions. I also appreciate funding available through a Vilas Travel Grant from the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Selected Bibliography

- Blaustein, R. (1993). Rethinking folk revivalism: Grass-roots preservationism and folk romanticism. In N. V. Rosenberg (Ed.), *Transforming tradition* (pp. 258-274). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Bodley, S. (1980). Ireland, I art music. In S. Sadie (Ed.), *New Grove dictionary of music and musicians* (pp. 315-316). London: Macmillan.
- Breathnach, B. (1971, 1983). *Folk music and dances of Ireland*. Cork: Mercier Press.
- Breathnach, B. (1980). Ireland, II folk music. In S. Sadie (Ed.), *New Grove dictionary of music and musicians*. London: Macmillan.
- Breathnach, B. (1986). *The use of notation in the transmission of Irish folk music*. University College Cork: Irish Traditional Music Society.
- Brickman, W. W. (1984). Education, systems of—Ireland. *Encyclopedia Britannica, Macropaedia* 6:428.
- Carolan, N. (1990). The preservation of traditional music. Archaeological, Historical and Folklore Society, Regional Technical College, Galway, 10 March 1990.
- Carson, C. (1986). *Pocket guide to Irish traditional music*. Belfast: Appletree Press.
- Cooke, P. (1986). *The fiddle tradition of the Shetland Isles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cowdery, J. R. (1990). *The melodic tradition of Ireland*. Kent: Kent State Press.
- Fujie, L. (1986). Masure-Bayashi of Tokyo: The role of supporting organizations in traditional music. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University.
- Harrison, F. L. (1988). *Irish traditional music: Fossil or resource?* University College Cork: Irish Traditional Music Society.
- Henry, E. O. (1989). Institutions for the promotion of indigenous music: The case for Ireland's Comhaltas Ceoltóirí. *Ethnomusicology* 33(1): 67-95.
- McCarthy, M. F. (1990). Music education and the quest for cultural identity in Ireland, 1831-1989. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan.
- McClelland, A. (1975). The Irish Harp Society. *Ulster Folklife* 21: 15-24.
- McDonagh, B. (1989). Transmission of Irish traditional dance music in a classroom situation. Undergraduate fieldwork option, University College Cork.
- Mitchess, M. (1980). The Cork Piper's Club, 1898 to 1980. Unpublished bachelor's thesis, University College Cork.
- Nettl, B. (1985). *The western impact on world music: Change, adaptation, and survival*. New York: Schirmer Books.
- Noll, W. H. (1986). Peasant music ensembles in Poland: A cultural history. Unpub-

- lished doctoral dissertation, University of Washington.
- Ó Canainn, T. (1978). *Traditional music in Ireland*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Ó Murchú, L. (1987). *An Rod Seo Rombainn: A future for Irish traditional music?* University College Cork; Irish Traditional Music Society.
- O'Neill, F. (1910). *Irish folk music: A fascinating hobby*. Chicago: Lyon and Healy.
- O'Neill, F. (1913). *Irish minstrels and musicians*. Chicago: Lyon and Healy.
- Ó Siochrú, F. (1989). Teaching of traditional music. Adult Learning Project, Edinburgh.
- Ó Súilleabháin, M. (1985). Out of tune with reality: Music and the school in Ireland. *Irish Educational Studies* 5(1): 44-57.
- Porter, J. (1989). *The traditional music of Britain and Ireland: A select bibliography and research guide*. New York: Garland.
- Shoupe, C. A. (1992). The role of organizations in maintaining folk music: Past and present musical occasions in lowland Scotland. Society for Ethnomusicology Midwest Chapter Annual Meeting, Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois, 29 March.
- Veblen, K. (1991). Perceptions of change and stability in the transmission of Irish traditional music: An examination of the music teacher's role. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Organization Publications

ARTS COUNCIL

- 1985a *The arts/The disabled*.
- 1985b *The Arts Council annual report 1985*.
- 1986 *Tax and the artist: survey of European tax codes as they affect creative and interpretative artists*.
- 1987a *The Arts Council 1987 review*.
- 1987a *The Arts Council 1987 review*.
- 1987b *Art matters*, issues 1, 4, 8, 10.
- 1987c *The performing arts and the public purse: An economic analysis*.
- 1989a *About the Arts Council*.
- 1989b *The Arts Council and education*.
- 1989c *Bursaries Scholarships awards*.
- 1989d *Sculptors Society of Ireland newsletter* 10(6).
- 1989e *What's on in Mayo? Local authorities and the arts*.
- 1990a *Dance news Ireland: The newsletter of the Dance Council of Ireland* 6(1).
- 1990b *First act: National Association for Youth Drama* 1(1).
- HERRON, DONALD
- 1985 *Deaf ears? A report on the provision of music education in Irish schools*.
- RICHARDS, J. M.
- 1976 *Provision for the arts: Report of an inquiry carried out during 1974-75*

- throughout the 26 counties of the Republic of Ireland.*
- SINNOTT, R., AND KAVANAUGH, D.
1983 *Audiences, acquisitions and amateurs.*
- CLÁIRSEÓIRÍ NA hÉIREANN
1990 *Harpers of Ireland 5th Glencolmcille Harp Festival.*
1990 *Summer newsletter.*
- COMHAITAS CEOLTÓIRÍ ÉIREANN
1988 *Combaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann: A living tradition.*
1990 *Teastas i dTeagasc Ceolta Tíre.*
1990 *EOLAS.*
- FOLK MUSIC SOCIETY OF IRELAND
1989 *Season of meetings theme: Sean-nós singing.*
- IRISH PIPE BAND ASSOCIATION
n.d. *The Royal Irish Rangers music book.*
1990 *Officials and programme of events.*
1990 *Practical grade 1.*
- TULLY, T.
1987 *Irish tunes old and new.*
- IRISH TRADITIONAL MUSIC ARCHIVE
1989 *1. What is Irish traditional music?*
1989 *2. Getting to hear traditional music.*
1989 *3. Learning Irish traditional music.*
1989 *4. Studying Irish traditional music.*
- NA PÍOBARÍ UILLEANN
1988 *An Píobaire 2(41).*
1989 *An Píobaire 2(43).*
1989 *An Píobaire 2(44)*
1989 *The ace & deuce of piping: A concert of uilleann piping.*
1990 *Na píobairí uilleann (information brochure).*
1990 *Master classes and forthcoming events.*
- SIAMSA TÍRE
1988 *Siamsa Tíre (information brochure).*
1990 *Siamsa: The national folk theatre of Ireland.*
1990 *Feasta '92: Ireland's first international folk theatre festival.*
1990 *Siamsa Tíre (program).*
- SUMMER SCHOOLS
1986 *Scoil Sambraidh Willie Clancy: 14th Annual Summer School. 5-13 July 1986, Miltown Malbay, County Clare.*
1990 *Sligo's Fiddler of Dooney: Ireland's premier fiddle competition. 5-13 July 1986, Miltown Malbay, County Clare.*
1990 *South Sligo Summer School: Scoil Sambraidh Shligigh Theas. 15-21 July 1990, Tubbercurry, County Sligo.*
1990 *Scoil Sambraidh Liatroma: The Joe Mooney Summer School. 22-29 July 1990, Drumshanbo, County Leitrim.*

Selected Interviews

- Carolan, Nicholas. 24 January 1990, Dublin, County Dublin
Carson, Ciarán. 18 May 1990, Belfast, County Antrim
Harbison, Janet. 18 May 1990, Belfast, County Antrim.
Mac Aoidh, Caoimhín. 9 May 1990, Dublin, County Dublin.
McCann, Aibhlín. 18 July 1990 (telephone), County Dublin.
McDermott, Josie. 17 March 1990, ns Drumshanbo, County Leitrim
McGlone, Harry. 8 May 1990, Glendalkin, County Dublin.
McLaughlin, Dermot. 14 March 1990, Dublin, County Dublin.
Mac Mathúna, Séamus. 20 November 1990, Monkstown, County Dublin.
McNulty, Liam. 2 February 1990, Dublin, County Dublin.
Munnelly, Tom. 6 March 1990, Dublin, County Dublin.
Nesbitt, Kathleen. 2 May 1990, Lochmore, County Tipperary.
O'Brien, Denis. 15 May 1990, Dublin, County Dublin.
Ó hEidhin, Micheál. 17 July 1990, Monkstown, County Dublin.
Ó Súilleabháin, Micheál. 1988-1990, Murroe, County Limerick.
O'Sullivan, Michelle. 12 March 1990, Tralee, County Kerry.
Ryan, Paddy. 17 March 1990, Castlereagh, County Roscommon.
Small, Jackie. 19 April 1990, Dublin, County Dublin.
Uí Ógáin, Ríonach. 7 May 1990, Dublin, County Dublin.

African Slave Descendants in an American Community: The Ring-Shout Tradition of the Georgia Sea Islands

An African Outsider Looks In

Johann Buis
United States

Abstract

This paper focuses on the music of the only remaining community in the United States which still practices the ring-shout, a sacred Christian dance from the time of slavery. This community is located not on an isolated barrier island, but on the mainland in Bolton, McIntosh County, Georgia. With the help of audio- and videotape examples this paper attempts to analyze the repertoire, the kinesthetics, and melodic, rhythmic, and heterophonic elements present in this ring-shout genre.

Western medieval and Renaissance musicians paid great attention to the acoustics of performing spaces. Likewise, this community of "shouters" from the Georgia coastal region emphasizes not the vaults but the resonance of the floors. Exploration of this phenomenon led to the hypothesis that the floor functions as a communal membranophone and idiophone. The practice of always using a broomstick underscores this acoustic requirement. Eliminating this requirement contributed to the dissolution of the ring-shout genre.

The paper concludes with reasons for the survival of the ring-shout in only one community. Conversely, the reasons for the disappearance of this genre also shed light on the survivability of the ring-shout. Strong communal and cultural forces ensure the survivability of this unique oral tradition, using music as its focus, in the land of MTV.

Prologue

In 1935 the composer of the American *Tristan und Isolde* took up residence seven hours from Athens, Georgia, to compose this work. He

wrote the work set among the people portrayed in the opera. Admittedly, he aimed at making the work a truly American opera. Ironically, the lingua franca of the community was not English. The composer was George Gershwin, and the opera that resulted from his summer residency on a South Carolina barrier island was *Porgy and Bess*. I do not intend to romanticize the lives of the African slave descendants. Rather, I will focus on the only remaining occurrence of the ring-shout, a sacred Christian dance in which the real-life Porgy and Bess no doubt would have participated. For reasons of my own I examine this vestige of the last musical tradition from the time of slavery some three hours south of Gershwin's summer sojourn. The tradition has remained unbroken in the Bolton community on the Georgia coastal mainland.

As an African musicologist currently living in Georgia, this intriguing investigation presents me with its strong ambivalence.¹ Stasis and change are processes musicologists love to examine. One finds oneself celebrating the survival of a musical practice nearly one and a half centuries after Emancipation, while one senses the "endangered species" syndrome. At the same time one wonders if the societal forces during slavery remained in some form or another. Could such forces have facilitated the continued existence of the ring-shout? This latter issue is potentially loaded with uncomfortable overtones. Might modern-day feudalistic practices exist in one of the world's most advanced countries? Ultimately, the investigation will tell us about the value of a music genre as an investigative artifact as one examines a community's social history. One cannot dismiss the survival of the ring-shout as a cultural remnant from an isolated barrier island, since the sole carriers of the ring-shout tradition live on the mainland. Before we examine the reasons for the survival of the ring-shout, we should look at it more closely.

The Ring-Shout Tradition

Western medieval and Renaissance musicians paid great attention to the acoustics of their performing spaces. Likewise, this community of "shouters" from the Georgia coastal region emphasizes not the vaults of their performance spaces but the resonance of the floors. The floor functions as a communal membranophone and idiophone. The use of a broomstick (or other appropriate stick) besides the shuffle of the performers bears out the essential nature of this acoustic requirement. Eliminating this requirement undoubtedly contributed to the dissolution of this genre.²

Similar to West African ritualistic dances, the kinesthesiology of the ring-shout is highly symbolic and representational. Women face one direction, and with a purposeful stomping shuffle they initiate the motion, carefully setting out with the right foot. The left foot closes but never double closes. In other words, the left foot never passes alongside and ahead of the right foot. Should the left foot pass the right foot, a practice called "crossing" results; and crossing would be considered dancing, undoubtedly an undesired evil practice. Such a view shows that the symbolism of crossing the feet is strictly forbidden and resembles the taboo of sacred dances that carry hidden strong symbolism. The tension between communal dance and Christian religious practice is clear in this view. Many slaves held animistic and Islamic world views prior to their conversion to Protestant Christianity in the United States. The resultant ring-shout practice is probably the only American Christian ritual dance. The strong influence and prohibition of European-American Protestant missionaries against dance as evil and erotic makes the survival of this Christian ritual dance an exceptional phenomenon.

The African Background

The ring-shout is an expression of both pre-Christian African dance and Islamic ritual practice (which predates Islam itself). The counterclockwise circular dance, with all the mostly female dancers facing in one direction, resembles African dances still practiced today. Some rural communities of sub-Saharan African societies still practice the circular, counterclockwise dance in ritualistic settings. The shrine or animistic object of worship would form the center of such a circle. During earlier times, the pulpit was the center of the circle around which worshipers danced the ring-shout (Rosenbaum, 1984). The pulpit becomes the shrine, the totemistic object as the pivot of the mandala of dancers. Examples range from Yoruba ritualistic ceremonies in West Africa to San ceremonies in southern Africa.

The Yoruba dance rituals find reflection not only in the appearance of the circular dance, but also in the appearance of the costumes. Women in ankle-length white dresses with a head cloth tied at the forehead still wear similar clothes in Haitian and Yoruba vodun rituals.³ The restrained nature of the ring-shout shares the Rada ("cool," non-militaristic nature) of vodun practice (Thompson, 1983, p. 164). This manifestation was common in the ritual practices of African captives from the coastal city Arada, the holy city of Dahomey (modern-day Benin).⁴ Such a tie-in with the African origins of

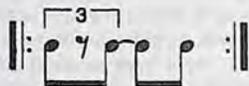
vodun and the ring-shout is significant, since vodun is a creolized reblending of classical religions from Dahomey, Yorubaland, and the Kongo. Furthermore, the ring-shout does exist in Catholic Creole communities, in Louisiana and Haiti. The similarities in this "holy dance" must have a common African source. The restrictive, prohibitive nature of Protestant Christianity, to which the McIntosh County shouters subscribe, abhors pre-Christianized (so-called "heathen") practices, while Catholicism adopted such elements. The exceptional nature of a Protestant "holy dance," brought into a forbidden religious context, redeems itself by relinquishing the pre-Christian elements and "converting" the practice to a Christian expressive art.

Performance Practice

A newcomer quickly realizes that the ring-shout is anything but a shouted, loud song. Upon first hearing a performance of the ring-shout, one notices the stately, reverential shuffling locomotion among older performers. The singers are far from boisterous. Lydia Parrish, the pioneer Georgia Sea Island song collector, related Lorenzo Turner's interpretation of the etymology of the term "shout" in ring-shout. The anglicized word "shout" derives from the Arabic word *saut*, which referred to a holy dance done usually around the *ka'aba* (Rosenbaum, 1984). The modern interpretations of the ring-shout (here "ring" designated the circular dance) allows each performer to double the tempo of the step and to introduce swaying hips and individualized upper body movements. A small category of songs provides pantomime. In "Eve and Adam, Pickin' Up Leaves" the dancers use their upper body gestures in a forward-stooping gesture, to imitate a picking-up motion. During that time the performers retain the rhythmic shuffling. Similarly, "Move Daniel" changes the dance direction (clockwise) at the words "Go the other way, Daniel."

Creative elements of everyday life make their way into these texts, although the shout songs are primarily sacred. Here, in the song "Move, Daniel," the religious text clearly conveys a not-so-obvious message for Daniel, the slave boy, who went to steal some smoked meat from the owner's smokehouse. Pantomime finds a place in this art form in the same way that medieval European morality plays drew upon elements of the sacred and profane. Such a tendency toward syncretism, the absorption of seemingly disparate elements into a central religious corpus, is evident in both medieval allegorical plays and the ring-shout. Another element of

syncretism is apparent in the "songster" (cantor) in the ring-shout, Lawrence McKiver. Preceding many songs with a short narrative history of the transmission of the song, he perpetuates a practice which *jahba* (also called *griots*) in West Africa still observe. Legitimizing his authority in the narrative, McKiver's kinship with his modern-day West African counterparts becomes a practice of religious faith. The same identical, persistent rhythmic pattern accompanies every song in the ring-shout repertory. Unusual as this phenomenon might seem, it does not limit the variety of songs, suggesting the paradox of variety in unity. One could notate the pattern in this manner:



Various sources suggest that the pattern originated in Africa. However, more substantial research would close the book on this issue. Circumstantial evidence for the African origin might be worth considering.

The Cultural Tradition

This rhythmic pattern, a manifestation of an element of oral history, embedded in a community's collective unconscious from generation to generation, can be a useful tool in tracing elements of the cultural history of the ring-shout tradition. One needs corroborative evidence to use this rhythmic pattern as such a tool. In the Mississippi Delta, the indigenous fife and drum bands perform their entire repertory with the identical rhythmic pattern.⁵ There is no singing in performances by the fife and drum bands, so all the performers "march" in circular patterns behind the leading fife player. The syncopated nature of this rhythmic pattern lends itself to momentary lapses into polyrhythm. Both the shouters and fifers follow this practice. Another benefit of the syncopation in the rhythm is that both groups emphasize a dance-like "playful" element that prevents any regimented expression. Characteristics of rhythmic foot-shuffling and breaking the vertical Y-axis of the body support the appearance of similar Africanisms in locomotion. Therefore, the common African origin of this rhythmic pattern for the shouters and the fifers seems a plausible option.

The fife and drum bands derive from European fife and drum bands. The presence of the bass drum and side drum attests to this fact. It is impossible that any British or French fife and drum bands would have this

prominently syncopated pattern. Since European drum cadences have a fairly standardized repertory, this pattern does not fit any of these drum cadences. This argument supports the African origin of the ring-shout and Mississippi fife and drum rhythmic pattern.

The geographic distance between the McIntosh County shouters and the Mississippi fife and drum corps is nearly 1,000 miles. There is no musical evidence that suggests that both musical genres at one time in the past coexisted in the same geographic location. If two distinct musical genres exist, using the identical rhythmic pattern for every piece in the respective repertories, then there is room for an argument that presupposes a common origin. One has to dismiss the common geographic location today. Since both communities still live in their ancestral locations in this country, and since all the slaves come originally from Africa, this argument supports the thesis of the rhythmic pattern's African origin. Should one accept the African origin of this rhythmic pattern, one only needs to find a community in Africa where this pattern is prominent. Such evidence is not available at this time.

In the interest of the debate, I shall enter personal anecdotal evidence that has a bearing on this topic. This pattern appears prominently in an entire repertory of music performed on the continent of Africa. I do not wish to show that this body of music is the origin of the African-American shouter and fifer pattern. Music transmission history militates against this repertory of music in Africa. However, I raise this issue in an attempt to point to a possible non-African origin, which appeared in Africa en route to the United States.

The entire repertory of the so-called Cape Town "coons" has the identical rhythmic pattern accompanying every piece. The "coons" emerged among Muslim slave descendants imported from Southeast Asia to South Africa. These performers, dressed in their colorful satin uniform suits, sing songs in Dutch patois, marching to the sound of string and wind instruments. In the lively carnival atmosphere of the troupes, the prominence of the banjo as rhythmic instrument, reinforcing the drums, is a sound which one does not easily forget. The frivolity of the "march" finds expression particularly in raising the foot or rapidly twisting the heel on the syncopated accents in the rhythmic pattern. Obviously the "coons" performance in blackface is a remnant of 19th-century American minstrelsy. An American influence on the entertainment life of Cape Town, one of Africa's most popular harbors during the 19th century, is significant. The famed American troupe the Christy Minstrels impressed Cape Town

audiences enormously. Could it be that the South African "coons" inherited the rhythmic pattern shared by the American shouters and fifers through minstrel shows? Plausible as this might seem, I argue to the contrary. An inherent characteristic of the rhythmic pattern is its ability to generate locomotion. This is the case in the repertoires discussed so far.

A variant of this rhythmic pattern appears in Saracen military music still found in Turkey. During this slow military march the regiment stops to do a 20-degree turn in one direction on the syncopated accent; they take a few steps forward and turn in the opposite direction. Proselytizing Muslims in Africa and elsewhere conquered both groups of slaves (in South Africa and the United States). If we presuppose that the rhythmic pattern under discussion was the most prominent and singularly identifiable element of Islamic military presence, it is possible to consider this common rhythmic artifact a significant element in tracing a cultural history of diverse African peoples. Clearly, this evidence, presented here for the first time, needs far greater examination and specificity. Therefore, we can draw the provisional conclusion that the rhythmic pattern underlying the entire repertory of the ring-shout is most likely of Arabic origin, not African.⁶

It is easy to overlook the profound and deeply spiritual nature of the ring-shout performance. The rich oral tradition dating back many centuries, from which the ring-shout springs, is laden with a multiplicity of parallel meanings, rivaling the literal meaning of the text. For instance, "Move, Daniel" has a chorus that sings "Oh, Lord, pray, sinner, come, / Oh, Lord, sinner gone to hell." Interspersed between the choruses are stanzas which contain cryptic clues. They include instructions to Daniel, such as move, go the other way, shout, rock, do the eagle wing. In an analysis of the slave tradition's predilection for musical secrecy within religious songs, Jon Spencer discusses the work of Earl E. Thorpe's essay "Slave Religion, Spirituals, and C.G. Jung" (Spencer, 1991, p. 8).

Other than the dance accompanying the ring-shout, all the conclusions that Thorpe draws about the spirituals apply to the ring-shout. Spencer says that "Thorpe declares that the slaves kept numerous secrets—their code languages, knowledge about thefts, plots to revolt, and particularly their cryptic church" (Spencer, 1991, p. 8). Spencer further proceeds to draw attention to the social redemptive value of sacred songs from slavery. "While this helped nourish the Selves of the enslaved," says Spencer, "belief in Jesus . . . added to the positive perception of their Selves. . . . Thorpe concludes that the spirituals . . . were evidence that the slaves had found strength, peace, patience, liberation, and salvation"

(1991, p. 8). To this day, the ring-shout provides this basis for spiritual and social comfort.

McKiver acknowledged not only his central position in passing on the unbroken oral tradition of the ring-shout, but he sees participation in it as spiritually redeeming (personal interview, 25 June 1994). As he related the deep personal meaning that the ring-shout songs have to him, he said he sang them "because I come up the rough side of the mountain." As a commercial shrimp fisherman, his aspirations were for a better future than he had. He admitted that by choosing to sing the sacred ring-shout, he turned his back on offers to sing the blues as a young man. His choice had brought him satisfaction and comfort. The ring-shout is seen as having a socially redemptive value, and it functions as a mechanism for social upliftment to the participants.

Finally, what factors account for the survival of the ring-shout in this one community in the late 20th-century United States? The close family ties among the participants and a stable rootedness in their community are two major factors (Rosenbaum, 1984). The presence of the shrimp-processing industry close to Bolton prevented people from seeking work in larger cities, as was the case with people living on the barrier islands. The ring-shout is a nonliturgical religious exercise. At a time when the church was the center of the major leisure-time socializing activities, the ring-shout after prayer services filled a religious and social need. Gradually, the "Watch Night" prayer service (on New Year's Eve) was the only significant occasion to perform the ring-shout. The leadership died out and modern concrete floors contributed to the disappearance of this music genre. Ironically, it was when the last remaining group of shouters exposed their art to secular audiences that the McIntosh County shouters performed the ring-shout more frequently. Understandably, some participants silently experienced discomfort as they viewed the new "entertainment" factor as "debasing" this religious practice.

Conversely, the reasons for the disappearance of this genre also shed light on the survivability of the ring-shout. When I asked Lawrence McKiver what his wish for the future was, he sighed. In his view, the young generation in his community could not escape the social ills of today. The presence of drugs demoralized him, and he feared that many young people would not experience the "rough side of the mountain" (personal interview, 25 June 1994). As experts in community music, we have to encourage strong communal and cultural forces, as social upliftment continues. Cultural practices cannot be held hostage to upward

mobility. Rather, a comfortable lifestyle and the perpetuation of ancient cultural traditions should exist side by side. Then we can ensure that this unique musical oral tradition can survive in the land of MTV.

Notes

1. I wish to express my thanks to Professor Art Rosenbaum, who introduced me to the McIntosh County ring-shout tradition. He has generously provided me with draft chapters of his forthcoming book on this subject. I am assisting him in that project.

2. When an addition was built onto the Mt. Calvary Baptist Church in Bolton, the congregation took pains to install a wooden floor to continue their ring-shout practice. Most recent buildings of a similar type have concrete floors. It is possible that this factor contributed to the disappearance of the ring-shout.

3. In present-day presentations the ring-shouters wear colorful, bright yellow and brown print dresses. This has been the case only since Lawrence McKiver and his group have performed more frequently in public than in religious settings.

4. The centrality of Dahomey in the oral tradition of Georgia slaves from Africa found expression in vaudeville plots, song texts, and plays. It would be valuable to study the genealogy of the Bolton community's African ancestors to confirm whether they indeed hailed from Dahomey or western Yorubaland.

5. The fifes are made of river reeds. A bass drum and side drum play the rhythm while the fifes play Africanized melodies.

6. This tentative argument should hold true even if one ignored the South African component.

References

- Rosenbaum, Art. (1894). Liner notes for *The McIntosh County shouters: Slave shout songs from the coast of Georgia*. Folkways Records, FE 4344. New York: Folkways Records.
- Spencer, Jon Michael. (1991). *Theological music: Introduction to theomusicology*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.
- Thompson, Robert Farris. (1983). *Flash of the spirit: African and Afro-American art and philosophy*. New York: Vintage Press.

The Role of Values and Judgments in the Development of Autonomy in the Music Teacher and Community Music Tutor

Maggie Teggins and Ben Higham
United Kingdom

Abstract

The most consistent, significant and broad context for the potential development of musical interest, learning, knowledge, and skill is in school. This presentation explores the role of values and judgments in the training and development of music teachers/tutors and how these relate to their expectations and experiences of working with students and/or participants.

These issues are explored in the context of current upheaval and change in the (music) education environment in the United Kingdom, including the impact of the increasing role of outside providers (community music organizations, orchestras, etc.) of projects and programs in schools.

The authors are currently involved in the training of school music teachers and community music tutors and are particularly interested in the value of action research techniques in the development of praxis. Both have considerable and diverse experience of performance and teaching/training, which will be related to the philosophical base for their views.

The data that will be explored in the workshop are drawn from interviews, journals, evaluations, and other sources generated by teachers/tutors on the secondary Post-Graduate Certificate of Education at the University of East Anglia and involved in in-service training and evaluation at Community Music East. The data, presented in document form, will form the basis for discussion by seminar interactive exercises during the workshop.

Introduction

This presentation will take the form of an initial, brief outline of the formative musical and educational experience of the authors as practitioners and how this experience has influenced their involvement in, and

their approach to, the training of music teachers and tutors. The final part of the presentation will take the form of an interactive workshop which will explore data gathered through the teaching and training of music teachers and tutors, and specific associated research in this field that relates to the role of values and judgments in the development of relevant and useful practice.

Concept

Maggie Teggins currently runs the music Post-Graduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) courses at the University of East Anglia (UEA), United Kingdom, and Ben Higham is project director of Community Music East (CME), a community music organization operating in the same region. The authors are currently collaborating within the PGCE course to develop the emancipatory aspects of music education and training for teachers and students alike. Both are keenly interested and involved in the development and implementation of structured and relevant training for "community music tutors"—that is, mainly freelance musicians/tutors/workers who are active in varied educational contexts including schools—and in "visiting musicians"—that is, employed professional musicians involved in outreach work mainly in schools. This is a received distinction, and it highlights the issue of values and judgements that creates what could be called, optimistically, a "dynamic tension" in relation to cultural educational and social standpoints. In many ways it is the contemporary music teacher in the school, being responsible for all forms of musical experience and learning at this point of delivery, who is stretched the most by this "dynamic tension."

Context

The government's vote of no confidence in local democracy, its naive belief in the rectitude of Whitehall planning, its growing politicization of major curriculum advisory bodies and its erosion of local authority support structures not only represent a dangerous increase in central government control, but all these factors have conspired to create a void which is forcing schools and associated arts organizations to reappraise the purpose and nature of their shared endeavours. Although schools, through devolved responsibility and direct institutional control of their assets, are being given greater autonomy, the demise of local education authority advisory services has created an urgent need for schools to establish stronger working

links with professional artists. This development has been strengthened by recent shifts in public arts policy, practice, and funding, whereby all publicly funded arts organizations are expected to become involved in education as a condition of receiving a subsidy.¹

This is how Renshaw (1993, p. 7) views the current situation facing schools and "associated arts organizations" in the UK. Of course many of these organizations, the keepers of the cultural flame, have actually been carrying out such work from a point of principle and a desire to educate as is also the case with many community music organizations that exist for nothing else other than to generate knowledge and encourage exploration and cultural freedom. In fact it is probably fair to say that such principled attitudes and explorations across the value and activity spectrum have stimulated the arts funding bodies to make the conditional "shifts," the sorts of decisions to which they love to leap, that may force many arts organizations into adopting decisions out of fiscal need rather than educational desire.

There has been a recent and radical transformation of the education system in the United Kingdom—for example, a national curriculum has been introduced, local education authorities (LEAs) have been deconstructed, and "agencies" have been created to provide music support services (staffed mostly by ex-LEA advisors and teachers). These have resulted in the creation of both problems and opportunities for students and teachers. At the same time there have been considerable developments in the recognition and formalization of community music activities, and schools have become a primary focus for funding and activity in this field. The training of the diverse range of community music practitioners has also become a key issue.

In the UK, and most other countries that operate a national education structure, the most consistent, significant, and broad context for the potential development of musical interest, learning, knowledge, and skill is in school. Over the past decade or so schools, and more particularly teachers, have come in for a great deal of criticism regarding their effectiveness in the areas of maintaining educational standards and promoting social, moral, and cultural values. Music teachers have not been exempt from these criticisms. Recently, music as a subject has been particularly targeted with a responsibility for generating social, moral, and cultural change as a consequence of the broadening of the curriculum and the requirement to teach it to *all* pupils up to the age of 14. These are tasks that many music teachers feel ill-equipped and untrained to tackle.

How Can Community Musicians and Music Educators Best Respond to Change?

Of the questions posed for consideration at the 1994 seminar by the Commission, this one is the key. It identifies the essential aspect of the teacher/tutor's work: their practice, the way, and why, they do it. It is this aspect, and its relevance to the desire for and the achievement of change, that is the focus of this presentation. The authors are committed to action research, ongoing qualitative reflection on practice, as a tool for investigation and personal and professional development. For the purposes of the workshop we shall explore action research in the context of its role in the development of novice professionals and their ability to make connections between aspects of differing values that may be interactive or conflictual—i.e., notions of standards in a context or a national curriculum as constraint or inspiration, etc.

The Philosophical Base for the Presentation/Workshop

"What educates is significant experience" (Mursell, cited in Paynter, 1982, p. 14). In this context we shall take certain key educational concepts as fundamental to the practice of the teacher and the tutor. These concepts we see as essential to the developmental role of the practitioner and their commitment to change.

Actual learning experiences are the circumstances, physical and/or mental, in which people actually learn as opposed to the conditions in which they might be expected, by others or themselves, to learn. From a concept of the learning process defined as "developing an understanding of human acts, social situations, and the controversial issues they raise," Stenhouse (1970) derived the following teaching principles: "(1) that controversial issues should be handled in the classroom with adolescents; (2) that the teacher accepts the need to submit teaching in controversial areas to the criterion of neutrality at this stage of education (that is, the teacher regards it as part of a responsibility not to promote a personal view); (3) that the mode of inquiry in controversial areas should have discussion, rather than instruction as its core; (4) that the discussion should protect divergence of view among participants, rather than attempt to achieve consensus; (5) that the teacher as chairperson of the discussion should have responsibility for quality and standards in learning (for example, by getting discussants to ground their views in reasons and evidence)."

This view can be seen from another perspective that stresses the situational context and helps the teacher/tutor to begin to recognize their own experience base and, hopefully, believe in themselves as what Schon (1983) called "reflective practitioners."

This perspective is highlighted by Elliott (1993, pp. 66–68):

The practical situations public service professionals confront in relation to their 'clients' are increasingly experienced as problematic inasmuch as their particularity, complexity and fluidity makes them difficult to predict, laden with value issues and dilemmas, impossible to stereotype and resistant to clear cut and fixed solutions.

- Wise professional judgements and decisions rest on the quality of the situational understandings they manifest.
- Professional judgements and decisions are ethical and not simply technical in character.
- Systematic reflection by practitioners in their practical situations plays a central role in improving professional judgements and decisions.

So, in order to achieve change we see the need to recognize "controversial areas" in "practical situations," in schools or elsewhere, that are "problematic" and in which the "divergence" of views should be protected. Outlining a possible approach to a music syllabus and a curriculum theory that considers these principles Paynter (1982, pp. 50–51) says:

Although it is clear that the third term's work would need to include quite a lot of direct teaching of techniques and musical information, it will be most important to keep this in perspective, relating it always to the exploratory work of the pupils. The teacher's principal task is to draw upon the resources of ideas and imagination which the pupils themselves can bring to the work, skills and information providing the facility for the proper realization of these ideas as they arise. A theory about how music works is of no use to someone who does not already 'understand' music or who is not motivated to want to do something musical. . . . The balance between 'direction' and 'domination' is a fine one and calls for careful judgement on the teacher's part. Pupils must be given the opportunity to learn to develop their own musical thinking through structures that grow organically from first ideas. . . . To develop that skill the material itself must be the starting point, because form is content not a pre-ordained pattern.

If these concepts are accepted then they will clearly have a profound impact on the way, and the how and the why, a teacher/tutor will approach their work.

The data that will be explored in the workshop will be drawn from interviews, journals, evaluations, and other sources generated by teachers/tutors on the secondary PGCE at UEA and involved in in-service training and evaluation at CME. The data, presented in document form (see Appendices), will form the basis for discussion by seminar participants and may be complemented by some practical, interactive exercises during the workshop.

References

- Elliott, J. (1993). Professional education and the idea of a practical education science. In *Reconstructing Teacher Education*. London: Falmer Press.
- Paynter, J. (1982). *Music in the secondary school curriculum* (Cambridge for the Schools Council). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Renshaw, P. (1993). The management of creativity in schools, colleges and arts organizations (Gresham Lecture). London: Gresham College.
- Stenhouse, L. (1970). The Humanities Curriculum Project: The Rationale. *Theory into Practice* 10, 154-162. CARE, UEA.

Some Examples of Values and Attitudes Expressed by Participants in the Research for Initial Consideration and to Provoke Thought in the Context of This Paper

APPENDIX A

THE DIFFICULTIES OF RECONCILING THE MISSION WITH THE REALITY

PGCE secondary music teacher training session, 21 January 1993 (All emphases in written responses are original)

- What do you see your role to be as a music teacher?

Lisa: "Broaden pupils' thoughts on 'serious' music. Make music enjoyable and accessible to all ages and levels of ability. To encourage group work and individual performance, and be self-critical of work."

Joan: "Give children an appreciation of music. Pass on my own musical knowledge. Provide the school with a 'strong' music department."

Peter: "To help children enjoy music. To help increase the creative abilities of all children, regardless of their musical abilities. To increase children's awareness of their musical heritage."

- What expectations do you feel your students will have of you as a music teacher?

Francesca: "To be brilliant at everything (unfortunately!). They expect perfection and see your standard as something they have to work for and attain. But if we show how bad we really are then it gives them and incentive to actually achieve something before giving up."

Peter: "To be a musical genius. To set a 'good example.' To be a source of inspiration."

Lisa: "That I know everything there is to know about my subject. That I will be slightly eccentric and probably lack classroom control."

Summary analysis

All the indications are that these trainee teachers see their practice as being judged from both above and below on the basis of values and criteria that they no longer own, if they ever did. The task they have set themselves appears to be to pursue a developmental approach whilst retaining the expectation of themselves as the "expert" and the "genius," sustaining the established cultural values (heritage) and achieving the expectations of the schools ("strong" music department) whilst being honest, even sometimes vulnerable, and collaborative with the pupils in the pursuit of musical knowledge, understanding, and skill. Their expectations and experience appear to severely undermine their autonomy as teachers/tutors.

—BH 3/94

APPENDIX B

BEGINNINGS—A SELECTION OF TRAINEE STUDENT-TEACHERS' COMMENTS ABOUT THEIR OWN EXPERIENCE OF SCHOOL OR UNDERGRADUATE MUSIC COURSES

Typical comments of trainee student teachers on their own experience of school and undergraduate courses

"There's no way I was going to end up teaching music . . . being treated like that! Now, here I am training to teach music but there's no way they're going to treat me like they treated her!"—*School*

"It was awful."—*Conservatoire*

"What was the point of the course? What reality do they operate in?"—*Conservatoire*

"I look back at my course and I feel angry—mostly it's inadequate and irrelevant—how can they justify it? I've not been stretched or challenged in any way except as a cipher of their own interests and specialities. I'm not

sure how well prepared they were either. Did they ever consider my musicianship and musicality in any way other than as something measurable against some secret standard?"—*University* —MT 3/94

Questionnaire completed by PGCE secondary music trainee teachers

1. Have your personal values and attitudes been challenged/confirmed/changed during the course? If so in what way?
2. How have your professional values changes/emerged/developed/been confirmed during this course?
3. Are you aware of, and can you describe, how your personal and professional values interact in *your* experience of teaching so far?
4. Are you aware of establishing boundaries between the personal and professional? How exclusive/interactive are they?
5. How do you perceive music to function in your personal and professional experiences? What role does it play? Do you play?
6. How does this compare with other aspects of the curriculum? Do you think music is unique in any way?
7. Are you special/unique in any aspect of your professional identity? Can you identify strengths/weaknesses?
8. When you have come across value—attitudinal—cultural contradictions? How have you experienced them? How have you dealt with them?
9. How do you think you can best equip yourself to respond to change?
10. Thinking back to the questionnaire that you filled in at the beginning of January, how do you feel about your identified strengths and weaknesses in the context of curriculum and pedagogical demands?
11. How do you perceive music should function in the context of the whole school image? Is it different from your school experiences as pupil and pre-course (PGCE) observations? If so, in what way?

Your responses to these questions are intended to be confidential between student and tutor unless otherwise agreed by both parties. These questions are intended to stimulate your thinking and are not intended to be prescriptive.

Summary analysis

Questions 1, 2, 3: Students combined these questions for their responses—rather abbreviated until subsequent interview and tutorial in preparation for main written assignment.

Questions 4, 5: Needed more elucidation—probing questions from me to extract really thoughtful responses—several thought it was all very self-

evident.

Questions 7, 9, 10: Grouped together by a few students.

Question 8: Most admitted that this had been the most threatening question, and the events they described in response to it were experienced as threatening either during or on reflection—several responded with ideas about having to learn not to be personally challenged and rejected in those situations.

Question 11: Maximum response—varied but with a common thread of negative school experiences and most of the university and conservatoire courses preceding the PGCE.

APPENDIX C

THE DIFFICULTIES OF RECONCILING THE REALITY WITH THE MISSION

From interviews in 1992 with CME tutors discussing the role and value of the organization and any need for change

ROLE AND VALUE OF THE ORGANIZATION

John: "To encourage real use of the project by many different groups within the community and to educate the community in the value and potential value of this type of work."

Karin: "CME seeks to convey music as a medium which is accessible to and encourages an integrated society. It aims to do this by educating its users in musical techniques and experiences thereby throwing off the preconceived notions and constraints that hamper self-expression and communication . . . but it must always be borne in mind that preconceived notions and constraints play an important role in our lives. They are the starting point and reflect our way of survival and cannot be shrugged off irrespective of the people who value them."

Mark: "Music for all. Making enough money to exist. Creating jobs . . . Oh! Fulfilling a need within the community."

Steve: "Our main role must be in empowering individuals to make and interpret music and to promote the integrity of such processes."

Summary analysis

These responses reflect a variety of relationships between the tutors and the organization. They are influenced by the length of time people have been involved, the changes they have already seen, the strength and nature of their personal views, perceptions of "official" attitudes, both

internal and external, their own experience working for themselves and, in some cases, a reluctance, or a lack of perceived necessity, to discuss these issues anyway and a preference to just get the right kind of work and get on with it.

-CHANGE

Need for change?

Karin: "I think that change can only be good. As long as it's monitored, and it's felt that standards are maintained, then I think that change is a good thing."

Mark: "I think it stems from personal interests really. If you have an interest in working with a certain group of people. . . . Actually setting up work could be quite a personal thing almost . . . have an idea and follow it through, but with the guidance and help of other people."

Sian: "The project needs, maybe, a broader base . . . rather than being able to be marginalized . . . and therefore . . . more easily . . . dispensed with."

Areas for change?

Sian: "Creating a balance between targeted work, that operates within fairly strict guidelines set down by other people, and developing open work which is more oriented towards allowing groups to develop and be supported and facilitated, and eventually . . . become self-supporting."

CME's "powerful role"?

Karin: "I think that we could maximize our power. I don't know how powerful that would be. . . . I think we can make use of our own resources, as community musicians, to try and bring about change in the way that people see and experience things . . . in a small way perhaps."

Jon: "I think it should be . . . that . . . CME is set up to be a sort of shining light, a sort of beaconget more continual publicity . . . and just keep people's involvement."

Mark: "I think it could [have a powerful role], and the reason that it hasn't is because things have been moving very slowly, and there's always the problem of having to work with musicians, . . . hat musicians always want to be doing something else rather than working. . . . There has never been enough commitment, or that kind of level of involvement that's been unifying or strong and moving forward to innovate."

Sian: "There are groups . . . which have very little access to platforms of . . . public expression and . . . targeting work in those areas . . . is a way of really bringing a voice into the community that's not being heard particularly distinctly at the moment."

Restrictions on change?

Karin: "The open mindedness of people to perceive things in general, I mean both in relation to the people you are trying to reach and of the agencies that you have to go through to reach them, and the workers concerned, and the management as well. Everybody has to have a degree of open mindedness before the change can really take place."

Jon: "Well, of course, money. It's a massive problem. . . . I don't think there are necessarily any restrictions on change apart from money. . . . Talking to [other tutors] . . . I think people are beginning to understand the whole basis of CME and are trying to understand its philosophy. . . . It certainly took me a while to understand exactly what it was for, . . . the community music philosophy is really more wide ranging than I initially understood it to be . . . perhaps we ought to be encouraging all sorts of ideas about music. Everyone's got their own ideas about it."

Sian: "There may be restrictions . . . in finding common ground between people that are working in this particular area, finding people that hold the same kind of objectives."

Professional development?

Karin: "I think it's important . . . [to develop] self-monitoring and monitoring by your peer group, and obviously monitoring by management, and by your clients, if that's possible and . . . appropriate."

Jon: "That perhaps the group becomes more of a team, a working team, so that we know how each other works? . . . It would stimulate a lot of the workshops that the individual tutors do. That could be a very positive move."

Mark: "All that development side of it is very important. Personally, I don't like having to justify anything I do as regards work, through having certain qualifications, or being a certain type of person, or being affiliated to a certain group of working people. . . . I think that [training] is very important, but there is still the problem of it being accepted by other people . . . the problem of other professionals . . . accepting what you do, listening to what you do and placing any value on what you do, other than it being at a price they can afford."

Other individual questions

Ben: Dogma—"Is it something that we also need to take on board in terms of our own notions and constraints as practitioners."

Karin: "The thing that we have to be most aware of is our limits . . . because if we don't know what those limits are for ourselves, then we can't really help other people find where they want to be."

Ben: "You put [CME] lacks the feedback to make it a community driven musical groups?"

Jon: "If people understood . . . what we were trying to achieve, then they would be able to put their own input in . . . almost like a clinic idea . . . not how *we* perceive them, but how *they* perceive them."

Ben: "I was asking about CME working in the right way. . . . you said 'if' the right way is an agreed way."

Mark: "I think it's just a matter of CME working in a way that is more than acceptable. I don't think there is a . . . right way, because of [CME's] nature. . . . That suggests almost that there should be some kind of structure to it, that is there but people don't really know about it."

Summary analysis

Perceptions on change are expressed in a variety of ways in these extracts. Sometimes it is wanted and sometimes not; sometimes it has already happened and sometimes not; it is identified, in either of the previous cases, both consciously and unconsciously; and sometimes people are not sure if the changes they desire (or not) are really changes—i.e., perhaps they have, or should have, already taken place or they have not been noticed or acted upon. Comments reflect the need for change in the organizations thinking, practice and image (internal), and the need for, and viability of, change in the way others (clients, funders, organizations, institutions, professions) perceive us (external). —BH 3/94

Music Education in the United States: The Cultural Imperative of Community Music

Elizabeth S. Gould
United States

Abstract

The evolving nature of contemporary society in the United States presents new challenges for the education community. Innovative educational responses are required to include and empower individuals representative of the multiple perspectives that emerge as the result of increased social, cultural, and ethnic diversity. As arts educators, music educators hold a unique position in the education community, and provide an essential component of these new responses. Included among alternative educative strategies are basing the content of instruction on the realities of students' everyday lives, and building coalitions among the institutions that constitute the education community. While the former response acknowledges culture as a multilayered construct, the latter, creating partnerships between public school music programs and community music programs, establishes a broader context in which music instruction is conceived and implemented, demonstrating the postmodern theoretical basis of critical feminist education practice and process. The imperative for this transformation of both the content and context of music education is grounded in the understanding of reality and knowledge as social constructions, in commitment to social change of traditional, oppressive social relations made salient by formerly invisible perspectives, and in the necessity of lifelong, multifaceted educational processes that address the challenges of contemporary society.

Introduction

The evolving nature of contemporary society in the United States presents new challenges for the music education community. A wider range of perspectives and values emerges as the result of the increasing

social, cultural, and ethnic diversity of our population, as well as the rapid development of incredibly complex technology. These societal changes exemplify the tension created by the confluence of modern and postmodern theories that problematizes traditional conceptions of culture, music, and education (Giroux, 1991; Lather, 1991; Rosenau, 1992). Innovative music education pedagogical strategies and curricula that address these shifting communities and theoretical constructs acknowledge the unequal social relations of contemporary society, and develop the conceptual basis for implementing social change necessary to include and empower the multiple perspectives represented in all of our communities. Conceived within a postmodern frame, they may be implemented in terms of both the content and the context of music education. The former is accomplished by basing the content of instruction on the realities of students' everyday lives; specifically by addressing students' music educational needs as they relate to their lived experiences. The latter is accomplished by establishing a broader context by which education in music is extended beyond educational institutions, the cultural imperative of which is to include the entire community in relevant, lifelong music educative processes and practices.

Epistemological Context

Beginning instruction in music with students' everyday lives is grounded in a description of the everyday world as that world individuals directly experience (Smith, 1987). Our lived experiences, then, contribute to our understanding of the world, and are the means by which we interact with it. The meaning we derive from this interaction is located within the issue of difference, which is manifested in "a series of tightly interconnected binary dualisms: good/evil, male/female, culture/nature, reason/emotion, self/other" that are integral to western thought (Solie, 1994, p. 11), that are reproduced in the structure of society. The frame in which difference is addressed here is defined by the binary dualisms as they refer to social groups located in the intersectionalities of culture and music education: in the case of culture, powerful/marginalized; in the case of music, musicians of Western concert music/musicians of other musics; and in the case of education, dispensers of knowledge/receivers of knowledge. Constructed hierarchically, the former member of the dualism is privileged above the latter (Greene, 1994). In addition, the latter is constituted as Other; that is, the latter is defined by what the former is not. Because of asymmetrical

power relations by which they are constructed, the dualisms themselves must be contested.

As manifested in the structure of society, difference is located in oppositionally constructed social groups by which some are privileged while others are sanctioned (Cherryholmes, 1988; Hartssock, 1985). The former (powerful) groups determine the ruling ideology of society, the framework on which any society bases the social relations of its culture (Apple, 1979). This ideology, in which all groups are forced to participate, establishes the legitimation of ruling groups, their power relations, and the discourses by which knowledge is created and transmitted. These social relations may be transformed, however, through creation of an egalitarian society in which no group retains power over another (hooks, 1984). The perspectives of marginalized groups that include knowledge of both the dominant culture as well as their marginalized cultures, provide a picture of the everyday world that is more complete than that of powerful groups. While still partial, these perspectives are by their very definition situated as difference. The situated positionality that necessarily results from any specific perspective—or standpoint—of the world is further articulated as grounds for strengthened claims to objectivity (Harding, 1993), and a means by which social change may be achieved.

Difference is also manifested in both the content and context of music education. Questions of knowledge as they relate to difference may be located in the music that is taught as well as in those who are doing the teaching/learning. In this way, music education reflects its own cultural imperative, the educational response of which may be addressed through critical feminist pedagogy.

Critical Feminist Pedagogy

Based on feminist theories and a postmodern extrapolation of critical theory, critical feminist pedagogy provides a basis for determining what we teach and how we teach it. It is made up of educational practices and processes in which groups utilize their own lived reality to create knowledge related to music and culture. This pedagogy is described here as reflective, dialectical interaction by which difference is articulated and meaning is problematized without necessarily precluding possibilities for agency. Mediated by this commitment to creating significantly reconstituted social relations, it also consists of resistance to oppression manifested in dualisms associated with music education, as well as those associated with,

but not limited to, race, class, and gender. In this frame, critical feminist pedagogy is grounded by feminist problems and processes in postmodern practices.

Feminist theories inform this pedagogy through their rejection of assumptions that support the construction of dualisms, their focus on oppression as it relates to groups, and their concomitant advocacy of social change. The members of groups addressed in feminist theories are "constituted essentially by the social relations they inhabit" (Jaggar, 1983, p. 130), while the groups themselves represent asymmetrical categories by which oppression is institutionalized. The possibility of agency that problematizes oppression is "necessarily a struggle to eradicate the ideology of domination that permeates Western culture on various levels as well as a commitment to reorganizing society so that the self-development of people can take precedence over imperialism, economic expansion, and material desires" (hooks, 1984, p. 24). Grounded in the everyday world, in our lived experience, feminist theories articulate the cultural imperative of resistance within postmodern methodologies for individuals located in various intersectionalities of social groups marginalized by societal power relations.

My postmodern extrapolation of critical theory as related to critical feminist pedagogy is focused on Cherryholmes's (1988) concept of critical pragmatism, which he argues "results when a sense of crisis is brought to our choices, when it is accepted that our standards, beliefs, values, guiding texts, and discourse-practices themselves require evaluation and reappraisal" (p. 151). He demonstrates this by poststructurally examining (deconstructing) four discourse-practices of educational practice. While still framed in Cherryholmes's critical theory terminology of evaluation and reappraisal, the term critical is used here in a postmodern sense that problematizes its outcomes. Situated this way, critical evaluation and reappraisal extend beyond deconstructing existing structures and relations to also decenter their subjectivities and representations. The educative goal, then, is not simply to discover and dismantle (deconstruct) existing structures and ideologies, and then create new or alternative ones; but to interrogate all structures and ideologies based on the most revelatory standpoint(s) available.

The pragmatism of Cherryholmes's terminology is also informed by feminist theory (Ferguson, 1980), through deconstructing and decentering the power relations that ultimately determine the choices individuals make. Consequently, pragmatism in this frame is acknowledged as irony. Because

we interact with each other and our environment as a result of power that is asymmetrically distributed, the choices that we make through evaluation and reappraisal are pragmatic only insofar as they protect us from sanction. They are not pragmatic in the sense of being freely made based on critical (from a position of safety) evaluation and reappraisal of several (acceptable) alternatives with clear understanding of their consequences (Levesque-Lopman, 1988). Ellsworth (1989) addresses this point in relationship to the so-called silence of marginalized people.

White women, men and women of color, impoverished people, people with disabilities, gays and lesbians, . . . are not talking in their authentic voices, or they are declining/refusing to talk at all, to critical educators who have been unable to acknowledge the presence of knowledges that are challenging and most likely inaccessible to their social positions. What they/we say, to whom, in what context, depending on the energy they/we have for the struggle on a particular day, is the result of conscious and unconscious assessments of the power relations and safety of the situation. (p. 313)

Using a voice that is not authentic and/or remaining silent certainly appear to represent choices. However, these decisions are constructed entirely within existing problematic structures and ideologies, and in that sense, represent acts of resistance more than choices. The critical pragmatism that results from poststructural analysis framed in a postmodern context, then, is both more and less than what is implied in the structural, modern sense of the terminology.

As applied to music education, the study of music using critical feminist pedagogy starts from students' lives, and becomes the result of the way in which students experience the world. It problematizes culture, music, and education, as well as our assumptions regarding them. Through musical activities such as listening, moving, and creating, students bring to it their lived realities by which they develop alternative constructions of the world and the social relations they inhabit. This education in music enables students "to hear and to see what they would not ordinarily hear and see, to offer visions of consonance and dissonance that are unfamiliar and indeed abnormal, to disclose the incomplete profiles of the world" (Greene, 1988, p. 129). By framing while also decentering their experiences, music education based on critical feminist pedagogy provides students the means by which they may name the causes of oppression and take initiatives in the context of community to resist it.

Music Education Content

The content of music instruction implemented through critical feminist pedagogy involves a wide variety of problems, and extends beyond studying the inherent structures and expressivity of musical art forms. Through "formulation of the most basic questions about what pieces of music can express or reflect of the people who make and use them, and thus of the differences between and among those people" (Solie, 1993, p. 3), it includes musical implications of the social context in which compositions are created, performed, and valued. Consideration is given to ideologies determining analysis, interpretation, and canonization of various types of music and performers, ideologies that may be reproduced within the music itself. The necessity for these considerations is based on the understanding that "in various ways and with varying degrees of critical awareness, the musical microcosm replicates the social macrocosm" (Ballantine, 1984, p. 5); and further, as practitioners and scholars of the art, musicians and students must bring resistance of reproduction of society's asymmetrical relations and structures to the performance and study of music. In addition to more richly informing musical practice and study and thus creating a better musically educated community, it is by problematizing societal values as they exist in music that the educative goal of social change may be realized through critical feminist pedagogy.

Relating musical structures to social structures implies questioning the very nature of music, as well as our conceptions of it. Two relevant postmodern areas of inquiry relative to the former include poststructural analysis of "the idea of musical history as a kind of unfolding destiny of sound", and "tonality [as] a constitutive aspect of music's expressive power" (Norris, 1989, p. 10). Similarly, an alternative conception of music in this educational context is as "a cultural or artistic phenomenon that implicates sound in its manner of expression in ways significantly different from the implication of sound in language" (Shepherd, 1993, p. 50). Its creation, furthermore, is based on specific cultural traditions that utilize aesthetic principles relevant to the culture (Maultsby, 1994). Therefore, no musics are precluded from study; and by implication, culturally relevant musics may be privileged. The study and performance of Western concert music may take precedence in music education curricula in the United States for those who wish to gain access to power in professional and academic music communities. But for the vast majority of individuals who study music as a means of revealing new perspectives and modes of experienc-

ing the world, music of more direct cultural relevance may take precedence. Based on students' lived experiences, it provides the basis for "critical reflection" (Greene, 1978, p. 100) of our assumptions and biases, and constrains us from imposing them as cultural values on those who are not emancipated by them.

Music Education Context

To transform music education and achieve the educative goal of resistance, however, music educators must expand the borders in which they conceive and implement instruction. Collaborations between public school music and community music programs represent the comprehensive, lifelong educational process essential to addressing the musical, educational, and cultural needs of our changing communities. The frame in which this may be initiated is provided by clarification of the differences between the historical perspectives, missions, and curricula of public school and community music programs.

Institutionalized as a sanctioned part of the curriculum during the second quarter of the 19th century, public school music programs in the United States reflected the values of many prominent music educators of the time who felt it was their moral duty to elevate the musical tastes of their students (Crawford, 1983). Curricula consisted almost exclusively of singing and music reading, and instruction was mostly limited to elementary schools (Birge, 1928). However, the philosophy of public school music education has always been to provide music instruction for every child attending each school; and as a function of this philosophy, instrumental music programs proliferated in secondary schools during the early part of the 20th century. By the 1930s, the scope of elementary music programs had expanded to include movement activities, instrument playing, listening, and creating music, as well as singing (Campbell, 1991). Most contemporary public school music instruction is provided almost exclusively to large groups—whole classrooms at the elementary level, and major performing ensembles at the secondary level—and is primarily focused on performance. The written curricula of most public school music programs specify objective educational outcomes and cognitive learning of the conceptual elements of music in order to develop students' responses to music as an art form through study of its inherent structures and expressiveness. The rationale for this is based on the argument that instruction in music is necessary to fully educate the individual (Reimer, 1989).

Community music programs, on the other hand, were originally founded at the turn of the 20th century as part of the settlement house movement, initiated in the United States by Jane Addams at Hull-House in Chicago (Egan, 1989). Established in response to the problematic conditions of industrialized urban life, particularly for new immigrants to the United States, settlement houses first made music instruction available to their talented and promising clients. This philosophy later evolved to the commitment of providing music instruction for all interested members of the community, regardless of their musical ability, achievement level, or financial situation. The curricula of these programs has traditionally included mostly private applied instruction on a particular instrument. While skill acquisition continues to be the primary focus of community music instruction, many community music programs attempt to provide more comprehensive music education for their students by offering courses in music theory, literature, and composition. Community music programs further serve their local communities by presenting concerts, and developing outreach programs for underserved constituencies.

As a consequence of their disparate histories, missions, curricula, and institutional contexts in which they provide instruction, public school music and community music programs have co-existed in the United States with minimal interaction. This has necessarily resulted in little communication between professionals of both types of music education programs. Both groups have generally accomplished their music educational goals without fully utilizing each other's resources and unique expertise. However, through cooperation and in combination, public school and community music educators and students may use their varying perspectives and experiences to inclusively redefine the borders of both programs, and transform their objectives beyond the traditional music education concerns of each to represent complementary and supplementary lifelong music education grounded in commitment to social change in terms of the realities of the everyday world.

The details of these collaborations, of course, depend entirely on each situation, and may be based on considerations of space, equipment, and/or people. Public school music programs sometimes have facilities and instruments superior to those of community music programs. However, community music instructors and musicians provide public school teachers and students direct links to professional and amateur music performance activities in the community. They may participate in schools in various capacities: as mentors, team-teacher/learners, and resources in culturally

relevant musics. In addition, the fund raising and development activities in which most community music programs are engaged also could be used to facilitate these collaborations, depending on the needs and goals of each program. Community music programs, of course, are virtually the only source of institutionalized music instruction in most communities outside of their public schools.

Shaping the Borders

Transforming music education in the United States in terms of its content and context is a process for which no clearly defined outcomes may be articulated. It requires changes in what, how, and where we teach that evolve as inexorably as the communities in which we teach. Because the final product of this transformation cannot be definitively identified, we are forced to implement alternatives to current structures and methods without knowledge of their adequacy or efficacy; and, further, accept that no prescriptions are immediately available, no responses are perennially applicable. However, it is this very process of repeated experimenting and questioning, of literally shaping the borders, that ultimately delineates the parameters of the transformation.

The cultural imperative of community music, then, is a function of both the social context in which it was originally conceived, and the social conditions in which it is currently implemented. Situated as an integral component of the community itself, community music programs provide music instruction in the contexts of both schools and communities, literally placing the school in the community. Through various outreach programs, community music programs offer opportunities for all members of the community to contribute to the musical—and by implication, social—life of their communities. Community music programs, dedicated to vibrant and vital communities in which all groups fully participate, in collaboration with public school music programs, dedicated to fully educating every child, create the content and context of music education by which everyone may interrogate and implement alternatives that respond to our changing community environment.

Notes

1. Intersectionalities of race, class, and gender, among others, of course, exist within these dualisms.

2. An example of application of this pedagogy is my teaching of a commissioned work for band, "Roundings" by Carol L. Matthews Whiteman, in 1991 to the Oregon Wind Ensemble. At that time, I was concerned with knowledge construction initiated in the context of students' lived experiences, but without postmodern problematizing of that context. Consequently, critical theory was applied in its modern sense, and therefore, its assumptions were never questioned. Similarly, musical performance practices were never interrogated in relation to the ideology and power relations grounding them.

I implemented critical feminist teaching practice through the utilization of integrative teaching strategies (Maher, 1985), the development of student voice (Freire, 1970; Maher, 1985), and supportive conductor behaviors (Erbes, 1973), that were integrated into diagnostic teaching methods usually associated with large ensemble rehearsals. This included describing what students played in rehearsals, followed by asking students to confirm these descriptions or describe their own perceptions. Preferred interpretations based on musical considerations emerged quickly, and strategies that were offered by students for implementing the preferred interpretations were then rehearsed. In addition to having specific opportunities to make suggestions, students also completed rehearsal logs, in which they wrote their academic (musical) and personal concerns and observations. They were frequently encouraged to participate in rehearsals in whatever manner was comfortable for them. A copy of the score and audio tapes of rehearsals were made available to further increase students' participation in the rehearsal process.

Critical feminist teaching process was manifested through modes of communication and mediation of authority. Both students and I evidenced the former through inclusive language that avoided stereotypes, and descriptive feedback that was specific and focused on performance, as well as sensitive to the emotional needs of speakers and recipients (Schniedewind, 1987). The latter was evidenced by having students assume leadership roles as needed, and participating in all aspects of rehearsals, including making practical, musical, and educational decisions.

Students clearly were more comfortable dealing with critical feminist practices than with processes; that is, it was easier for them to determine what to do than it was for them to determine how to do it. Certainly this may be attributed to their having had and continuing to have more experience (practice) with conductors than with critical feminist educators.

3. I am very briefly comparing the programs descriptively, and am not addressing the issues of relevance of curricula, the success of implementation, or the value of instruction relative to either public school or community music.

References

- Apple, M. W. (1979). *Ideology and curriculum*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
Ballantine, C. (1984). *Music and its social meanings*. New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers.

- Birge, E. B. (1928). *History of public school music in the United States*. Boston: Oliver Ditson Company.
Campbell, P. A. (1991). Rhythmic movement and public school music education. *Journal of Research in Music Education*, 39, 12-22.
Cherryholmes, C. H. (1988). *Power and criticism: Poststructural investigations in education*. New York: Teachers College Press.
Crawford, R. (1983). Musical learning in nineteenth-century America. *American Music*, 1, 1-11.
Egan, R. F. (1989). *Music and the arts in the community: The community music school in America*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press.
Ellsworth, E. (1989). Why doesn't this feel empowering? Working through the repressive myths of critical pedagogy. *Harvard Educational Review*, 59, 297-324.
Erbes, R. L. (1973). The development of an observational system for the analysis of interaction in the rehearsal of musical organizations. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, 1972. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 34, 806A.
Ferguson, K. E. (1980). *Self, society, and womankind: The dialectic of liberation*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (M. B. Ramos, Trans.). New York: Seabury Press. (Original work published 1968).
Giroux, H. A. (Ed.). (1992). *Postmodernism, feminism, and cultural politics: Redrawing educational boundaries*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
Greene, M. (1978). *Landscapes of learning*. New York: Teachers College Press.
Greene, M. (1988). *The dialectic of freedom*. New York: Teachers College Press.
Greene, M. (1994). Epistemology and educational research: The influence of recent approaches to knowledge. In L. Darling-Hammond (Ed.), *Review of research in education Vol. 20* (pp. 423-464). Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.
Harding, S. (1993). Rethinking standpoint epistemology: "What is strong objectivity?" In L. Alcoff & E. Potter (Eds.), *Feminist epistemologies* (pp. 49-82). New York: Routledge.
Hartsock, N. C. (1985). *Money, sex, and power: Toward a feminist historical materialism*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
hooks, B. (1984). *Feminist theory: From margin to center*. Boston: South End Press.
Jaggar, A. M. (1988). *Feminist politics and human nature*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield.
Lather, P. (1991). *Getting smart: Feminist research and pedagogy with/in the postmodern*. New York: Routledge.
Levesque-Lopman, L. (1988). *Claiming reality: Phenomenology and women's experiences*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield.
Maher, F. (1985). Pedagogies for the gender-balanced classroom. *Journal of Thought*, 12(3), 48-64.
Maultsby, P. (1994, April). *Black culture: Its influence on the creative process of music*. Paper presented at the African-American Composers Forum and Symposium, Detroit, MI.

- Norris, C. (Ed.). (1989). *Music and the politics of culture*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Reimer, B. (1989). *A philosophy of music education* (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Rosenau, P. M. (1992). *Post-modernism and the social sciences: Insights, inroads, and intrusions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Schniedewind, N. (1987). Teaching feminist process. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 15(3/4), 15-31.
- Shepherd, J. (1993). Difference and power in music. In R. A. Solie (Ed.), *Musicology and difference: Gender and sexuality in music scholarship* (pp. 46-55). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Smith, D. E. (1987). *The everyday world as problematic: A feminist sociology*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Solie, R. A. (Ed.). (1993). *Musicology and difference: Gender and sexuality in music scholarship*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Community Music in the United States: An Overview of Origins and Evolution

Mary A. Leglar and David S. Smith
United States

Some General Thoughts on Social and Political Change in America

For the past several decades the United States has been undergoing social and political change of such far-reaching implications that perhaps "revolution" is a more apt word. The very definition of what it means to be an American is being questioned, examined, and revised. Since the 1960s the U.S. has gone through, and in fact is still in, a period of integration—not only black-white but male-female, North-South, rural-urban. In many respects this change has been remarkably successful, opening the doors of white male bastions to minorities and women. Interestingly enough, however, once the nation seemed to be headed toward a truly egalitarian society—one in which racial, ethnic, and gender categories would be irrelevant—the very groups that had struggled for equality began to demonstrate uneasiness about being swallowed up in the predominant culture. They now seek to retain their separate cultural and gender identities while (ideally) uniting on larger issues which affect the common good.

The nation's concept of itself thus seems to be moving from "melting pot" to "compatible pockets of diversity." For example, in the universities courses centered on the contributions of Dead White Males are the target of vitriolic criticism, while degrees in black history, women's studies, and ethnic folklore proliferate. After three decades of civil rights legislation, neighborhoods remain stubbornly segregated by race and socioeconomic level; one can only conclude that, although Americans have for the most part learned to work together in harmony, they prefer to spend their leisure hours with people much like themselves. Churches schedule separate services in Spanish and Vietnamese. Many public schools, rejecting the idea of imposing English on children who speak another language at home, now provide bilingual instruction. Even among English speakers

we have failed to impose a single "standard" dialect: middle-class teachers resort to ghetto "jive" in the classroom. We've come a long way from Webster's idea of a national unity so tightly established culturally that not only would we be taught the same "American language" in the schools, but we would all adopt the same speech patterns.

The tension between unity and diversity has become a national issue, and the maintaining of a balance between the two is perceived as essential to the general welfare. As a means toward retaining cultural distinctions while forging a sense of national identity, community music has more potential than we ordinarily acknowledge. The U.S. has a long heritage of community music and music making, which is perhaps stronger today than ever before. Community music can be at once a vehicle for cultural self-expression and an avenue for self-disclosure. The former serves diversity; the latter promotes unity, because it is a means of cultural education, which in turn fosters tolerance and mutual respect. As a form of cultural education, community music properly has a symbiotic link with the core of the U.S. educational system: the public schools.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the contribution community music has made and can make to cultural education in the U.S., both in its own right and in the context of education as a whole. The paper will give a bird's-eye view of the historical highlights of community music/music making activity in various parts of the country. Then it will outline the types of activity prevalent today, with some concentration on the Southeast by way of examples. Finally, some thoughts will be presented regarding the collaboration (or lack thereof) between formal music education in the schools and community music making.

Historical Review of Community Music In America

Community music began with the pockets of immigrants who settled in various parts of the U.S. In spite of the mobility of U.S. society since World War II, these pockets can still be found in their original strongholds, if one knows where to look: Celtic on the Eastern seaboard; Germanic in the upper Midwest; Hispanic in the Southwest; African-American in the South (spreading, after the Civil War, to the industrial cities of the North). A brief overview of the various waves of immigrants and the music they brought with them will reveal the pattern.

In all likelihood, music making on the North American continent began some 50,000 years ago when groups of people we now call Native Ameri-

cans, or American Indians, crossed the Bering Straits from Asia. However, the Native American influence on community music in this country's history has not been significant. From the moment the first European settlers arrived, conversion to European cultural norms was expected of the Indians, as it has been of other cultures since. An early account of a Father Rale forming a robed choir of 40 Indians at Norridgewock, Maine, in 1693 seems fairly typical of the "missionary attitude." Native and European musics had so little in common, in spite of Rale's efforts, that they failed to assimilate (Neitl & Behague, 1973)—in contrast to African-American music, which drew on the common element of harmony characteristic of both African and European models. Therefore this discussion of community music begins with the arrival of European settlers at Jamestown in 1601.

Religion played a central role in the music of the colonies. Many early settlers came to the New World seeking freedom of religious expression: Pilgrims at Plymouth (1620), Puritans in Boston (1630), Mennonites in Philadelphia (1683), and German Pietists in Pennsylvania (1694). Examples of early musical activity include publication in 1640 of the Bay Psalm Book (which contained words but not music) in Cambridge, Massachusetts; and the delivery of the first pipe organ from Europe to Anglican worshippers in Port Royal, Virginia, in 1700. A perceived deterioration of singing in religious services over time led to the development of singing instruction books, the first of which was published in Newbury, Massachusetts, by John Tufts in 1712, and the subsequent organization of singing schools (1717), which represented the first step toward a systematic form of music education. In 1744 Moravians who had settled in Pennsylvania organized a Collegium Musicum that performed Bach, Haydn, and Mozart. These German immigrants also greatly enhanced the use of instrumental music in worship services through the addition of stringed instruments, flutes, and French horns. A community orchestra was organized at Lititz, Pennsylvania, in 1765 to supplement the music of the church service.

Reports of concerts in Boston and Charleston in the early 1730s suggest that musical activity was spreading from its church-based beginnings. Although the desire for religious freedom drew many settlers to the "New World," the opportunity for economic prosperity was the key factor for others. Undoubtedly, settlements such as Charleston, established for economic gain rather than religious freedom, provided a less restrictive environment in which secular music could develop. Early evidence of this is in the fiddler contests which were held in the South in the 1740s. Louisiana, while not one of the original colonies, also played a role in the

development of secular music in the New World, in large part due to the relocation of French-speaking Acadians from Canada to New Orleans in 1755. Through their influence this Catholic city became more tolerant of secular music and dancing, as demonstrated by a 1791 opera performance, and Sunday dancing and drumming on the levees by slaves (slaves were forbidden to play drums in the British colonies).

The development of a particularly American music begins to become apparent around the time of the War for Independence in 1776. Sacred music by American composers, published in tunebooks, was carried south from New England in the mid-1780s by Yankee musicians. These New England itinerant music masters helped to spread this uniquely American style of sacred music to churches, meetings, and singing schools throughout the fledgling country. In much the same way, militia bands, such as Josiah Flagg's, organized in Boston in 1769, the Massachusetts Militia Band (1783), and the U.S. Marine Band (1789) helped to spread secular music throughout the newly formed United States of America. The utilitarian function which the militia bands served during the military conflicts of the late 1700s and the secular concerts which they presented during that time represented the beginning of yet another facet of American musical activity.

Religious events at the turn of the century served once again as an impetus for growth in musical activity. In 1800 the revival movement which broke out in Kentucky helped to popularize another form of American music, revival songs. These songs, which borrowed secular folk tunes, were published in new hymnals in 1805, along with harmonized folk tunes, psalm tunes, fuguig tunes, and anthems using four-shape notes. The application of the shape-note method to religious music in New England in 1800 created another branch of musical activity which was aided in 1844 by the publication of *The Southern Harp*, a book which adhered to the four-shape system instead of the seven-note "do-re-mi" system.

The early 19th century also saw the foundations laid for many of the same types of community musical activities that we as a nation enjoy today. The founding of the Boston "Phil-Harmonic Society," a community orchestra (1809); the Handel and Haydn Society, a community chorus in Boston (1815); the German Singing Society in Philadelphia, forerunner of the glee club (1835), and the performance of the "Aeolian Vocalist," a vocal quartet (1842) all figure prominently in the musical history of the U.S. This era also saw the spread of music instruction from the community school

into the curriculum of the Boston public schools (1837). Lowell Mason, who is considered by many to be the father of music education in this country, was the first music teacher to be employed in that capacity.

Before the Civil War began in 1860, touring artists such as Jenny Lind, Ole Bull, Remenyi, Camilla Urso, and the Germania Orchestra provided the first glimpse of professional musicians to American citizens (1850s), as well as the impetus for orchestral development across the country. This parade of European professional artists across the American frontier was also responsible for spurring many a young person toward greater musical skill development and thereby increased the demand for professional teachers. The Philharmonic Symphony Society (1842), probably the oldest orchestra in continuous existence in the U.S., enjoyed good fortune as a result of this period.

After the Civil War (1866), composers, conductors, performers, and teachers were coming to this country to find new ways and opportunities to use their musical gifts. The establishment of the Lake Chautauqua Assembly in 1874 represented a commitment to continuing education through learning for adults. The first community music schools, Hull House in Chicago (1892) and the Third Street Music School Settlement (1894) in New York, responded to the need for professional musical development.

Just before the Civil War, an organization was established to cultivate and promote the singing of German songs, the German language, and German customs. The Northeastern Sangebund of America (1850) was the first of many ethnic-based organizations to develop in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These organizations, many of which continue to function today, included the Polish Singers Alliance of America (1889), Norwegian Singers Association of America (1891), the American Union of Swedish Singers (1892), the American Lithuanian Musicians Alliance (1911), and the Jewish Music Alliance (1925).

Welsh miners who arrived to work the coal fields in Pennsylvania before the Civil War organized the first Eisteddfod held in America, at Carbondale, Pennsylvania, in 1850. The competition aspect of this music contest seemed to act as a boon to the development of community choruses. Two notable mass-choir events occurred in Boston as the Peace Jubilees of 1869 and 1872; the 1869 event reportedly had a chorus of 10,000 and an orchestra of 1,000, and the 1872 event had twice that many participants! The 1883 opening of the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City provided another missing element of the European musical scene. Most of the immigrants who arrived during the years 1880-1893 settled in the major

port cities along the Atlantic coast. The bulk of them came from Poland, Russia, and the Eastern European countries, and many stayed in New York City, especially on the Lower East Side.

John Philip Sousa became the director of his own band in 1892. His work, both as director and composer/arranger is largely responsible for the rise of the band movement during the early 20th century. Jim Europe, a black American, benefited from Sousa's work as he developed an army band in 1917, which assisted in bringing about the "Big Band" movement. Big Band music continues to be an integral part of the musical life of many communities. The early 20th century also saw the peak of popularity for barbershop harmony. It is doubtful that the founders of the Society for the Preservation and Encouragement of Barbershop Quartet Singing in America in 1938 would have envisioned the expansion that has taken place in their organization, which currently boasts 40,000 members worldwide, or that of their companion organization, Sweet Adelines (1945), which has 30,000 members.

A similar type of organization which has become part of mainstream America is the Grand Ole Opry. The first broadcast of the Grand Ole Opry Barn Dance occurred in 1925 over radio station WSM in Nashville, Tennessee. This informal country music festival was dedicated to the preservation of old-fashioned rural music, especially southern music, and was heard by rural audiences of middle Tennessee. Since that time Grand Ole Opry broadcasts have introduced the newest in country music (such as the 1946 broadcast of Bill Monroe and his Blue Grass Boys), preserved its country roots through established artists, and contributed to the increasing popularity of country music.

Popular music has always been a staple of community music activity. The evolution of popular music in this country—from Stephen Foster, whom many consider to be the first pop composer, in the mid-1850s (Whitcomb, 1972, p. 12) to today—is truly remarkable. While military conflicts, economic depression, and prosperity greatly affected the makeup of the American population, the popularity of ragtime (1890–1917), jazz (1919–1927), and swing (1936–1940), and rock (1950s–present) transcended all vicissitudes.

In the final analysis, the development of popular music in this country has followed a steady course toward the melding of two cultures, African and European. No one could have known back in 1619 what an impact the arrival of the first Africans to the colonies was to have on the musical life of our country. Neither can we know what impact may be felt from

assimilating refugees of the 1990s into our culture, or what effect they will have on American community music activity in the future.

The Present Status of U.S. Community Music

The status of community music in the United States is far too complicated to treat here except in the most general terms. This paper attempts to form a picture of the amount and types of community music activity taking place in the country. A questionnaire was developed to identify in particular activity outside of the Western European-modeled choral societies, symphony orchestras, and the like—ethnic activity and musics that are not necessarily a part of the mainstream. The questionnaire also attempted to ascertain how common it was for these groups to have a *conscious* educational purpose—to carry on their heritage, for example—or whether these meetings were more or less social entertainment. An example of the latter is the "ballad swapping sessions" of the Athens Folk Society: ballads from everywhere are sung for fun, not with a conscious purpose of preserving musical materials of any particular culture.

The questionnaire was sent to musicologists who were members of the College Music Society, because musicologists and particularly ethnomusicologists were assumed to be more aware of community music activity than are music educators. The return rate was low—too low to make statistical claims—and many of the questionnaires that were returned carried notes: "I can't fill this out; I simply do not know anything about this"; "I would like to help; I think this is very interesting"; "I am not involved in this type of music, although I know some is going on." However, the returned questionnaires represented a good sampling from around the country—more from the New England states, bearing out the historical pattern. There were some people "in the know" who contributed more than they were asked. However, it can be safely conjectured that college musicologists are not particularly knowledgeable about ethnic community music activity.

Although the survey instrument specified a definition of community music that fit the parameters of the study, there were several questions about definitions—all from the people who seemed interested and were knowledgeable about community music. For example, is community music defined by its objective? in professional vs. nonprofessional terms? in terms of funding? in terms of commercial vs. non-profit? in terms of its participants? Is "community music separate from, for example, professional

orchestras supported by tax-payers' monies? What exactly do we mean by "community bands, choruses, or orchestras"? One respondent wrote a letter, suggesting that perhaps there is also the need for clarification of "music festivals," "ethnic celebrations," "folk festivals," "continuing education," "recreational opportunities." In summary, all of this is more complicated in the minds of some than it appears to be on the surface.

For the purpose of creating a general picture—without exact definitions—community music in the United States appears to fall into three general categories: that which exists to carry out specific educational objectives; that which has performance as its chief objective, but also has an education component; and finally, and probably most interesting, that which is carried on solely for cultural transmission and/or for social and entertainment purposes.

COMMUNITY MUSIC SCHOOLS

In the first category one finds the community music school, which "offers musical instruction at a nominal cost, and which is non-profit, non-sectarian. . . . This term is sometimes interchangeable with Music School Settlement" (Egan, 1989). The first was started at Hull House in Chicago, Illinois, in 1883. (The Hull House school was not a true community music school, since it accepted only students who were talented enough to become professional musicians.) The second was the Third Street Music School Settlement, founded in 1894 in New York City. Many such schools followed in Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, St. Louis, Buffalo, and Wilmington, Delaware, as well as others in the New York City area. Each was concerned with offering excellent musical training at a reasonable cost for children and adults.

The community music schools, many of which were connected with settlement houses, are a unique success story. They have produced outstanding performers, many of whom have become teachers there. Students have gone on to colleges and conservatories for professional training in both performance and teaching. These schools still exist in a variety of forms today: some are connected with university programs; some are independent; some are organized by ethnic groups. One of the more interesting examples of this last category is AMLA (Associated Musicians of Latin America) in Philadelphia. AMLA's brochure describes it as

a non-profit, multicultural, regional arts organization dedicated to promoting the development and dissemination of all forms of Latin music. It was founded by musicians in the Latin community in 1982 to

increase economic avenues for those artists. . . . AMLA has created Philadelphia's first Latin Music School, has presented local and national groups to this city's audiences through festivals and concerts, has commissioned new musical works written by talented Latino composers, brings workshops on Latin music history to the region's schools, and has launched Philadelphia's first Latin arts digest and calendar, *Pulso Latino*. [The school] offers students from six years to seniors a wide range of classes including salsa dance, piano, Latin percussion, guitar, flute, and horns. AMLA's Latin Music School employs many talented, skilled musicians, composers and dancers, offers scholarships to children, and holds two community concert recitals a year. College credit is possible for Music Appreciation through the Community College of Philadelphia.

Community music schools have had a professional organization for a number of years: the National Guild of Community Schools of the Arts, founded in 1937 to "foster, nurture, and encourage high quality arts education designed to meet community needs." It provides service and programs for the benefit of its schools. The Guild has several categories for new member organizations and has personnel to contact new members and encourage the new groups to build and grow.

Currently, community music schools are also receiving attention and support from Harvard Project Co-Arts, a national study of educational effectiveness in arts centers for economically disadvantaged communities. The project is generously funded by the Nathan Cummings Foundation, the Alexander Julian Foundation for Aesthetic Understanding and Appreciation, and the Andy Warhol Foundation of the Visual Arts. Its purposes include the development of an assessment tool through which the educational effectiveness of community art centers can be documented. This tool is intended to accommodate diverse manifestations of excellence and to serve diverse constituents. Importantly, it will allow centers to stage assessments for themselves over time and to count ongoing self-assessment as a useful aspect of daily practice. Funders will be able to consider the centers' own self-assessments when deciding where to allocate funds.

The study encompasses three phases, all of which inform Co-Arts' knowledge of the field and ability to identify relevant means and dimensions for assessment:

Phase 1: A nation-wide outreach that reviews the general scene of community art centers through a systematic examination of printed materials (about 350), written questionnaires to centers and funders (about 200), and in-depth phone interviews (about 100).

Phase 2: The production of more than two dozen sketches and six detailed portraits of educationally effective community arts centers which have been identified in the first phase. These sketches and portraits emerge from on-site observation and interview.

Phase 3: The preparation of a state-of-the-art report on educational effectiveness in community arts centers. This report will include (1) the results of the nation-wide review of community arts centers; (2) the self-assessment tool; (3) a gallery walk through sketches of numerous and varied exemplary centers; (4) the in-depth portraits of six exemplary community arts centers representing diverse manifestations of educational effectiveness; (5) suggested applications of the evaluative frame to these six diverse centers which will demonstrate its range and flexibility.

With a national database of nearly 500 centers, Project Co-Arts has become a clearing house for information about community arts centers, engaging community arts educators in the review of assessment tools. Phase II will help forge connections among centers all around the country.

COMMUNITY PERFORMANCE ORGANIZATIONS

The second category of community music consists of organized community activities dedicated predominantly to music-making, but many times with an educational component. To this category belong, from the very large to the very small, community orchestras, bands, and choruses, which are extremely common in the U.S. It is almost safe to assume (and the questionnaire bears this out) that these groups will be found in any community over 60,000. They are most frequently organized through the impetus of one person, who either works singlehandedly or approaches the city government or arts commission (if there is one). Most are also led or directed by the school or college teachers in that area and involve "ready-made" musicians. It is the practice of many of them, but mostly the orchestras, to have an education/public relations component—perhaps because orchestras have the most difficult time attracting an audience. In less populated areas where there are no large towns, there are regional groups of this type: for example, the North Georgia Community Band; the Gwinnett County Singers; the Lanier (a region of Georgia) Orchestra. The responses received from the questionnaire indicate that, as expected, most communities establish bands and choruses before orchestras. Especially in the South, community music activities are often centered in church-sponsored groups, many of which have their own bands and orchestras as well as choirs. These groups may involve professional musicians as well as

the church's own members. Churches of any size generally have a well-supported educational music program for their members, particularly in the choral area.

ETHNIC/PRESERVATION GROUPS

The third category, community music activity carried on for the purpose of cultural transmission and/or social and entertainment purposes, is growing by leaps and bounds. Groups in this category, though they are difficult to generalize about, can be separated quite naturally into two subcategories: (1) those that preserve traditional musics (ethnic or folk) which have been passed down by word of mouth and are still to some extent part of the daily life of the region; and (2) those interested in reviving musics which are no longer a "living" part of the regional culture, but are performed as a matter of interest or historical value.

The first subcategory brings to mind the folk music reservoir of the South, fashioned principally by the confluence of two mighty cultural streams, the British and the African. Examples of preservation in the South can be seen in the Sacred Harp (shape-note) singers, the ring-shout tradition, and African-American gospel singing. In the Appalachian area, descendants of English and Scotch-Irish settlers have preserved traditional British music and singing styles. Another example is the tradition of the German spiritual folk song, which is found especially in rural Pennsylvania and among the Amish of the Midwest. Scandinavians migrated to northern Michigan and Minnesota, where their music and folklore still flourish. In the southern Midwest and Louisiana one can still find the folk songs of France. It is useless to look for such survivals in the cities, however; the early immigrants from western Europe settled chiefly on farms and in small towns, and that is where their traditions are preserved.

Immigrants who came to North America from Italy and Eastern Europe arrived after cities had developed into centers of industry. Thus their folk music, to the extent that it is preserved, is found in the urban milieu. In the 20th century the cities also attracted waves of rural Americans, including descendants of earlier Western European immigrants as well as non-European minorities—Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, and even some Native Americans. The tendency of these new city-dwellers to settle near people like themselves produced the characteristic quilt-like pattern of American cities, where neighborhoods and villages-within-the-city served as focal points for ethnic groups. In these neighborhoods the "old country" traditions still flourish. One respondent to the survey verified this:

There are literally hundreds of community-based, non-professional African-American gospel choirs and quartets in the New York City metropolitan area. . . . These groups sing in their own churches and travel to others. Little if any money changes hands; they serve as important training grounds for singers and musicians. There are approximately 10 community-based West Indian steel pan ensembles in Brooklyn and Queens. They play for local parties, festivals, and the annual Labor Day West Indian Carnival celebration; there are a number of Irish step dance schools in Brooklyn and Queens where young people are taught traditional Irish country dancing. Often performances are accompanied by live fiddle music. A growing number of Puerto Rican, Haitian, and West Indian groups have established folkloric troupes to perpetuate their music and dance traditions. Some of these groups now offer more organized classes for kids in various styles of Caribbean and African dance.

The second subcategory might be called, for lack of a better term, "revival groups," those that preserve musics of historical interest (not necessarily those which live in the daily life of any community) but outside the standard repertoire. In this category are Confederate bands, barbershop singing, music-dramas created to preserve the history of a community, and community musical theater.

And what of the relationship between the school and community music? As Michael Mark points out, in the past it has "varied from close cooperation to benign neglect" (1992, p. 8). Although community music and school music represent intertwining strands in the American cultural fabric, their roles are properly distinct:

Today there is a rich variety of community music opportunities throughout the country. These opportunities continue to complement music opportunities in schools. In the best situations, school and community music leaders work together to maintain a strong community musical life.

There is a question, however, of the proper relationship between school and community music. Many communities offer people the opportunity to participate in the same kinds of ensembles that are available in the schools. This duplication of music activities is most often seen in the entertainment aspect of the music program. Many, perhaps most, community organizations accept students as members. If students can participate in similar music entertainment in the community, then school music educators might take advantage of opportunities to give up some of their entertainment activities and concentrate more on the solid musical aspects of their program. [Mark, 1992, p. 10]

Conclusion

Community music is alive and well in the U.S. Community music groups flourish in great numbers and bewildering variety. In many communities, they are an important and much-needed source of cohesion, providing an environment in which people whose paths would never cross in the ordinary way can find common ground in their shared interest in music.

The picture is not, however, entirely positive. In the U.S., federal and state support for community arts organizations is very limited. Most organizations are therefore dependent on an unstable mix of "soft" sources of funding: local government support, which varies from town to town and is extremely sensitive to economic conditions; private local funding; local nonmonetary support, such as free use of performance facilities and free publicity; support from members in the form of dues, contributions, and in-kind donations; and admission charges, which are typically very low or nonexistent. On the other hand, many groups manage to make music quite enthusiastically without spending very much money.

Community music and music education could definitely benefit from closer cooperation between the community and the school. Not only would this avoid unnecessary duplication of activities—which can overtax the community's resources, both financial and human—but it would also enrich the music of both school and community. The school can play a valuable role in educating citizens about their musical traditions, counterbalancing the prevailing tendency to regard music performance as best left to professional musicians. Community groups, in turn, can provide a valuable resource for music teachers in the task of cultural education. Who is better able to instill in children the notion of music as a lifelong pleasure than ordinary adults—the grownups next door, so to speak—who are enthusiastic participants in the musical life of the community? Finally, what better way than community music to meld—not melt—America's disparate raw ingredients into a cohesive yet diverse cultural medley?

Selected Bibliography

- Birge, E. B. (1928). *History of public school music in the United States*. Bryn Mawr, PA: Oliver Ditson Company.
- Broven, J. (1983). *South to Louisiana: The music on the Cajun bayous*. Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company.
- Cantwell, R. (1984). *Bluegrass breakdown: The making of the old southern sound*.

- Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Egan, R. F. (1989). *Music and the arts in the community: The community music school in America*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press.
- Floyd, S. A. Jr. (Ed.) (1990). *Black music in the Harlem Renaissance: A collection of essays*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Hitchcock, H. W. (Ed.) (1969). *Music in the United States: A historical introduction*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Horstman, D. (1986). *Sing your heart out, country boy*. Nashville, TN: Country Music Foundation.
- Kaplan, M. (Ed.) (1933). *Barbershopping: Musical and social harmony*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses.
- Keene, J. A. (1982). *A history of music education in the United States*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.
- Malone, B. C. (1985). *Country music, U.S.A.* Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Mark, L. M. (ed.) (1992). *The music educator and community music: The best of MEJ*. Reston, VA: Music Educators National Conference.
- Nettl, B. (1962). *An introduction to folk music in the United States*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.
- Schwartz, A. P. (1968). *The open society*. New York: William Morrow & Company.
- Scott, J. A. (1983). *The ballad of America: The history of the United States in song and story*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Sunderman, L. F. (1972). *New dimensions in music education*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press.
- Wallaschek, R. (1970). *Primitive music: An inquiry into the origin and development of music, songs, instruments, dances and pantomimes of savage rites*. New York: Da Capo Press.
- Whitcomb, I. (1972). *After the ball: Pop music from rag to rock*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Music and Informal Education

Cecelia Conde and José Maria Neves
Brazil

An analysis of the learning process used in various aspects of everyday urban and rural culture—religious, leisure, and work activities—shows that learning is active rather than formal, as it usually is in the schools. In music, this characteristic way of transmitting knowledge by personal contact with new experiences is found in the learning of instrumental techniques, in the development of vocal or instrumental interpretation, in the creation of music, and in group activities—in bands, in musical groups, in folguedos in which musical practice is predominant, and in the construction of musical instruments.

The present study of learning processes of popular culture is based on research done with groups of *Folia de Reis* ("Penitentes of Santa Marta" of the Santa Marta Hill in Botafogo, and "Estrela de Jaco Anunciada por Balao" in Padre Miguel), carnival groups ("Imperio de Botafogo" in Santa Marta Hill and "Mocidade da Malley" in Padre Miguel), groups of popular musicians ("Diamante Negro") and groups found in the residence of Jorginho do Violaio, in Padre Miguel, and in a section of Bloco Imperio de Botafogo), instrument builders (especially those in the suburb of Padre Miguel), and musical bands ("Sociedade Musical Brasil-Portugal" of Realengo). In addition, observations of children's games were conducted in the communities where documented work is carried out for the Center for Research and Documentation of Popular Culture of the Municipal Institute of Art and Culture for the municipality of Rio de Janeiro (cedoc). The data collected were compared with that collected in previous studies which were conducted in the shanty towns of Manqueira, Chapeu Mangueira, and Morro da Babilonia, and in municipalities like Caxias, Santo Antonio de Padua, and Cantagalo in the state of Rio de Janeiro, where similar creative processes were found.

The research was initially intended to document musical productions in the communities of Morro de Santa Marta (Botafogo) in the region of Realengo–Padre Miguel, and to demonstrate the extraordinary vitality of the musical practice of these communities. The researcher observed not

only the large number of groups and people involved in this practice, but also the high quality of the music transmitted through personal contact and involvement. The richness and the dynamics of the carnival groups was predictable, but it was not expected that those groups would develop such permanent and important musical activities—*rodas-de-samba*, *reunioes sociais*—or to find groups of *Folias de Reis* so well organized and active, or popular musical groups ready to be launched into the commercial circuit. Nor did we expect to be able to follow the activity of one popular band in the neighborhood, maintaining the old traditions with hardship and attending to its social goals (processions, public activities of the community, and public concerts).

In these communities these musical groups and people play a very important role, functioning as authentic leaders and cultural animators, organizing festivities, preparing the repertoire, gathering around them people interested in music. In this cultural action these people and groups fulfill a major educational function, particularly in the transmission of the knowledge necessary to preserve the cultural activities of the community.

This pedagogical work, however, has very little to do with the schools situated within these communities. The schools, mistakenly considered the most effective means of education in the community, either completely ignore these manifestations of popular culture or treat them with disdain, endangering the transmission and stability of these activities and in fact enforcing a standard that is unrelated to the culture of the community. Formal education—primary, secondary, and university—undervalues popular culture and indeed is ignorant of the people's music: their composers, their instrumental groups, their instrument makers, their beliefs, and their festivities. This ignorance stems from the colonial posture and elitism of the educational system, which is responsible for impoverishing the Brazilian musical culture.

If the school had a better and more profound link with the cultural reality of the community, it would benefit from these resources and be able to undergo pedagogical reform. The school would be conscious that its formal purpose is only one of the possible solutions, and that its educational and cultural action could only be complemented in this dynamic process, taking from "the here and now" and incorporating this information into its curriculum.

In the communities in which this research was conducted, children participate in almost all activities with the adults, until they go to school, where they are exposed to a formal education that is completely alien to

the reality of the culture of their family and community. Coming from a world that has its own manner of receiving knowledge, and suddenly entering into a new world with quite different concepts of learning, they become lost. The distance between the formal system of education and the nonformal education to which the children are accustomed causes lack of interest, difficulty in learning, and a high dropout rate. These children and adolescents become marginalized, not able to continue the process of work and learning.

Contemporary musical creations are alien to the academic ideal of art, since popular culture values the process of art rather than the product and encourages breaking away from the rigidity of established forms. When we conduct in-depth analytical studies of popular creative activities and recognize elements of communicability (as has been done with music of the Orient and Africa), we break preconceived ideas of beauty and the structure of sound. In the process we realize that the universe of sound and music is much larger than academia admits. It encompasses new scale structure, new rhythmic formations, new timbral colors (different ways of using traditional voice and instruments as well as those obtained from informal instruments or new instruments), new ways of structuring a musical phrase, other ways of perceiving the musical material. This musical experimentation gives new directions to the creative process and adds substance to musical education. Contemporary musical creation has gone farther than pedagogical research in discovering musical expressions from different cultures. In reality, these events are explainable because of the elaborations done on them by the great composers. The pedagogical reflection only reaches its height when it is practiced by the creators.

If the school will link with the cultural context of the community in which it is located, it will realize its true function. Culture is the basis of education, and the basis of all cultural action must be the intelligent life experience enacted in a real culture, existent, connected to its own experience of life of the individual in his medium. The great majority of people reach maturity without being freed from cultural illiteracy.

For this reason, it would be highly profitable for the school to study those components of the informal process of musical education used by the people on a day-to-day basis, that have proved to be efficient. Without prejudice and useless pride, the school will be able to assimilate some of these processes and modify its action, making education in music and the other arts more efficient.

Study of the pedagogical behavior of people and groups in the transmis-

sion of data—concepts and techniques—related to popular cultural activities, calls attention to the natural integration between adults and children. In general, there are no rigid separations, other than for religious or spiritual reasons. But even in religious activities the playlife of the child parallels the rituals of the adult, and this is respected. Thus, it is normal for a child to live in his own playworld side by side with the Folia de Reis, without the disapproval of the adult. On the contrary, the adult encourages children in their play. But the biggest integration exists when the child begins to participate in the activities lived by the adult in a natural and gradual way, without many rules. He begins to participate in a passive way in the womb of the mother and the lap of the adult; he begins to participate by circulating in the space of the festivity without actually taking part. In this way he is initiated into the culture of the community.

This process is similar to that found in the tribal groups studied in Africa, for example. African children have free access to music and dance, which are considered a means of social communication. From an early age the African child is encouraged to observe the dances of the adults, to respond physically to the music, and to understand and appreciate music and movement.

The child who experiences a rehearsal of a carnival group or Folia de Reis reacts in similar manner. He responds physically to the sound stimulus; he imitates and re-creates movements and gestures; he begins to perceive meaning. The imitation is an important step in reaching the world of the adult. In fact, the imitation of sound, of word, and of gesture is immediately followed by imitation of the group structure and the behavior of the individuals in the group. It is absolutely normal for groups of children to engage in the same activities as adults.

Then comes the day on which the adults' folias have a need for a new element. It is from the children's folias—the *folias de lata*, in which the instruments are improvised of tin—that this participant will come, who already knows the ritual, the texts, and the chants. Because he comes from the children's groups, gradually he approximates himself to the groups of the older people, and slowly becomes acquainted with the "real" instruments. The child has become immersed into the cultural expression of the community, transforming the experience into an individual expression. Therefore it is a natural passage which is awaited expectantly, as a rite of passage into adulthood. This entrance to adulthood, with all the seriousness and responsibility that it carries, can happen very early, at around twelve years of age.

Thereupon another phase of learning starts, which can take the new participant in the group to look for more important positions in the hierarchy. He can be admitted to the position of the clown if he can show an aptitude for it. For this he has to "study" very hard; know and assimilate the ritual norms of the ensemble, the texts, and the melodies/songs of the prophecies; and know the meaning of the act being celebrated. He will be a natural leader of the group.

In the big carnival groups and in the samba schools, the same free and informal learning takes place. Participation in the *batucadas* (beating of the characteristic Brazilian rhythms) on tin cans, the ensembles organized and directed by the children themselves, and later the *baterias mirins* sponsored and supervised by the adults, prepares the children who will occupy places in the official groups of the ensemble. Here also the gaining of the new positions happens in a known, planned, or calculated manner, sometimes by occasional participation in the adult group even before definite admittance. Not rarely, the good leader of the *mirin* group is placed as a director of the adult group during rehearsals. Being part of this musical experience gives the child sound experience in the leadership of the adult group and develops auditory perception, musical memory, and conducting skills.

As has been seen, the musical learning process can begin with objects that are not musical instruments. Any group of tin cans and boxes is good to put together a folia de lata or a rhythmic ensemble. But those objects, made into musical instruments, are not used by accident. True exploratory work is required to turn a collection of those objects into a musical ensemble. Listening to the different pitches and timbres of the adults' instruments, the children try to obtain analogous results with the means they have at their disposal. Different ways to make holes and cut the tin cans and boxes will produce various ranges of pitches, and even sensitive variations of timbres, allowing the ensemble to recreate the sonorous climate of the music that motivates the children to organize their groups.

The curiosity that seeks to produce new sounds in the imitative, creative games of the children also exists in the musical activities of the adults. In the field of instrument making, the individual finds very interesting solutions to realize the music that he has in mind. True research is carried on to find textures of bamboo that can be utilized as reeds for instruments or specific leaves that will produce a bigger variety of sounds and that have a relatively longer durability. Substitutions are found for materials that are difficult to find or hard to handle in the construction of those musical

instruments. This substitution is particularly significant when it is related to the use of materials characteristic of the industrial society.

In the absence of good cane for flutes and facing difficulties in making holes in the wood and in attaining the necessary thickness, there is no hesitation to use plastic tubes to transform them into several different wind instruments. Great imagination is also used in recycling materials used in urban life. Barrels and tin cans are transformed into drums, maracas, ganzas, and guiros. In the making of violas, *rabecas*, or *cavaquinbos*, readily available wood is substituted for the traditional wood used by professional luthiers. The artisans construct their own tools and even develop ways of making traditional instruments in different forms. Many groups can supply almost all the instruments they need by making their own, and this self-sufficiency is a source of pride for them. However, they are not prejudiced against mass-produced instruments, which they use when they need a large number of instruments—which makes artisan construction impractical—or when the mass-produced instruments have the sound characteristics they are looking for.

But even in this case, the group's artisan keeps his function, making adaptations in the materials that are bought, maintaining the instruments, and above all taking care of the sound equilibrium and intonation of the ensemble. So successful are some of the artisans' solutions that there are cases in which their adaptations have been used by the music industry without the authorization of their inventors.

This freedom in the search for a desired sound and objects that produce those sounds extends to many sectors of musical practice. Having an instrument—and by instrument we should understand any object that produces sound—the interpreter uses the instrument in the most creative way, learning the technique by observing the way in which an experienced performer plays the instrument. But the musician does not hesitate to introduce his own solutions, creating easier and more natural ways to play. This is the reason that the sound of the popular musical ensembles is so characteristic of the people's culture. The same thing can be said about the utilization of the voice, which follows closely the community's way of speaking. The popular concept of vocal sound is very different from that taught in the schools, and the vocal technique is also very different. Professional singing teachers would contend that no singer could continually employ a tone that is so nasal and so guttural as we see in the Brazilian singers, without losing his voice completely. However, those singers show us that it is possible to do so by using a different vocal technique,

which is modified according to the type of sound considered appropriate to the music they are singing. This does not mean that anyone would advocate abandoning European-style vocal technical studies, which are very useful for a certain vocal repertoire. But it is also necessary for academic researchers to devote more attention to other ways of utilizing the singing voice, ways which make possible a better interpretation of works native to other cultures.

In the domain of popular music, learning occurs in a complex manner, based on the idea of imitation. The students do not show much concern with particular methods of learning. In the popular culture there is no separation between artistic creation and life itself. There is no time and space set aside particularly for producing art, nor is there a particular time and place set aside for learning. For the community, artistic creation functions as a means of expression and communication. Therefore technical abilities are acquired by natural process that emphasizes the elements to be known and to be practiced in context.

In the first phase of learning the popular guitar, for example, the student observes a person who knows the instrument well to see how he holds and moves his fingers on the instrument. The student thus begins the learning process informally, by attempting to reproduce the technique of this initial model. Soon afterward, the student may begin to work from a method book, usually one that emphasizes the left hand. In this phase the student begins to understand musical structure, as each sequence of finger positions corresponds to a harmonic scheme (cadences) of the tonal system.

If the new musician uses these "book" methods to accompany tonal music—which is the predominant type of music in the center and south of the country and in many foreign works played here—it is possible that he can deduce correctly which chords to play in a given piece, provided that harmonic structure of the piece does not have great variety and wealth. But if the new musician composes or accompanies modal music—as is common in the northeast of the country and in older folkloric themes that are found everywhere—the risk of mistakes is enormous. It is not rare to see amateur musicians imposing harmonic tonal structure on melodic lines that are clearly modal, and the disparity seems not to bother them. This happens precisely because those famous simplified methods are constructed on the principle that music is always tonal (a mistake that is made even in the best schools), instead of presenting different solutions that are adapted both to tonal music and to folk music, which is clearly modal.

One also cannot speak of teaching compositional techniques in the popular culture. As with learning instrumental technique, compositional techniques are acquired through imitation and through improvising with total freedom. When the musician feels a desire to compose, he defines the formal pattern to be employed but follows it without rigidity, producing new and rich variations. Timidity and fear do not repress popular manifestations of creativity. Although the popular artist is not afraid to experiment creatively, he does not feel constrained to produce completely original works, a requirement of the classical art. He freely repeats motives that are public domain, but without obscuring his own individual characteristics.

The popular composer—unlike the classical composer, whose work is solitary and independent—always functions within the framework of the community. In the popular tradition, a composition is often the result of the musical and existential experience of more than one creator. The identity of musical thought and deep fraternal bonds makes two or more people share the creative act, either by collaborating on the composition as a whole or by cooperatively assuming responsibility for different stages of the process (music and words, or first and second part of the work).

It is interesting to observe that this fraternal sharing of the compositional process can lead to sharing other types of social experience. Sometimes partnerships solidify in a way that, even when only one of the partners composes a piece, he relies on his partners to evaluate the work, which in this way becomes a composition of the group/partnership. It is evident that all the partnerships found in the creation of popular music correspond to this pattern. In an extension of this practice, works which are intended for the mass market are often submitted to several better-known composers, who evaluate it or offer suggestions in return for a share of the credit, and of eventual royalties. For this reason, published compositions sometimes have an extremely long list of "composers."

This method of learning by experience and informal apprenticeship bears certain similarities to the methodology employed to teach instrumental techniques in the rare examples of orchestras surviving from the 1700s in the state of Minas Gerais. These practices reflect the pedagogical orientation of past centuries, which is described in old documents. It can be called the "pedagogy of the masters."

The fundamental trait of this method, without any doubt, is its efficiency in gaining immediate results. It is not possible to think of wasting many years to prepare an instrumentalist for his initiation into the activities of a musical group. The sudden vacancies which often occur in musical groups

are unpredictable, and the function of the groups cannot be interrupted while waiting to acquire new personnel. Because of these time pressures, the new musician is prepared through direct contact with the instrument and the repertoire. In this way, he also learns extremely simplified fundamentals of theory and technique, but without much attention to fine points. In very little time the student can read and play very simple music, and can be immediately incorporated into the group. It doesn't matter that he will encounter difficult sections which are beyond his technical capabilities. He plays what he can play, and does the best he can with the rest. The difficulty of the task is stimulating, and the fact that he is not playing alone, but supported by other people, allows him to succeed more easily. Thus, from the very beginning of his learning experience, he can enjoy the pleasure of music making. This kind of learning has several things to recommend it: the challenge presented by the systematic learning process; the opportunity to play side by side with more experienced musicians; learning in the context of the musical work, rather than through unrelated technical exercises; the longer and more frequent practice in rehearsals, which are much useful than the rare moments of individual practice in the conventional music schools.

It is worth remembering that the student is not immediately given a choice of instrument: usually he begins on one of the instruments that provide the harmonic base and thus is required to produce a limited number of sounds. Only later does he graduate to an instrument that requires more technical ability. Thus, many times, the musicians of the band are able to play several instruments, passing from one to another without difficulty. The master player's familiarity with all the instruments is fundamental in the teaching/learning process, since it is his duty to initiate the children and young people.

Purists object that this method of training young musicians compromises quality, and that its advantage in terms of efficiency is outweighed by the impossibility of bringing the new musician to a high level of proficiency. This objection may be justified in part, although it is important to define "high level of proficiency." The popular bands are, in practice, big warehouses that supply major orchestras with some of their best wind players. Drawn to the musical life that the band provides and eager to make music a profession, these young musicians transfer their enthusiasm to the formal learning situation as well, and achieve excellent levels of proficiency. But the band has a value independent of its usefulness as a nursery for future professionals: the musical results produced with limited resources amply

justify its existence. These groups thus fill a specific function in the community life, and we should not look for the same qualities and values that are expected of professional bands and orchestras.

On the basis of the foregoing analysis, we can affirm that music learning in the context of the community's artistic endeavors, both secular and religious, has the following characteristics:

- reliance on imitative creativity, using older or more experienced musicians as models;
- participation in community activities, without barriers between the world of adults and that of children;
- learning through practical life experience;
- valuing the aesthetic process more than the product;
- respect for the rates and styles of individual learners;
- an atmosphere conducive to socialization and the establishment of community feeling;
- freedom from the restraints of a formal learning atmosphere.

Through Legends to Cultural Learning: A Bicultural Perspective to the Use of Music-Drama

Morva Croxon
New Zealand

Abstract

The creation of a simple music-drama based on a Maori legend provided a medium for students beginning their teacher training to explore both the culture of the indigenous people of New Zealand and the way in which an original experiential work can develop. This paper provides an overview of that process from a non-Maori perspective.

Through Legends to Cultural Learning

New Zealand is experiencing major social change led by government intervention in economic matters whereby the country, shifting its legislative base, is no longer seen as a welfare state. In the past five years New Zealanders have been directed towards a free-market economy. Bodies that provide governance and support for health, education, welfare, justice, and community areas have been reshaped, some several times. The rise in unemployment, crime, and violence is significant, and poverty is emerging in a way that has not been seen since the 1930s.

Running parallel to this upheaval has been a requirement for all areas of New Zealand's social and employment framework to address equity issues associated with biculturalism. The indigenous (*tangatawhenua*) race, the Maori people, were given equal rights of citizenship with the British colonists in the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi with the Crown. This treaty was legally negated in 1877 and reinstated in 1987. For one hundred years "the Maori was placed in a position of having to arbitrarily assimilate a culture whose values were in most respects contrary to Maori values" (Katene, 1989).

The present social climate, exacerbated by the reforms described,

disadvantages Maori people; they are caught in a double-bind situation identified by lower health standards in many areas, higher prison populations proportionally, and poorer access and perceived standards in education, especially higher education.

National legislation and cultural sensitivity require that learning content and learning environments, from early childhood to tertiary education sectors, honor the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Implementation of this is hampered by uneven awareness of what to do and how to do it. The ideal situation would be to have Maori people responsible for conveying the knowledge and ethos of their culture to Maori and non-Maori students of all ages and in all settings. As yet there are not enough human or physical resources available to consider this approach.

The Palmerston North College of Education is a tertiary institution responsible for training teachers for early childhood, primary, secondary, bilingual and total immersion (in Maori language) settings. In 1988-89 the Music Department of the College looked again at its responsibility to provide appropriate Maori content in its music programs for early childhood and primary students. My suggestion for a music-drama experiential approach, done in conjunction with colleagues from the Maori Studies Department, met with approval, and for five years now first-year music students have been involved in this music-drama module.

Two main interwoven threads supported the conceptualization of this idea into practice: first a music education rationale, secondly the bicultural responsibility.

Music Education Rationale

- Music education stresses the importance of making music; the modalities of listening, singing, moving and playing give direct access to analysis through internalized experience of the elemental, aesthetic, and affective power of music.
- Students new to a tertiary learning establishment arrive with widely disparate scholastic, cultural, and geographic backgrounds. Not all have a strongly developed personal identity. Many do not consider music study to transcend rehearsal of performance skills together with learning composition and music history. A group task, where common musical and nonmusical goals are identified, articulated, and developed to a satisfactory outcome is a broadening sociocultural experience, valuable in developing understanding of music's role in the wider community.

- *The Syllabus for Schools: Music Education* (1989) asks that Maori music receive appropriate inclusion in school programs. For Maori people music is part of one's way of life, embedded in a broad range of lifeskills, ritual and tribal identity.

Bicultural Responsibility

The College of Education charter requires that teaching content will honor the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. It was important to plan the music-drama module with full awareness of what this actually means.

- Mason Durie, Professor of Maori Studies at Massey University, outlines four qualities for a Maori which must be married together for that person to be truly healthy (Durie, 1990). These are "Taha Wairua—soul or spirit; Taha Hinengaro—thoughts and feelings (attitude); Taha Tinana—body, physical; Taha Whanau—family." Then Professor Durie expands on these qualities to give a Maori perception of life and living:

A Maori Perspective:

- (1) focuses on the spiritual. This is a base and is more experiential, and less objective. An experiential quality is associated with events, persons, places and relationships;
- (2) is holistic. There is no distinction between mind/body. This same holistic notion is found in many other countries, particularly non-Western ones;
- (3) is integrative. A Maori perspective seeks to understand by using specifics or details in the context of larger patterns. A Maori looks to the larger pattern. For example, to understand a tree, one looks at its relationship to the other trees and the natural environment, not to the leaf shape and individual flowers;
- (4) makes no distinction between feeling and thinking. The Maori word hinengaro concerns the seat of emotions and feelings. No English word adequately translates it. The emotions are included as part of a speech, as in oratory, for example.
- (5) focuses on experience. It does not matter how objective things may be, what is important is what a person experiences;
- (6) focuses on the collective. A Maori is concerned about his or her origins and relationships within a collective group. A typical question is "Who are your family?" so that individual identity is less important;
- (7) sees all things and people as interdependent. Independence is not necessarily regarded as a positive or healthy way to live.

These philosophies can apply to any human dimension and certainly had relevance in planning a bicultural music experience. It is valuable to

highlight the connections with music activity:

(1) Maori legend involves events, persons, places and relationships and so provides a fertile base for music-drama. Tata (1990) writes about the *wairua* (spiritual content) "seated within the myths/legends," and suggests that myths were believable happenings. He also pleads for student opportunity "to feel and hear the sounds in the environment—birds, insects; they in many ways determine the material and nature of their (later) created *waiate* (song)." Spiritual experience blends with physical and emotional involvement in the creation of a music-drama.

(2) The holistic notion of the synchronicity of mind and body is supported by many Maori writers and respected leaders of cultural/art movements. Dr. Peter Sharples (1990) when addressing a Dance and the Child international conference about "Maori Dance Forms and Their Role in Contemporary Maori Society" said that dance "has to be meaningful. . . . It is this movement thing, this desire to move and flow with the elements whether that is music, whether it is the weather." Another respected Maori writer, Wiremu Parker (1984) in the introduction to Jennifer Shennan's *The Maori Action Song*, states: "Action songs are not residual elements of a bygone Maoritanga. Rather are they a vital, exhilarating, resonant, thriving and integral part of Maori life today. Among other benefits they are a form of therapy for a people undergoing an identity crisis. Song and dance are among the means by which human kind everywhere purge their souls of the tensions of daily strife and maintain some harmony with the world around and beyond them."

(3 & 4) One can align Professor Duries' word "integrative" with the process used to create original vocal and instrumental sound and movement patterns and shapes. In one legend the separation of Rangi, the sky father, from Papa, the earth mother, was effected visually by rolling full-length bodies in rows which alternately rose, to symbolize the tearing apart of Rangi and Papa, then writhed in the agonies of that forced division. Deep, rumbling drums, together with rapid, soft-stick tapping of bass strings inside a piano frame, ebbed and flowed, then gathered intensity to match the action. This was abstraction of the narrative into a full sensory range of explorations for both performers and observers/listeners. Feeling and thinking blended together.

(5, 6, & 7) Focus on experience, on a collective identity where it is essential to be interdependent, is central to production of this form of music-movement drama. As producer I watched for natural talent in creating a body shape, then contracted others to enhance or contrast that

shape, always ensuring that every person in the exercise was given a continuing and developing role in the whole piece. No properties or costumes were used; we worked on a bare stage with perhaps a podium or two to give required elevation. So a group of students shaping a cave entrance, where the legendary character Maui placed plaited ropes to contain and capture Te Ra, the sun, could next meld into forms of clustered totara trees in the forest while other students took the main action focus in snaring the sun. In "Rona and the Moo" Rona curses Marama, the moon, a dreadful thing to do! She is punished by being drawn up on to the surface of the moon. Trying to stay on earth, Rona clutches desperately at the gnarled, twisted roots of a *ngaiu* tree. Seven or eight students provide that tree structure, then are torn with Rona in a circling, twisting chain of movement to settle on a higher surface in misshapen body patterns akin to those sometimes seen within the circle shape of a full moon.

- There was always fusion and flow between the narrative, which was short and poetic, and contained both Maori and English language, and the visual and aural effect catalyzed by the spoken storyline. The audience saw changes of line, level, focus, density, differences in energy output and contrast between tension and relaxation. They heard matching or complementary sounds from the instrumental group which, helped by another staff person, created, rehearsed, and performed the improvised pitch, rhythm, and textural effects from voices, unpitched instruments, and the occasional appropriate solo instrument. For instance, a flute was used in one dramatization where a poignant motif seemed to be needed. Maori traditional instruments were few, but did include a *kouau*, a bone nose flute with a delicate sound.

The overall melodic content reflected the traditional Maori music use of small intervals, ranging over no more than a fourth or fifth, moving in small contours above and below a centric droning note (Katene, 1989). Delivery of traditional song was unison, not in parts. Choice of song in Maori life depended on the circumstances (Orbell, 1991). Everyday situations where direct statements were expected used song in a recited style, not with deliberate pitched difference; vigorous action or a strong social challenge used this chant-type song. There were three kinds of melodic song: *oriori*, usually sung to children and about their genealogy; *pao*, mostly entertaining commentary; and *waiata*, which conveyed a message, a poetically expressed emotion. *Waiata* were sung slowly, often used elaborate language and used only a small range of notes.

It was equally important in the planning and implementation of the legend music-drama to ensure that nonmusical portrayal was culturally appropriate. Three colleagues from the College's Maori Studies Department provided many performance ideas, and one of them monitored the developing content each year. First, the choice of legend had to be overviewed to determine suitability for performance in a modern, nontribal idiom, and to check that the storyline and incidents included were culturally accurate; some early published collections are not always in keeping with Maori cultural practice and belief.

As the rehearsals progressed students would be shown the right way to display the *wiri*, "that rapid quivering of the hand and forearm which imitates heat, stylizes energy and symbolizes life" (Shennan, 1984). The vigorous style, steady rhythm, and strong body stance needed for a warrior's *kapa haka* were demonstrated together with an explanation of the variance of such body language to reflect the differing situations of use.

There were reminders of everyday Maori life; students realized that stepping over a prostrate body or touching another's head transgressed basic cultural practice. The head has special significance in Maori thinking (Durie, 1990) and is *tapu* (sacred).

When planting *kumara* (sweet potato) the proper body direction was necessary to acknowledge the power of the sun towards the growth of plants. Fishing for certain species was not possible on a dark night; the script substituted another species.

Thus the students learned easily and directly some of the functional and spiritual tenets which give reason and purpose to Maori life. They were receptive and responsive, giving full physical and mental commitment and cooperation to the project.

The two component threads of the project were the right ingredients to introduce and extend bicultural awareness in a manner that was correct and comfortable for both music and Maori studies staff. There was also a wider goal, one to do with ethnomusicology as an important component in a music program. New Zealand music education systems until recently have been firmly based on Western music tradition, which centralizes what Christopher Small (1987) calls the "music-object."

Small says, "European musicians . . . consider music as *entities* . . . the act of composition is seen as bringing into existence one of these *sonic objects* . . . the act of performance is seen as rendering a service to those objects, which are assumed to have an existence over and above any possible performances of them. . . . It is never suggested that performers

or listeners have a creative role." Small goes on to insist that "musicicking" is central to the whole art of music.

Blacking (1987) echoes this belief when he writes about ethnomusicology as a method, rather than an area of study. He describes it as "an approach to understanding all musics and musicmaking in the contexts of performance and of the ideas and skills that composers, performers and listeners bring to what they define as musical situations. One of the first lessons that ethnomusicologists learn is that music is both a social fact and multi-media communication; there are many societies that have no word for 'music' and do not isolate it conceptually from dance, drama, ritual or costume."

I had not read Small or Blacking before embarking on the legend project with my colleagues. The impetus came from many years of listening to, and reading about, the all-embracing culture of Maori people, which includes music with oratory, movement, sharing of ideas and food, and education of young children. Recently established *kobanga reo* (language nests) for Maori children of preschool age makes music the vehicle for much communication and learning. This is reminiscent of John Blacking's observations of the Venda people of Africa.

New Zealand then has a unique source of sonic and societal influence in the wide-ranging culture of the Maori people. Throughout the history of the world, arts extend the tradition they inherit, and New Zealand has the advantage of two strong musical heritages. Music development in my country would be richer from a wider recognition of the power of a symbiotic approach towards making music using both Maori and Western strengths.

References

- Blacking, J. (1987). *A common-sense view of all music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Department of Education (1989). *Syllabus for schools: Music education*. New Zealand: Department of Education.
- Durie, M. H. (1990). A Maori view of health, disability and rehabilitation. In R. Gregory (Ed.), *Rehabilitation in New Zealand*. New Zealand: Massey University (Book of readings, Rehabilitation Studies, Department of Psychology).
- Katene, P. (1989). Maori music: An interaction between the community and the experts in cultural survival. In E. Sell (Ed.), *Contact, interaction, symbiosis*. New Zealand: School of Music, University of Canterbury (Proceedings of ISME Commission on Community Music, 1988, Wellington, NZ).
- Orbell, M. (1991). *Waiata: Maori songs in history*. Reed.

- Sharples, P. (1990). Maori dance forms and their role in contemporary Maori society. Keynote address, Dance and the Child International Conference, Auckland, NZ.
- Shennan, J. (1984). *The Maori action song*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Small, C. (1987). *Music and the common tongue*. London: Calder.

The Role of Community Music in a Changing World

The Seminar Report

Tim Joss
Commission Chair

The Changing World

These are times of great change. Most countries of the world are living through economic uncertainty. Some are suffering hardship. Recent political change in the former Soviet Union, the former Yugoslavia, and South Africa has been dramatic, whilst new problems are continually rising up, demanding resolution.

Change is often painful but can never be ignored. Communities and individuals have to come to terms with what is happening, intellectually, emotionally, and spiritually. In response they may work for further change, or they may accept what has happened.

There is no doubt that *political change* has far-reaching cultural implications. For example, before the recent transformation South Africans could only envision a good society beyond apartheid; various musical fusions articulated these visions. Now they have the real opportunity of greater democratic participation, and this already includes the making of cultural policy. In other countries, particularly those with a strong commitment to free market economics, state funding is declining and as a consequence the drive for cultural equity (e.g., equal opportunity in the arts for disadvantaged people) is faltering. Furthermore, the priority of profit is endangering individual and community identity and people's sense of self-worth.

Technological change is also affecting cultural life throughout the world. It offers new opportunities. New ways of learning are opening up, for example in Aboriginal education across the vast distances of the Northern Territory of Australia. It is now possible to have access to information from around the globe. Ownership and control of cultural properties can be retained by the individuals and communities which created them, and this control can now extend to how these cultural properties are

represented; for example, folk musics can be recorded by musicians and their communities using video and audio cassettes, and the expertise of the outside transcriber is no longer required. Technology is prompting new forms of creative music-making and participation and affords access to the means of music production—a new kind of autonomy.

On the other hand this very autonomy has the tendency to isolate: the solo worlds of the Walkman, the home studio and the synthesizer. Access to the welter of information now available can lead to the desensitized world of channel hopping and information overload.

Making Sense of Change

Community music activity, and other more formal kinds of music education, can make a significant contribution to life in a changing world. Because it concerns participation in music-making of value to the community, community music is grounded in the real world of the lived experience. Changes in that world are often reflected in the musical activities undertaken—which may, for instance, involve high technology, or the exploration of new fusions between traditional and contemporary, or the celebration of possibilities for cultural integration in newly free nations. In these circumstances music becomes a direct reflection of, or expression of, change in the world.

Community music activity is often a *process in which the participants themselves change and develop*, making new discoveries about themselves, empowering themselves, finding new identity within a community, broadening their perspectives, and gaining new understanding and tolerance. These achievements result when the participant has been directly involved in determining the direction of the process.

The concept of empowerment in community music activity merits closer scrutiny. First, it can be realized at different levels—personal, social, political, and economic. Second, the process of empowerment is far from straightforward. It may follow a sequence, from enabling an individual to give voice to aspirations, to generating multiple voices and hence a range of choices, essential for the exercise of power. Last, it is important to be clear who is being empowered: the individual community member and the community as a whole are obvious instances, but the empowerment of the community music worker and the trainee must also be borne in mind.

Community music activity can be useful in *freeing individuals from prejudice* caused by ignorance, through a process in which the sharing of

visions leads to an acknowledgement of the meaning and value others find in their musics. The experience of making music may therefore be like participating in a potential society. Often it is not only the clients of community music activity who gain these insights; facilitators can make the same gains. So too can agencies involved in supporting community music work. There is evidence of community-arts practices influencing funders, city councils, and other decision-making institutions to the benefit of all involved. This success derives from viewing funding and other forms of support as a process. For example, a funding institution uses application forms, criteria for assessment, selection committees, and officer support; successful intervention may be at a number of points in the system, leading to a revised, better informed process.

Change occurs as a result of an *interaction of forces*. This is true of contextual change and of change within music education, formal and nonformal. One model is the Hegelian one of opposing dualities out of which emerges synthesis. Another is a spiral model in which continuing cultural or other interactions produce growth and development. Examples of both models can be found. Equity issues may well require a Hegelian dialectic. Continual re-participation in intercultural or intercommunity activities can lead, like an upward spiral, to an ever-enriching change in personal as well as community perceptions. In this way music is a liberating force in education.

An implication of community music activity being grounded in the real world of lived experience is that the *standards* used to assess the quality of the activity must be appropriate to the context. For communities to achieve ever-enriching change, evaluation of activities is vital but this inevitably entails a move beyond the traditional definitions of excellence as used in formal music education. This is a plea therefore not for non-accountability but rather for standards which, because of the nature of the activity, avoid any excessive preoccupation with the product and do justice to the richness of the process. The evaluation should also create opportunities for participants to make judgments, including those participants who in more formal settings would lack the confidence and sufficient sense of status to make such judgements.

Cultural Identity

Participants at a seminar in Georgia, where memories of the American Civil War of 130 years ago seem still to be clear, are inevitably drawn to

recognize a tension between "union" and "confederacy," between perceptions that concentrate on what brings people together and those that focus on individual identity. The Commission is on the record as favoring a model of "world musics" over a model of "world music." We see the culture of Planet Earth as a treasure chest of musical riches.

Technology is clearly an agent in the development of a *global culture*. The individual cultures of the world react to this in different ways. In some cases a community wishes to preserve its traditions unscathed, and it may need help to do so. In others a tradition may interact with elements of a global culture (for instance, rock music) to create a new, or renewed, tradition. Sometimes a community may seek to do both, and tensions may result. Cultural tradition is a continuum; renewal and change do not necessarily mean loss at the center. Indeed a change which separates a music from the disadvantaged context which gave it birth may be welcomed. As one Seminar participant asserted: "If the blues must always be tied to disadvantage, then let the blues die."

In some countries (the United States until recently, perhaps, and South Africa very recently), there have been pressures to seek a *national identity* in the musics of many local cultures. "One out of many" (*e pluribus unum*) is the motto of the USA; the notion of "South African music" is important to a nation newly liberated from monocultural domination. In America we recognize the value given to the many different musics of a richly diverse country; the rewarding results of particular fusions—such as have occurred in African-American music—are very evident. In South Africa we note and support the movement towards intercultural music education, as well as examples (e.g., Johnny Clegg) of interracial musical cooperation that were important in moving that country towards liberation.

We believe that all the musics of the world should be valued. We do not see the new global culture as a threat to this; there is already much evidence that it is encouraging rather than discouraging the development of local cultural identity.

Whose Music?

Technology increases the availability to music, including the musics of particular communities. The commission has learned of examples (in Australia and the USA) in which the music of a community has been recorded and used for commercial purposes without due recognition (especially financial) being given to the owners of the music.

It is easy to regard the music of Planet Earth as the heritage of the whole human race, freely available to all. But we would encourage music educators to recognize the value a community gives to its own music—a value which may be central to the community's sense of identity and its link with its own history. We urge music educators to treat such materials with respect, and to ensure that those whose music it is are appropriately rewarded for sharing their culture. The sharing process may liberate a music; it may also, if not properly respected, rob a culture.

The Commission will be taking up these issues with the ISME Board with a view to establishing an initiative relating to copyright.

Community Music Activity and Formal Music Education

In previous seminars the Commission has recognized that community music activity offers something of a challenge to more formal kinds of music education. There is evidence now of positive responses being made to that challenge, to the benefit of all, and we now issue a *call of increased interaction*.

Formal music education has much to gain from a closer relationship with community music activity. Here there is the opportunity for beneficial change and renewals, in all sectors from early childhood to postsecondary. A school music program, for instance, can only benefit from its recognizing, valuing, and involving the various musics of its local community. Benefits include broadening the curriculum offering opportunities for multidisciplinary work, and opening up new perspectives for all involved. New learning and assessment strategies are likely to be needed; outcomes may be less easily defined; oral learning may become more important than hitherto; perceptions of the place of a music in society are likely to become more prominent. These are, however, positive changes which enable the school to identify itself and place itself in its community in a more rewarding way. The path towards this new world lies in respectful dialogue with those involved in community musics.

What is true of a school is also true of institutions training teachers and professional musicians who will work in schools and other formal settings in the community. Community music activity is always contemporary, music of the here and now, a statement by a community about its place in the present, its past, and its future. Educational institutions involving themselves with community music activity show they have a commitment to the lives of the communities which nurture and support them.

Community music activity too has much to gain from closer links with formal music education. A sense of community worth may be clarified and reinforced; credibility in a wider sphere may be gained for the activity; access to resources and useful expertise may be improved; and marginalization may be prevented—even an endangered tradition may be rescued. Often community music activities find formal institutions unwelcoming or even threatening. Such problems can be overcome by sensitive and respectful dialogue. Each has much to offer the other, and the bringing together of musical skills and talents can certainly enrich those involved.

Seminar Participants

Gregory Broughton teaches voice and conducts the Afro-American chorus at the University of Georgia, USA. He has sung oratorio and opera throughout the Southeast and Midwest. His research interests lie in performance practice, vocal literature, and vocal pedagogy.

Johann Buis is assistant professor of musicology at the University of Georgia, USA, where he teaches classes in world musics. His research interests include modern African music and the relationship between the blues and African music. He is currently studying African literature and literary criticism as a Fulbright Scholar.

Cecilia Conde is technical and cultural director of the Brazilian Conservatory of Music and founder of the graduate school of music therapy at the Conservatory. She is currently serving as president of the Latin American Committee of Music Therapy, and is coordinator of the special program for cultural action for the Ministry of Education.

Carlos Coelho is currently a candidate for the doctorate in music performance at the State University of New York, New York City. A native of Brazil, he taught at the State University of Sao Paulo at Campinas. Coelho was principal oboe of the Campinas Symphony and was also a member of the State Orchestra of Sao Paulo.

Morva Croxon is a senior lecturer in music education and music therapy at Palmerston North College of Education, New Zealand. As a member of the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council of New Zealand, she has taken a prominent part in the development of community arts, both locally and nationally.

John Drummond, past chair of the ISME Commission on Community Music, is Blair Professor of Music at the University of Otago in New Zealand and President of the New Zealand Society of Music Education. He is also an opera composer and director, and an author and broadcaster.

SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS

Sallyann Goodall is professor of musicology and ethnomusicology at the University of Durban-Westville, South Africa. She has worked in Europe, the United States, and the Far East. An expert on Hindu devotional music, she is at present interested in the interface of music, religion, and society.

Elizabeth Gould is associate director of the Michigan State University Community Music School, East Lansing, Michigan, USA. Gould has several publications to her credit on the subject of feminist theory, and has presented papers for the College Music Society and the Feminist Theory and Music Conference.

Gillian Harrison is a music project officer coordinating music training and researching training needs in remote Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory of Australia. Her career includes work as a community music coordinator at a local level, followed by the position of national community music coordinator with the Australian Council of Trade Unions.

Ben Higham is founder of Community Music East, a community-based music education project of which he is the director. He also regularly teaches courses in the Post Graduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) program at the University of East Anglia, United Kingdom. He is currently completing a master's degree in applied research in education.

Tim Joss, chief executive of the Bath Festivals Trust in England, has served as manager of the Bournemouth Sinfonietta, and as music and dance officer for the public funding and development agency North West Arts. He is vice-chair of Sound Sense, the UK Community Music Association.

Mary Leglar teaches music education at the University of Georgia, Athens, USA. She has published on teacher education research and the use of technology in teacher education. She is chair of the MENC National Council of State Editors, director of the Southeastern Music Education Research Symposium, and editor of the *Southeastern Journal of Music Education*.

José Maria Neves is professor and coordinator of musicology at the University of Rio de Janeiro School of Music and teaches at the graduate school of the Brazilian Conservatory of Music. He has authored several books, articles, and monographs on Brazilian music.

SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS

Elizabeth Oehrle is a member of the ISME Commission on Community Music. She is professor of music at the University of Natal, South Africa, specializing in music education. She has been involved for many years in the development of intercultural music programs within South Africa.

Dave Price is a member of the ISME Commission on Community Music. He is head of performing arts at South Manchester College in England. His experience lies in popular music and he has also worked in community music settings. He is chair of Sound Sense, the United Kingdom Community Music Association.

David Smith teaches music education and music therapy at the University of Georgia, Athens, USA. Smith's current research interests are music in early childhood, and the effect of community music on the aging. He is currently vice-president of the National Association of Music Therapy.

Maggie Teggins teaches the Primary and Secondary Post Graduate Certificate of Education courses at the University of East Anglia, United Kingdom. She is a member of the Education Advisory Council of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden. She is published by Boosey and Hawkes, where, for some years, she served as a consultant and editor.

Kari Vøblen is a music education consultant based in Madison, Wisconsin, USA. She is past chair of the Social Science Special Interest Group of the Music Educators National Conference (USA), a member of the Society for Ethnomusicology's Education Committee, and Research Chair for the Wisconsin Music Educators Association.

...the ... of the ...

...

...